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THE
AMERICAN
JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

EDITED BY
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VOL. VII.

BALTIMORE: THE EDITOR
NEW YORK AND LONDON: MACMILLAN & CO.
LEIPSIC: F. A. BROCKHAUS
1886

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PRESS OF ISAAC FRIEDENWALD,
32 S. Paca St., Baltimore, Md.

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AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. VII, I.

WHOLE NO. 25.

I.—THE UPANISHADS AND THEIR LATEST TRANSLATION.

The Upanishads are to the modern Hindu that part of his sacred literature for which he cares most, if not the only one for which he cares at all. Of the various writings comprehended under the name "Veda," they are the class which alone stands so near to his ideas of religion and philosophy that he can do anything with them. The class is of indefinite extent and of very different date. Much labor has been expended upon the attempt to make out a complete list of the Upanishads; and to very little purpose; since it is a question of only a low grade of interest just how many treatises may have arrogated to themselves the title, or had it conceded to them by this or that authority. Their series begins in the works of the second period of Vedic literature, the Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas. Of these they are originally (like *purāṇa*, *itihāsa*, etc.) inseparable parts; an *upanishad* is a passage of more philosophic or theosophic character, an *excursus* into a higher and freer region of thought, away from the details of the ceremonial and their exposition. Some such passages, being of considerable extent, and having attracted attention and gained peculiar vogue, were extracted and separately named and handed down; then others, of like style and content, were written independently; these in their turn were imitated; and these again found successors, in ever widening departure from the original standard, down to comparatively recent times—just how recent, it is, as usual, impossible to tell. The later works bearing the name are as trivial and worthless as anything in the whole range of Sanskrit literature; hardly deserving attention except as illustrations of the superstition and

folly into which Hindu religious thought has tended to run out. But the earliest Upanishads, about a dozen in number (they are all contained in the two volumes of translation here under discussion), are documents of high importance for their bearing on the history both of religion and of philosophy in India. Taken together with kindred passages in the Brāhmaṇas, and a few even in the Vedic hymns themselves, they exhibit the beginnings of a new movement in that history, one which is to a certain extent comparable with the prophetic movement among the Hebrews—as being, namely, a revolution against the prevailing bondage to ceremonial observances and belief in their sufficiency to salvation: only, instead of making toward a purer monotheism and loftier private and public morality, it tends to pantheism, mysticism, and metempsychosis. Not an exalted devotion to duty, but the possession of mystic knowledge, leads in India to eternal blessedness.

Hence these oldest Upanishads well deserve, as they have long received and are still receiving, careful study on the part of those who devote themselves to the history of India, as well as of all who are interested in the development of religious thought.

Of editions and versions of the Upanishads there has been no lack.¹ But their quality has been less satisfactory than their quantity. The versions, especially, have labored under the difficulty of undue subservience to the Hindu commentaries, by which, at great length, every text is accompanied. It was natural enough that here, as in other departments of the Vedic literature, European scholarship should begin by seeing the treatises through the eyes of the native interpreters. There was here even an additional reason: the difficulty of putting into considerable parts of the text any sensible meaning at all by any other process. If a passage on the face of it is self-contradictory or nonsensical, the temptation is very great to give it, under the lead of the commentators, and by processes for the violence of which all responsibility can be thrown upon them, some mystic or portentous significance.

At any rate, things being as they are with respect to the Upanishads, there are different ways of bringing their contents within the reach of Western readers. One way is, to put one's self frankly and fully under the guidance of a native interpreter, naturally selecting one of especially respected authority, when such is to be found; then to see in the text just what he sees,

¹ Most of them are mentioned or referred to in the Introductions to these volumes of translation.

whether it be visibly there or not ; to follow him in all the tortuous processes by which he brings out the sense that suits his system, swerving not at all therefrom without giving due warning and explanation. By this means, the reader has in his hands a definite product, the understanding of a certain period or school of Hindu interpretation ; and he may proceed to use it as he sees fit. Another way would be, to give a conspectus, made as full as possible, of all accessible native interpretations—in connection with which treatment, one could hardly avoid taking a position of critical superiority, approving and condemning, selecting and rejecting, and comparing all with what appeared to be the simple meaning of the text itself. This would be a very welcome labor, but also an extremely difficult one ; and the preparations for it are not yet sufficiently made ; it may be looked forward to as one of the results of future study.

A third way, leading in quite another direction, would be this : to approach the text only as a philologist, bent upon making a version of it exactly as it stands, representing just what the words and phrases appear to say, without intrusion of anything that is not there in recognizable form : thus reproducing the scripture itself in Western guise, as nearly as the nature of the case admits, as a basis whereon could afterward be built such fabric of philosophic interpretation as should be called for ; and also as a touchstone to which could be brought for due testing anything that claimed to be an interpretation. The maker of such a version would not need to be versed in the subtleties of the later Hindu philosophical systems ; he should even carefully avoid working in the spirit of any of them. Nor need he pretend to penetrate to the hidden sense of the dark sayings that pass under his pen, to comprehend it and set it forth ; for then there would inevitably mingle itself with his version much that was subjective and doubtful, and that every successor would have to do over again. Working conscientiously as Sanskrit scholar only, he might hope to bring out something of permanent and authoritative character, which should serve both as help and as check to those that came after him. He would carefully observe all identities and parallelisms of phraseology, since in texts like these the word is to no small extent more than the thing, the expression dominating the thought : the more the quantities are unknown, the less will it answer to change their symbols in working out an equation. Of all leading and much-used terms, in case the rendering could not be made uniform, he

would maintain the identity by a liberal quotation of the word itself in parenthesis after its translation, so that the sphere of use of each could be made out in the version somewhat as in the original, by the comparison of parallel passages; and so that the student should not run the risk of having a difference of statement which might turn out important covered from his eyes by an apparent identity of phrase—or the contrary. Nothing, as a matter of course, would be omitted, save particles whose effect on the shading of a sentence is too faint to show in the coarseness of translation into a strange tongue; nor would anything be put in without exact indication of the intrusion. The notes would be prevailingly linguistic, references to parallel passages, with exposition of correspondences and differences. Sentences grammatically difficult or apparently corrupt would be pointed out, and their knotty points discussed, perhaps with suggestions of text-amendment. But it is needless to go into further detail; every one knows the methods by which a careful scholar, liberal of his time and labor toward the due accomplishment of a task deemed by him important, will conduct such a work.

It does not appear doubtful which of these three methods is the one best to follow at the present time in treating the Upanishads: it is the one last described. Until a linguist's version is made, it might almost be claimed that any other is premature. If the non-Sanskrit-reading public is to have these obscure treatises placed in its hands at all for study, it ought first of all to know just what they say and what they do not say; what sense the native interpreters give to their obscurities is a secondary matter. Thus far, it has had no means of doing this; no simple philological translation, none that was not filled in and tinged throughout with the later Hindu comment, has been given to the world. The time, we may fairly say, had not come until recently for such a translation; but it may at least be aimed at now. The Upanishads are an offshoot from the Brāhmaṇas; their basis of thought and belief is that of the Brāhmaṇas; and now that the Brāhmaṇas are mostly brought within reach, their linguistic material worked up with a fair degree of completeness in the great Petersburg lexicon, it is time to take up the Upanishads in a different spirit. They should be made to share in the change of treatment that has passed upon the whole Vedic literature. European scholarship began its dealings with that literature everywhere under the domination of the Hindu exegetes; but it has gradually worked itself out to

independence, reaching at length the assured conclusion that Hindu guidance is misleading, and that, if we wish to know what any text really means, we must examine it by the methods of Western philology. The commentators, it is now clearly seen, represent no primitive and authoritative tradition; and they are far more hampered by their prejudices and false principles of interpretation than aided by their greater nearness to the texts in respect to place and time.

Nor, in order to their true comprehension, need the Upanishads be handled with tender reverence; a little wholesome severity will be more in place. All the struggles of human thought to escape out of a condition whose bondage it painfully feels, deserve, indeed, our sympathy; but that should not keep us from criticising with freedom the means employed and the success attained. So the din raised by a tribe of savages at an eclipse of sun or moon, or the prayers of priests and spells of magicians directed at the same threatening phenomenon, are worthy of our sympathy, from the sincerity of their motive and the energy of their application to the desired end; yet we are not called upon to credit the result to the means employed, nor to speak of the whole performance with an admiration that is not of relative and limited character. What is of interest to us in the Upanishads is chiefly their historical content, the light they cast on the transitions of Hindu belief, their exhibition of the germs of later doctrines and systems of doctrine springing up and developing; hence the historical thread is the one to be held and followed; we need not delay and turn aside in order by artful interpretation to put sense into nonsense. The authors of the Upanishads stand next to the authors of the Brāhmaṇas; this whole body of literature comes out of the same workshop. And, interesting and valuable as the Brāhmaṇas in their way are, we have long been justly taught to recognize their predominant inanity: the inexpressibly dreary artificiality of their ceremonial, the preposterousness of the reasons given for it, the absurdity of their etymologies and explanations. The Upanishads possess their full share of the same characteristics: clearness and soberness of thought, distinctness of statement, consistency of view, are quite wanting in them; they set forth no system, but only exhibit dim tendencies, working themselves out through a chaos of incoherent verbiage to, or rather toward, certain results. A part of their material is the purest nonsense—"worse than childish," as even their latest translator is forced to confess; just

how large a part, it is left to us to determine. But it is out of date in this generation to stand in admiring awe before their bizarre and self-contradictory statements, waiting for wisdom to shine forth from them. To do this is (if the aptness of the illustration may be allowed to excuse its lack of dignity) to expose one's self to the fate of him who attempts in vain to solve the boy's riddle, "You are indeed my father, but I am not your son," and is finally told the true answer, "The boy lied." Many an offered problem over which generations of men have racked their brains is of this nature: what they needed to do was simply to recognize its falsity, and the impertinence of its proposer. Our attitude toward the obscurities of the Upanishads should be one of judicial, even of skeptical scrutiny, challenging them to show us that they contain a valuable kernel of thought, or cast light upon something else that has such a content; while at the same time we are more than ready to welcome it if found, and to allow it every shred of value that it can fairly claim. To see the humbly expectant bearing of many a student of these treatises, like that of an ancient Greek at the oracle of a crazed priestess, or of a red Indian at the door of a medicine-lodge, is—one can hardly say whether more amusing or more nauseating.

But it should be added that, besides the three modes of making a translation of the Upanishads explained above, there is yet another, a fourth. It might be styled the free-and-easy method. It contains elements of all the other three, heterogeneously mingled together, so that one can never tell which of them he has at a given moment under examination. It follows in part the text itself, where this is too plain to be mistaken, and too trivial to be worth twisting out of its natural meaning by the Hindu exegete. It also follows in great part the commentary, even when this is at its worst; difficult or apparently meaningless passages, especially, are thus best disposed of; the commentator, with his principles of interpretation, makes easy work of them. It is also ambitious of a certain degree of originality, and now and then strikes out boldly on its own account, as if the translator understood very well what was the occult meaning of all this, and could contribute his share toward the general comprehension of it. It inserts extraneous matter enough to make things run smoothly, and also to set forth the sense which the translator or his Hindu guide desire to find in the text or to interpret into it; and, in a general way, it means to indicate this: only, to do so always and accurately is quite too

much trouble. It is careless of the identities of expression, rendering, without any good reason, the same expression variously and various expressions identically. It attains a certain measure of success : that is to say, it gives to one who knows little or nothing of such texts a fair general idea of what they are and how they go on ; but nothing can be securely built upon it ; it is liable to deceive at any particular point the student who trusts it ; and for the specialist it has no value whatever.

Unfortunately for the progress of our knowledge of the Upanishads and of the phase of thought they represent, the latest translation of them, published in two volumes (I and XV) of the first series of Sacred Books of the East (London, 1879 and 1884), is made by the method last described. An examination of it in a little detail will cause this plainly to appear, and will also illustrate some of the points that have been made above.

It may be remarked by way of introduction that, as one examines this work, one can hardly resist the impression that it is the tardy publication of a version made many years ago, and now put forth by its author without being sufficiently revised and brought down to date. This is indicated, for example, by its treatment of the aorist. The value of this tense in the Brāhmaṇa language, as signifying an immediate past, or nearly according in sense with our perfect, was demonstrated by Delbrück about ten years ago,¹ and has since been recognized by every well-instructed Sanskrit scholar. But the author of this translation seems never to have heard of it ; when he comes to an aorist, he treats it just as he would if he met it in the Mahābhārata, where it has become entirely equivalent to an imperfect ; and in about two-thirds of the cases he renders it as an imperfect, often to the marked detriment of his version, in style or even in sense. Thus, to quote an example or two : at the beginning of the first division of the Taitt. Up. (vol. xv, p. 45), the author says 'I shall proclaim the right; may it protect me,' and so on ; then, at the end (p. 53), he congratulates himself on the successful performance of his task : 'I have proclaimed (aor.) the right; it hath protected (aor.) me' ; while the translator mars the sense by reading "I proclaimed," "it protected." Another case, where the meanings of aorist and imperfect are

¹ In the second part, *Altindische Tempuslehre* (Halle, 1876), of his contributions to comparative syntax. Weber had already (*Indische Studien* xiii 114, 1872) briefly indicated it ; and Bhandarkar had established it considerably earlier, in the Preface to his Second Book of Sanskrit (Bombay, 1868).

directly interchanged by him, is found in the Āit. Ār. ii 1, 4¹¹ (vol. i, p. 207) : ‘Breath went out (impf.) ; breath being gone out, it fell (impf.) ; it decayed (impf.) ; [people said,] “it has decayed” (*aṣāri*, aor.) ; [hence] it became “body” (*carira*) ; that is why body is called body’; but the translator reads . . . “the body fell. It was decayed, and because people said, it decayed, therefore,” etc. Once more, the Brh. Ār. Up. has, at vi 2, 3 (vol. xv, p. 205), ‘Five questions one of the royal class hath asked (aor.) me ; of them not a single one do I know’; and the translator gives it as “That fellow of a Rājanya asked me five questions, and I did not know one of them,” misrepresenting the tense of both verbs. These are doubtless trifles ; but they are just such trifles as make the difference between an accurate and an inaccurate translation. At another point, attention to the tense would perhaps have guided the translator to a better comprehension of the meaning of the verb itself; it is at BAU. i 3, 8 (vol. xv, p. 80), where *kvā bhūt* does not signify “where was?” but ‘what has become of?’ The forms of *bhū* often have this more etymological sense of ‘come to be,’ instead of simple ‘be’; and it especially appears after *kva*, with which *bhū* almost forms an idiomatic phrase. Other examples are seen at BAU. iii 2, 13 (*ib.* p. 127) : when his parts are resolved into the elements, ‘what becomes then of that person?’ and again, a little further on, iii 3, 1 (*ib.*) : ‘When we asked of him the ends of the world, then we said to him, “What became of the Pārikṣitas?”’—and the next paragraph proceeds to tell where they went to. In this last passage, especially, the translator’s “Where were the Pārikṣitas?” is quite meaningless.¹

Other indications of the essential antiquity of the work now under consideration may be more briefly pointed out. One is its virtual ignoring of the Petersburg lexicon. It does not seem as if any one, in the present epoch of Sanskrit study, could undertake to render a difficult text without constant reference to that authority ; he may sometimes differ from it, but he should never disregard its opinion. But it is disregarded throughout by this translator, and to his great loss. The instances are numberless in which one who reads the Upanishads with his work at hand will come to a halt over the latter, asking himself with surprise, “Is it possible

¹ Gough, in his interesting treatise on the Philosophy of the Upanishads, at p. 160, has here the true sense of the idiom, but misrenders the tense of the verb.

that we have to understand this word thus?" when a reference to the Lexicon will give him a very different and uniformly more acceptable meaning. Sufficient examples of this will appear as we proceed. Again, the subdivisions of the version, and their numbering, are not infrequently discordant with those of the original, as given in the published editions: and this suggests that the version was prepared from manuscript copies alone, before the texts were printed. Certainly, the texts being now in our hands, any version ought to conform itself to them, unless it states good reasons to the contrary; and such reasons are conspicuously wanting for most of the discordances discovered.¹ Yet again, the innumerable inaccuracies as regards the intrusion of extraneous matter might be more easily explained and excused, if the translator had only manuscripts to work with; and the same may be said of the omissions, also far from infrequent, of words and phrases—although, of course, both these classes of errors are sufficiently explainable as the results of simple carelessness.² Such trifles, finally, as the rendering of *paradas* 'autumns' by "harvests" (K th | U. i 23; vol. xv, p. 6), which is neither English nor Sanskrit, point to a hasty retranslation from the German.

Whether, now, the impression referred to be a true one or a false, it may well be kept in mind by one who studies these versions, as a possible explanation of some of their peculiarities, and of their general failure to come up to the present standard of Sanskrit scholarship.

As the unacknowledged intrusion into the translation of matter not found in the text is a point of capital importance, we may well commence with a few examples of it. Almost at the beginning (p. 3) of the first volume (ChU. i 1, 9), we find the two words *mahimnā rasena* 'with greatness, with essence' expanded into "The three-fold knowledge (the sacrifice) proceeds by the greatness of that syllable (the vital breaths) and by its essence (the oblations)"—the intrusions acknowledged by the parentheses being, as it were, a deceitful guarantee that the rest, at any rate, is pure text! Probably the whole interpretation is wrong, the two instrumentals being

¹ In the translation of the ChU., for example (vol. i, pp. 1-144), there are such discordances at i 3, 11: iv 14, 1-2; 17, 9: v 10, 1; 21, 1-2: viii 5, 3; 7, 3; and they are about as frequent in the other texts.

² Here, again, cases of omission noted in one text may be given: ChU. ii 7, 2: iii 14, 1: v 2, 5: vi 1, 7; 9, 3; 10, 2: vii 25, 2: viii 6, 5; they are correspondingly frequent in the other treatises.

adjuncts to the preceding *apacītyāi* 'in order to the honoring.' The very next paragraph is another noteworthy example, where the unconfessed additions are used to help bring about a complete distortion of the real and obvious meaning of the text. Its translation runs thus—to the translator's parentheses, which show his acknowledged insertions, brackets being added, to show the real ones: "[Now] therefore [it would seem to follow, that] both he who knows this (the true meaning of the syllable Om), and he who does not, perform [the same sacrifice]. But [this is not so, for] knowledge and ignorance are different. [The sacrifice] which [a man] performs with knowledge, faith, and the Upanishad is more powerful." The true meaning is: 'With it [*tēna*: *i. e.*, with one and the same syllable *om*; the translator had correctly rendered the word in this way at the beginning of the preceding paragraph] both perform [sacred rites]—he who knoweth this thus and he who knoweth not. Diverse, however, are knowledge and non-knowledge: only what one performs with knowledge, faith, *upanishad*—that is more powerful.' That is to say: while both use the same sacred utterance in the ceremonial, he who understands the full import of it obtains the better result. In his perversion of this passage, the translator has even the commentator against him.

Such noteworthy examples as these of unconfessed expansion are not common; yet they are indicative of the whole style of the versions given, and may be paralleled with kindred matter from no small proportion of the pages of both volumes. One or two further instances may be added. At AA. ii 1, 8^a (vol. i, p. 213), the sentence 'Him the gods worshipped as "prosperity" (*bhūti*); they prospered (*babbūvus*)' is changed to "The Devas (speech, etc.) worshipped him (*prāṇa*) as Bhuti or being, and thus they became great beings." At ChU. i 12, 4 (vol. i, p. 21), in the naïve little story of the dogs that imitated the performances of the priests, the long explanatory phrase "each dog keeping the tail of the preceding dog in his mouth" is left to be regarded as part of the text. At AA. i 3, 5² (*ib.* p. 181), there is a long exposition of half a page which is not marked as coming from the translator instead of from his original. At BAU. ii 4, 4¹ (vol. xv, p. 108), the simple phrase 'Yājnavalkya said' is expanded into "Now when Yājnavalkya was going to enter upon another state, he said." Per contra, we sometimes have passages carelessly marked as if inserted, when they actually belong to the text; a couple of notable instances are found at BAU. i 5, 23 (*ib.* p. 98).

A case involving a considerable variety of errors is found at ChU. ii 8, 1 (vol. i, p. 26). The treatise is engaged in glorifying the *sāman* or chanted hymn, by identifying it with all conceivable things in heaven and earth, after a fashion which is not uncommon, from the Veda down, and has nothing about it that is distinctively characteristic of an Upanishad. Such character, to be sure, the translator tries to give it, by telling us (p. 23, note 3) that "the Sāman is always to be understood as the Good, as Dharma, and as Brahman"; but this is simple commentator's nonsense, unworthy of being repeated unless in quotation marks. The "fivesfold" *sāman* is first taken up; and this, we are told (in the same note), means "the five forms in which the Sāman is used for sacrificial purposes." Here and in all that follows it appears clearly that the translator has no idea of what is really signified. It is not five forms of Sāman, but the five divisions of every *sāman*: namely, besides the central *udgitha*, or main chant, two preparatory members—the *hinkāra* 'preliminary' and *prastāva* 'start'; and two concluding members—the *pratihāra* 'response' (according to the Petersburg lexicon) and *nidhana* 'conclusion.' This relation of the parts is brought out most distinctly by the comparison with rain (*ib.* ii 3, 1 and 2): 'One may worship the fivesfold *sāman* in rain [the translator carelessly says in this and in the majority of the other cases—why not then in all?—"as rain"]': the wind in advance [the translator omits *puras* 'in advance'] is the preliminary (*hinkāra*); the cloud is generated—that is the start (*prastāva*); it rains—that is the chant (*udgitha*); it lightens, it thunders—that is the response (*pratihāra*); it holds up—that is the conclusion (*nidhana*).¹ And the usual promise is added: 'It rains for him, he makes it rain [the translator inserts, without acknowledgment, and unnecessarily, "for others"], who, knowing this thus, worships the fivesfold *sāman* in [the translator again "as"] rain.'

But the Hindu is not satisfied with this amount of dismemberment of the *sāman*; he goes on to make it "sevensfold," by distinguishing a new member both before and after the main chant: after the "start" he adds a "beginning" (*ādi*); and after the "response" he adds an "accession" (*upadrava*). This is of especial interest, because the word *ādi*, which with its derivative *ādya* is so extremely common in the later language, makes its appearance for the first time here, in the sevensfold dismemberment

¹ Observe the similar comparisons, including this very one, in the Atharva-Veda, at ix 6, 45-48.

of the *mantra*. Nearly a generation ago, the Petersburg lexicon suggested that it probably came from *a-dā* 'take' (as *ādhi* from *ā-dhā*, etc., and meant properly a 'taking hold' (like German *Anfang* from *Anfassen*, properly 'seize on'). And conclusive proof of this is found in the *Jaiminya Brahmana*; where (as I pointed out in the Proceedings of the American Oriental Society for May, 1883, Journ. Am. O. S., vol. xi, p. cxlvii-viii) it is regularly accompanied by forms of *a-dā*: thus, *ādīm ādattā* 'he makes a beginning,' *ādīm ādādīta* 'he may make a beginning,' and so on. When now the translator comes to this word, he heaps one blunder upon another in his treatment of it. First he makes of it an adjective, which it never is, rendering it "the first"; then he adds by way of explanation "i. e. Om"; and finally, he leaves "the first, i. e. Om" out of parenthesis, as if this were added by the *Upanishad* text itself in order to explain the meaning of *ādi*! The true version of the paragraph is: 'One may worship the sevenfold *ādīm* in speech (etc.), whatever of speech is "*hūm*," that is the preliminary; what "*śāvā*," that is the start; what "*a*," that is the beginning (*ādī*); what "*ādī*," that is the chant; what "*prati*" [not *prāti* as the translator has it], that is the response; what "*uṣṇa*," that is the exhalation (*expiratio*), what "*uṣṇa*," that is the conclusion.' That *Ādīm* whenever in scripture such combinations of sounds occur, we are to recognize in them representatives of those parts of the *ādīm* whose names begin with those various combinations respectively. Who are the three here of "the Good, and the True and Righteous"? Is it the commentator who in this passage identifies the *ādīm* with the sacred syllable *Om*, the *ādīm* being the *Om* itself, the *ādīm* meaning 'beginning,' and so the *ādīm* the fundamental element of everything? For he says, when the *ādīm* & generates a the *Om* meaning of *Om*—that *Om* illustrates the universal tendency of all that has a beginning & finally themselves end as it is dragging it *Om*, and that is the other side infinite quantities of all in space, the *ādīm* of the *Om*—the knowledge. If this is so, then we have

10. *Leucanthemum vulgare* L. (L.)

an identification of the same divisions of the *sāman* with the sun at different successive periods of the day, and the *ādi* is identified with the *sāmigavavelā*, some time between sunrise and midday. Again the translator adds, without parenthesis, as if part of the text, "the first, the Om." The text proceeds: 'On that [part] of it [the translator leaves out this genitive, *asya*, in every paragraph] the birds are dependent (*anvāyatta*) ; therefore they, being without support in the atmosphere, taking (*ādāya*) themselves, fly about, for they are sharers in the beginning (*ādi*) of that *sāman*.' After the logic of this, one must not ask too curiously; it is a pure word-play, the points of which are *ādi* and *ādāya*, the treatise recognizing them as related words. But the translator adds this luminous note: "The *tertium comparationis* is here the *ā* of *ādi* and the *ā* of *ādāya*, i. e. holding. The *d* might have been added"!

It is needless to illustrate further the point of unacknowledged intrusions; every one sees already how uncertain any reader of this translation must be in regard to the line of division between text and comment. We may next take up an additional example or two of how the commentator leads into the ditch the scholar who is incautious enough to follow him blindly. The first chapter of the third book of the Aitareya-Āranyaka is called the *Saṁhitopaniṣad* 'Upanishad (mystic doctrine) of the Samhita (putting together, combination)'; it rings the changes throughout on the forms and derivatives of *sam-dhā* 'put together, combine, compound.' In the fourth section (vol. i, p. 252), we have a mystic identification of breath (*prāṇa*), the essential sign and support of life, with the main beam of a house (*vāṇa*; literally 'reed, bamboo'); it is apparently made by combining into one a number of individual bamboos). Then, in a dispute, one says to another: 'Breath as beam have I wished [i. e. tried] to put together (*sam adhītiṣṭām*) ; that hast thou not been able to put together (*tam nā 'pakah samdhātum*).' The first part of this is parallel with the phrase in the preceding paragraph: 'Breath as beam have I put together (*sam adhām*).'¹ But the commentator commits the stupendous grammatical blunder of putting together the aorist first person *sam adhītiṣṭām* with the following *tam*, object of *samdhātum*, into one word, *samadhītiṣṭāntam*; and then, as *antam* is an ordinary participial ending in the accusative masculine, he understands it as such a participial form, and explains it accordingly; and the translator follows submissively at his heels,

rendering it "him who wishes to grasp"! Only a little further along (iii 1, 6¹; p. 255) occurs another example of nearly the same sort. The published text has *abhivyāhārṣam ne 'ty eva vidyāt*; the translator apparently reads instead -*ṣann* *ity*, etc. (on manuscript authority? then he ought to inform us of it; but the reading would be a false one); then, leaving out the *iti* altogether, and viewing *ahārṣam*, which is an aorist first person, as if it were instead the future participle *harisyān*, he renders it "when he is going to recite"! In this also he follows the commentator, who seems along here to have desiderative participles on the brain, and glosses the word by *sāhhitāḥ paṭhitum ichan* 'desiring to read the *sāhhitā*'; but he follows him at the sacrifice of every philosophical principle by which we have been accustomed to be governed. Until we have a new Sanskrit grammar, very different from any yet in our hands, we shall never be able thus to turn our aorist first persons at will into participles.¹

A case of quite another sort, but showing similar capacities on the part of the commentator, is found at ChU. iv 10 (vol. i, p. 64). A certain student has been faithfully tending the sacrificial fires for many years, but his teacher still puts off communicating to him the sacred knowledge. The teacher's wife remonstrates with him for his remissness: *mā tvā 'gnayah pari-pravocan pra brūhy asmāi* 'let not the fires anticipate thee in teaching [him]; teach him [thyself]'. But he goes off on a journey without heeding the warning; and no sooner is his back turned than what his wife had threatened happens: the fires, one after another, give the student instruction. The commentator, now, wholly missing the sense, explains *tvā pari-pra-vac* as 'blame thee'; and the translator follows his example.² In so doing, they commit an error only too

¹ There are difficulties about the joint understanding of the two paragraphs, with which a translator of the treatise might have been expected to deal in his notes; the text appears absolutely to require some amendment. But these difficulties do not at all touch the point under discussion here.

² No attempt has been made to render this paragraph, because its meaning is very obscure. One sees only that the printed translation of it is indefensibly bad from beginning to end.

* It is only fair to add that the Petersburg Lexicon also is this time misled by the commentator, and that even Böhtlingk's minor Lexicon (in the part just come to hand) leaves the error uncorrected. But Deussen, in his "Vedānta" (p. 176), does not fail to give the expression the right sense. Deussen's renderings, it may be remarked, are in general greatly superior, both in accuracy and in liveliness of style, to those of the English translation.

common with them : they overlook the strict sense of the prepositional prefixes—or rather, we may say, they regard the prefixes as loosely used, in the manner of the later metrical literature, where a weak yielding to the exigencies of the verse has robbed them of half their value. It may be laid down as a rule for the prose of the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads that every prefix to a verb has its own distinctive value as modifying the verbal idea : if we cannot feel it, our comprehension of the sense is so far imperfect ; if we cannot represent it, our translation is so far defective. The roots *vac* and *bri* are throughout complementary to one another in their tense-systems, and that *pra-vac* and *pra-bri*, used thus together, should signify different things is simply impossible ; and the added *pari* has clearly the same value as, for example, in *parivinnyā*, said of a younger sister who is married ‘in anticipation of’ (lit’ly ‘roundabout, with circumvention of’) an older one. Doubtless the cases might be counted by hundreds in these two volumes, where the rendering of the prefixes is inaccurate—usually in accordance with the inaccurate rendering of the commentator. So, for example, in the very first paragraph (vol. i, p. 1), where the prefixion of *upa* to *vyākhyāna* ‘explanation’ is made by the translator to change its meaning to that of “full explanation,” while it unquestionably signifies rather ‘appended or subsidiary explanation,’ in accordance with the fundamental sense of *upa*. Perhaps the two prefixes *para* and *prati* are those most often misunderstood—and not by this translator alone : far too many Sanskrit scholars seem to find it impossible to convince themselves that *para* means ‘away’ or ‘to a distance,’ and never anything else (except, of course, by orderly and explainable modifications of that idea) ; and that *prati* always involves the conception (often very difficult to render in English) of occurrent action, a going out to meet something that is coming on, a standing opposite to or in presence of what is turned toward one (German *entgegen* often best renders it). The point is important enough to illustrate with an example or two. Nearly at the beginning of the Kāṭha Upanishad (i 6 ; vol. xv, p. 3), the translator puts in the mouth of Nachiketas, when devoted to death, this expression : “Look back how [it was with] those [who came] before, look forward how [it will be with] those [who come] hereafter” (the brackets show what ought to have been put in parenthesis, as not belonging to the text ; but the translator, as so often, omits all indication of his additions ; and, in the last clause, he falsely renders *tathā* ‘so’ by

"how"). The words here rendered 'back' and 'forward' are *anu* and *prati* respectively. This disguises completely the nature of the situation contemplated. The observer is regarded as one past whom, or together with whom, a long procession is filing toward the grave; and he is exhorted to send his glances 'along after' (*anu*) those who are already before him, with their backs turned toward him; and then to turn his eyes 'to meet' (*prati*=Germ. *entgegen*) the others who are coming on after. A similar case is found a little later in the same treatise (iv 1; p. 15). The translator gives "Death said: 'The Self-existent pierced the openings (of the senses) so that they turn forward: therefore man looks forward, not backward into himself. Some wise man, however, with his eyes closed and wishing for immortality, saw the Self behind.'" There is a whole series of other errors here, which may well enough be cleared away first. "Death said" is not in the text; it should therefore stand in parenthesis. "Backward into himself" is simply *antar ātman* 'within (i. e. inside of) himself.' The text has nothing for "however." In "closed" we have a gross oversight; the translator has read the word *āvṛta*, while the text has *āvṛtta*, which is also supported and explained by the commentator, and required by the connection: it means 'turned hitherward (i. e. to-ward, toward one's self, inward).' Then, coming to the prefixes: the word rendered 'forward' (twice) is *parāñc*, which is really 'away from one's self, off-ward, outward' (Deussen, *nach auswärts*); the *parā* in it is the direct and customary antithesis of the *ā* of *āvṛtta*. Finally, the unintelligible "behind" is *pratyak*, in which the *prati*, as usual, implies a meeting: his vision met his self: translate 'viewed [for the root is *ikṣ*, not *paç*] his self face to face.'

Most Sanskrit scholars are well aware that, as between the two demonstratives, *asāū* etc., and *ayām* etc., the latter points to the nearer object, and means 'this,' while the former points away to a distance, and corresponds to our 'yon' or 'yonder.' So, in the poetical phraseology of the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads, we naturally read *asāū dyāus* 'yon heaven' and *iyām pṛthivi* 'this earth'; *yā sāū tīpati* 'he who burns yonder' (i. e. the sun) and *tāvate* 'he who cleanses here' (i. e. the wind)—in these cases, such descriptive pronouns, along with nearly all others, that should give any impression of the peculiarities of the language as a rule left out; a platitude of diluted paradoxes characterizes the whole translation. *Asāū*, accordingly, has

come to be used as meaning one not of us, one of the other party, an antagonist or foe. From the Atharva-Veda down, through the whole older language, it is accustomed to stand in the vocative (in the accented texts, plainly marked as such, *dsāu* or *asāu*) in place of the name of some person hostilely addressed, often with added *āmuṣyāyaṇā 'muṣyāḥ putra*, meaning ‘O so-and-so, of such-and-such lineage, son of such-and-such a mother!—the actual names, of course, being substituted in practical use. Wherever this vocative *asāu* occurs in the Upanishads, now, the present translator renders it by “I here”: e. g. BAU. vi 4, 12 (vol. xv, p. 218), “thou hast sacrificed in my fire, I take away thy sons and cattle, I here.” Another recension of the text says *asāv iti nāma gr̥hnāti* ‘at *asāu*, he uses the name.’ But two commentators, betraying thereby their ignorance of the usages of the older language, allow this expression to be understood either of one’s own name or of one’s enemy’s; and the translator so reports, adding on his own account (*ib.* note 4, end) “though *asāu* can really refer to the speaker only”! This is so precisely the opposite of the truth that one can but ask: was this note written before the writer had learned his Sanskrit, or after he had pretty well forgotten it? If the latter is the case, the forgetfulness is at any rate only spasmodical; for at AA. ii 3, 4⁶ (vol. i, p. 220) *aham* ‘I’ and *asāu* are directly contrasted, and the translator has to render the latter by ‘he,’ and not as “referring to the speaker”: nay, at BAU. v 4, 1 (vol. xv, p. 190), he even represents *asāu* by “that (enemy)” — though here it seems probable that the commentator and he are wrong, and that the word means ‘that [other world]’ (compare his translation of *asāu lokas* by “the other world” at TU. i 5, 1; vol. xv, p. 48; and AA. ii 1, 3⁷; vol. i, p. 205); for the text has *jayati mān lokāñ jita in nv asāv asat* ‘he conquers these worlds; conquered, forsooth, shall yonder one be.’ Perhaps, at the moment when he penned the note in question, he was thinking of the usual and prescribed method of announcing one’s self, *asāu nāmā 'ham asmi* ‘so-and-so by name am I’; here the *asāu* does in fact “refer to the speaker”; but the conclusion drawn from it is obviously a *non-sequitur*.

At BAU. iii 8, 3 (vol. xv, p. 137), we have the expression *yad ūrdhvāñ divo yad avāk pr̥thivyā yad antarā dyāvāpr̥thivī ime* ‘what is above the sky, what beneath the earth, what between these two, sky and earth’ — which is a fairly good expression for everything there is; at any rate, it is precisely what the words

mean, and what alone they can mean; *antarā* is as unmistakably ‘between’ as is German *zwischen*, or French *entre* (compare the equivalent RV. expression *vig̃am ejat . . . yad antarā pilarām mātarām ca* ‘all that stirs, whatever is between father [sky] and mother [earth],’ which the translator renders correctly, at BAU. vi 2, 2; vol. xv, p. 205). In this passage, however, the last three words are translated “embracing heaven and earth”; and there is added the following marginal note: “Deussen translates, ‘between heaven and earth,’ but that would be the *antariksha*.” Here, in the first place, we may object to the form of the note, as calculated only to puzzle, and not to edify, the general reader. Why should he have been left to wonder what this awful “*antariksha*” is, the mere mention of which is sufficient to convict Deussen (and all the other translators) of a blunder? It would not, to be sure, have helped him much to have instead the word ‘sky,’ with which in the present translation it is consistently and reprehensibly mis-translated throughout. But if he had been allowed to understand that *antarikṣa* means the middle space, all that is included between the sky or heaven and the earth, there would have been danger of his finding the translator’s scruple wholly gratuitous: sky and earth, in this description, are viewed as surfaces, and all that is beyond them and all that is between them is just the whole universe. We, too, often say “beneath the earth” when we mean beneath its surface. The point, petty enough in itself, is important as a characteristic: the translator is ready to twist the simplest Sanskrit phrase into a sense the words cannot possibly bear, in order to force out of it what without any good reason seems to him a more acceptable meaning.

The objection taken above to the form of the marginal note is one of wide application in these volumes. Considering that the series is intended for the edification of the non-professional student, it might have been expected that the notes would be made intelligible, just as far as was possible, to such a student. But the case is very often otherwise; the translator almost seems to be infected by the spirit of the treatises he is dealing with, and made irresistibly inclined to hide away his little modicum of meaning in a disguising envelop. Let us examine a few of the notes to the Katha Upanishad, on two or three consecutive pages. On p. 8 of vol. xv, note 1, to “the road” of the translation, reads simply “cf. i 16”: how is any one to understand its intent as being to intimate that the obscure word *sphuṭi*, here rendered “road,” is in that

other verse rendered "chain"? Note 2 is about *lolupantas*, and is unintelligible, because we are not informed what phrase in the translation represents it, nor how the other readings given for it would affect the sense. On the next page, note 1 is a reference to the Bhagavad-Gitā; there is not the smallest analogy between the two passages, though it is true that *ācarya* occurs in both. Note 2 is a reference to another Upanishad; it is a false reference; how it is to be corrected, a considerable search has not brought to light. Note 3 says "I read *anupramāṇat*": instead of what? and what would be the sense of the other reading? Note 4 is intelligible only to a Sanskrit scholar; but the point is such a one that it matters little. Note 5 gives us the elegant bit of English "Because you insist on my teaching it to thee." Note 6 says "Unless *no* is negative": why not inform the reader what item in the translation would be changed, and how, if *no* were understood as negative? Note 7 says: "The words in parentheses have been added in order to remove the otherwise contradictory character of the two lines": so it appears that, when two lines in the text contradict one another, we are allowed to insert something that shall harmonize them? that is a nice way of smoothing out inconsistencies; and it has in fact been liberally used in these translations. On the next page, note 2 contains this lucid statement: "Deva, God, can only be that as what the Old, i. e. the Self in the heart, is to be recognized." And so it goes on—though, it must be confessed, not always at this rate. A few pages further (p. 16), a note to "the brooding heat" (where "brooding" is unacknowledged insertion) tells us to "compare *sṛṣṭikrama*," as if this were a familiar term, and its analogy would be full of enlightenment for the special Sanskrit scholar, for whose sole and particular benefit the note is given: but what is *sṛṣṭikrama*? the text has it not; nor has any other Upanishad text; and it is unknown to the Petersburg Lexicon: perhaps it means "the invisible Brahman." At p. 21, note 7, the translator, after giving an absurd paraphrase by the commentator, adds: "I doubt whether it is possible to supply so much, and should prefer to read *iha cen nā 'çakat . . .*": but who would guess from this that he has in fact adopted that reading in his version—merely inserting a negative, *na*, which the text does not contain? Some entertaining things, as well as innumerable exasperating ones, might be extracted from these notes: thus, at vol. i, p. 57 (ChU. iv 2), where Janaçruti brings his daughter to Rāikva, as part of an inducement to the latter to

undertake his instruction, the story (according to the translator) goes on : "He, opening her mouth, said: 'You have brought these (cows and other presents), O Çudra, but only by that mouth did you make me speak.'" Then, to "opening her mouth," the translator adds the note "To find out her age"!—and, to show that this explanation is his own original contribution to the exegesis of the Upanishads, he appends the commentator's account, which is also 'pretty good in its way': "Rāikva, knowing her mouth to be the door of knowledge, *i. e.* knowing that for her he might impart his knowledge to Janaçruti, and that Janaçruti by bringing such rich gifts had become a proper receiver of knowledge, consented to do what he had before refused." It is hard to choose between two such interpretations. Certainly, it cannot be said that, under proper guidance, there is not some fun to be found in these treatises. It interferes a little with our enjoyment of the translator's suggestion, however, that there does not appear to be any good authority for rendering *upa-ud-grah* by 'open.' Root *grah* with *ud* ordinarily signifies 'take up, raise, lift'; and the Petersburg Lexicon, neglecting the modifying value of the pre-fixed *upa*, gives 'raise' (*aufrichten*) also for this passage: say rather (probably) 'lifting up her face (*mukha*) to himself'; it was not with his eyes that the sage tested the charms of her countenance. Then the following *ājahāra* is not second person, as the translator gives it, nor *çudra* (as the text stands) vocative; and the verb of the concluding clause is (unless the translator has manuscript authority for emending the published text—in which case he should have said so) conditional and not aorist. Translate, accordingly: 'a Çudra brought these; with this mouth (*mukha*: it has the double meaning of 'mouth' and 'face') only (*eva*) wouldst thou make [me] speak.'

This matter of the quality of the notes added to the version is one that tempts to extended illustration; but doubtless enough space and time has already been expended upon it. The whole body of them is to be condemned, as furnishing a minimum of valuable and helpful content, even when they are not altogether misleading. There is not, it is believed, a single instance where a really difficult passage is seriously and competently discussed. The various readings of different texts—especially of the Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa version of the Br̥had-Āraṇyaka-Upanishad—are occasionally noticed, but only occasionally; although they are not without their important bearing on the general value of the texts:

especially as the same mass of verbiage is sometimes found attached in one version to one word or thing, and in the other version to another, warning us against seeking after an occult reason for the connection with either.

It was pointed out in the introduction of this paper that in translating such texts it is essential to preserve the identity of all the leading terms. The present translator sins greatly with regard to this point. An example or two have already been seen: *e. g.* in the passage of which *sam-dhā* 'put together' is the key-word (see p. 13-14), its forms are all at once, and without any warning, rendered by "grasp"—an interpretation which has not even the excuse that it gives an acceptable sense; and elsewhere (*e. g.* iii 2, 3¹¹, vol. i, p. 260) it is represented by "conceive." This is wholly misleading. Again, the much-used combination *upa-ās* is translated sometimes "meditate on" (as at the beginning of CHU., vol. i, p. 1: "Let a man meditate on the syllable Om," etc.), about as often "worship" (as *ib.* iv 2, 2, p. 57: "the deity which you worship," etc.), and occasionally "adore" (*e. g.* BAU. ii 1, 2; vol. xv, p. 100), or simply "sit down" (*ib.* i 4, 11; p. 89, l. 7). Such a technical term ought to have its standing representative, by which it should be recognized wherever met with. As this one means literally 'sit in attendance upon,' the word 'worship' (with a note of explanation at its first occurrence) would doubtless suit it best. A similar term of frequent occurrence and uniform fundamental meaning is *prati-sthā*, with its forms and derivatives. It is rendered in these volumes in as many as sixteen different ways, from "establish firmly, be firmly supported," which is nearly its true sense, to "get on," "enter," "cause," "exalt," which are very far from being so. Again, *loka* is rendered not only by "world," but by "state," "true state," "future state," "true future life," and even "sight" (BAU. iii 9, 10-17; vol. xv, pp. 142-145: perhaps a misspelling of 'site'?). The reward of good desert, *brahmavarcasa*, is oftenest "glory of countenance," which least faithfully represents it; it is also "splendor of knowledge," and "Vedic light," "Vedic glory," "Vedic splendor." All the common words for knowing, understanding, perceiving, and the like, ought to have their identity preserved, even though the only result should be to illustrate the general looseness with which they are used; there may lurk in one or another passage a distinction of meaning not expressible in English; and of this possibility the reader of the translation should be warned. But we here have the difficult word *samkalpa*, for

instance, rendered in at least five discordant ways: "thought," "representation," "conceiving," "desire," "will." When *evaṁ vid*, in its innumerable occurrences, is generally translated simply by "know thus," we are misled into supposing that there must be a very different expression where we find the lengthy paraphrase "with a full knowledge of its true purport" (ChU. v 24, 2; vol. i, p. 91). To come to minor points: *vic* 'voice, speech,' certainly should never be translated as "the tongue" without notice given to the reader; nor *dēta* 'god' and *prāṇa* 'breath,' in two successive paragraphs (MndU. iii 1, 8. 9; vol. xv, p. 39), alike as "sense"; nor *agni* 'fire,' as "altar"; nor *anna* 'food,' as "earth"; nor *annāda* 'food-eater,' as "a strong son"; nor *annādya* 'food-eating,' as "health." Then we have a considerable class of cases like these: *āpnoti* in the same sentence by "obtains" and "reaches"; in successive sentences or paragraphs, *vi-bhā* by "reflect light" and "be lighted"; *atidya* by "ignorance" and "darkness"; *prasṛṣṭa* (KthU. i 10. 11; vol. xv, p. 4) by "shall have been dismissed" and "through the favor of"; and in successive sections (as noticed above), *srṅk̄j* by "chain" and "road." Indeed, one never knows what may lie hidden under either correspondences or diversities of phraseology in this translation.

When we come to misapprehensions of single words and phrases, the material is so abundant that one does not know where to stop. Only a few noteworthy examples can be selected. The word *punarmṛtyu* 'dying again, second death,' is one of no slight significance in the history of Indian beliefs as to the life after death. When the simple faith in a renewed and unending existence in the other world was shaken, the fear that one might die there also, as well as here, was one of the first indications of the change to a new phase of doctrine; and it was embodied in this compound, which is met with in seven of the Brāhmaṇa texts (but not at all later, even in the Upanishads which are not parts of such texts). It occurs several times in the BAU.: the first time (i 2, 7; vol. xv, p. 77) the translator seems to recognize it as a compound, and renders it "another death"; the second time (i 5, 2 bis; ib. pp. 92, 93) it is doubtful, but in the translation "overcomes death again," "again" is more probably to be understood as qualifying "overcomes"; for the next time (iii 2, 10; ib. p. 126), we read "Death is conquered again"; and the last time (iii 3, 2; ib. p. 128), in "conquers death," the *punar* is even omitted altogether. And this, although a glance at the corresponding Çatapatha-

Brahmaṇa text, which is accented, would have shown the translator that the *punar* belongs in every case alike to *mṛtyu*, as part of a compound with it. In several passages of the ChU. (iv 5, 2, etc.; vol. i, p. 61, etc.), *kalā* is persistently rendered "quarter," though it only means 'sixteenth,' and the context plainly shows that a quarter of a quarter is intended. At BAU. i 4, 6. 11. 14 (vol. xv, pp. 86, 89), the sense of *atīrṣṭi*, etc., is mistaken (as it is also not quite hit by the Petersburg Lexicon). The connection shows beyond mistake that it signifies 'super-creation,' or the production of something higher or better than the creator himself. The text says: 'That was the super-creation of *brahman*, that he created the gods, [his] superiors, likewise that, being mortal, he created immortal ones.' The translator is uncertain whether he ought to understand the comparative *greyasas* '[his] superiors' as genitive singular, "from his better part," or as accusative plural, "the best" gods. So in the next passage 'That super-created the *kṣatra*, having a form superior [to its own].' In the sequel of this paragraph, it may be noted, the translator effaces all distinctions of expression by rendering *adhaśtād upāste* and *upaniṣrayati* alike by "sits down below": who could help assuming that the original is the same both times? And *upaniṣrayati* cannot possibly have this sense, since in the older language the root *ṣri* in the active is always transitive. The Petersburg Lexicon gives it as "draw to one's neighborhood, set next one," which seems very probable; the ceremony referred to is not sufficiently understood in its details for us to translate with certainty. At ChU. iv 6, 1, etc. (vol. i, p. 61, etc.), *yatra bhi sāyam babhūvus* does not mean "when they came towards the evening," but 'where they came to at evening'; and it goes on 'there (*tatra*) he lighted a fire,' etc. At ChU. iii 1, 1 (*ib.* p. 38), *apūpa* (lit'lly 'cake') is not the "hive," but the 'comb' of the bees. At KshU. ii 8 (vol. i, p. 286), the phrase *dakṣinām bāhum anvāvartate* 'he turns toward his right arm [*i. e.* to the right]' is most unaccountably rendered "having raised the right arm (toward Soma), he lets it go again." At ChU. iii 14, 2 (p. 48), *anādara* is not "never surprised," but 'not heeding.' *Pataṅga* 'insect' is rendered "bird" at BAU. vi 1, 14 (vol. xv, p. 204). In an enumeration of the parts of the arm, at AA. i 2, 2^o (vol. i, p. 172), *akṣa*, doubtless 'clavicle,' is rendered "eye"! Further on, at i 3, 7' (*ib.* p. 184), *udyante* 'are uttered' is translated "remain": this is the fault of the commentator, who glosses it with *avaçīṣyante*; apparently he was thinking of *ud-i* instead of

vad. The translator does not, any more than the commentator, recognize the rare root *ned* at BAU. iii 1, 8 (vol. xv, pp. 123, 124); they render *ati-nedanti* by "make an excessive noise," instead of 'overflow,' as if it came somehow from the root *nad* 'be noisy': it would be interesting to see by what grammatical process they should try to demonstrate the connection. It has been pointed out above how the translator takes *ājahāra* for a second person plural, and *āvṛta* for a participle of *vr̥*; and a number of other such blunders admit of being quoted against him. Thus, at BAU. i 2, 2 (vol. xv, p. 75), *açrāmyat* 'toiled' is rendered by "rested," apparently as if it were *açāmyat*. Such an oversight, to be sure, might now and then be committed by even a careful translator; but it is hardly excusable here, inasmuch as the word forms part of a phrase that occurs many times in such texts, and is even found twice, and rendered correctly, only three paragraphs further on (p. 77). The subjunctive *bhunajat* 'may he enjoy,' a little later (i 5, 17; *ib.* p. 96) is translated "he preserved," by an equal perversion of radical meaning and of grammatical form; and the error is clinched in a note, which, seeming to claim for the translator a reading that is actually that of the Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa in the corresponding passage, gives *ito 'bhunajat*. Apparently the translator thinks that *abhunajam* as first person is followed by *abhunajas abhunajat* as second and third. At KṭhU. ii 7 (vol. xv, p. 9), *labdhā*, nominative of *labdhy*, is understood (by the commentator as well) as if *labdhas*, and rendered "when found," instead of 'recipient.' At AA. ii 1, 4^o (vol. i, p. 206), *gr̥ñihī* is translated "grasp," as if it were *gr̥hñihī*, though this is opposed by the connection, and even also by the commentator. And so on indefinitely.

There are cases, not very infrequent, where the translator, apparently from want of familiarity with the special usages of the Brāhmaṇa language, divides its phrases incorrectly, and so brings an added element of confusion into his version. Our discussion has so protracted itself that but a single example will be given. At BAU. i 4, 7 (vol. xv, p. 87), the translator sets before us the following paragraph: "He cannot be seen, for, in part only, when breathing, he is breath by name; when speaking, speech [by name]; when seeing, eye [by name]; when hearing, ear [by name]; when thinking, mind [by name]. All these are but the names of his acts. And he who worships (regards) [him as] the one or the other, does not know [him], for he is apart from this (when quali-

fied) by the one or the other (predicate). Let men worship him as Self, for in the Self all these are one. This [Self] is the foot-step of everything, for through it one knows everything. And as one can find again by footsteps [what was lost], thus he who knows this finds glory and praise." In this paragraph there is, as usual, a whole congeries of errors, of various kind and degree. In the first place, brackets here added indicate the unacknowledged insertions. Then *akṛtsna* 'not whole, incomplete,' is rendered once by "in part only," and again by "apart." *Atas* is omitted the first time it occurs, its importance to the sense being overlooked. And the translator, like the commentator, does not see that, near the end, *evam* 'thus' is a whole apodosis in itself, and that the usual promise to him who knows follows it and winds up the paragraph. The real meaning is as follows: 'Him they see not; for he is incomplete. When breathing, he becomes breath by name; when speaking, voice; when seeing, sight; when hearing, hearing; when thinking (*man*), thought—these are just simply the names of his acts. Whoever worships each separate one of these (*atas*), such a one knows not; for he is incomplete by each separate one of these. One should worship him only as "self" (himself? *ātmānam*), for therein (*atra*) all these become one [thing] (neuter). That same [thing]—namely, this self—is the vestige of this All; for by it one knows this All: so (*evam*), [namely,] as one may find [anything] by its track (*pada*). Fame [and] praise findeth he who knoweth thus.'

It seems needless to carry our examination further. If there were in any part of these two volumes a passage of a different character from those we have been reviewing—a passage showing signs of a sound plan, careful and conscientious execution, penetrating insight into the difficulties of the text and successful effort to set them forth and explain them—it would be our duty and pleasure to pay it our attention. But no such passage is to be found; the work is all of one stamp; there is hardly a paragraph, much less a page, in it that does not furnish matter for serious animadversion. It suffers throughout from two causes. First, from being taken so lightly: certainly, not one-half the time and labor have been spent upon it that were necessary in order to bring out a good result; for to make an acceptable version of the Upanishads is no slight task; it demands from the student a certain devotion, a willingness even to lavish effort where such treatment is called for. Second, it suffers from too great subserviency, first to the comment, and then to the text itself. As for

the comment we have missed half our aim in the above discussions, if we have not made it appear how untrustworthy a guide that is. There is no blunder and no oversight so gross that the native commentators are not liable to commit it at every step. This has come to be recognized now so far as concerns the Vedic hymns; of them, no translation that founded itself on native teaching would be held worthy of notice by scholars save for its bearing on the native science itself. And the same thing is not a whit less true as concerns the Upanishads. One may consult the comments ~~as much as~~ he will; but if he cannot make his own version independently or even in defiance of them, he had better let the work alone. The present translator has occasional glimpses of the real character of the comment and of the text, and it would be easy to quote from his notes an anthology of condemnatory phrases, such as "translations regardless of grammar and sense," "tedious in general," "corrupt" and "fanciful," "childish, and worse than childish," "nothing can be more absurd," and the like; yet he lets the commentator dominate his own interpretation, and he and the commentator together undertake to force serious meaning into many a passage evidently empty of sense.

Our conclusion must be, that it is no help either to Sanskrit scholarship or to the comparative study of religions to print such a work as this. It should neither have been offered by its author for the *Harvard Books of the East*, nor accepted by the editor of the *Bulletin*. A new translation of the Upanishads is still just as much called for as before the publication of these volumes.

After a volume of translations of Vedic hymns from the same hand is said to be now in prospect, it would be interesting to take up for a little special study the versions of such Vedic verses as occur interposed in the texts of these Upanishads. We should find them to bear an extraordinary character that the prospect referred to would wear the aspect of a threat rather than of a promise. It may be hoped, however, that in that volume the translator will be led to take his task a little more seriously.

Finally, a word of explanation. It was only by the way, in the course of his collection of material for the supplement to his *Sanskrit grammar*, that the writer of this article was led to take up the versions of the Upanishads here discussed, reading them together with the texts, but for some of their failure to meet the reasonable expectation of their readers was so strong, that he has felt bound thus to make a protest.

W. D. WHITNEY.

II.—THE QUIRES IN GREEK MANUSCRIPTS.¹

The unit of construction for a Greek manuscript is the quaternion or quire of four double leaves or of eight leaves. It is unnecessary to say that we refer to manuscripts on parchment; the manuscripts on paper have, in part, followed the rules of their predecessors, so far as the material permitted, but, as more modern, they offer less regularity in formation, and less interest as to contents, than the older volumes. We address ourselves, then, to the quaternion. (See the *Literarisches Centralblatt*, Leipzig, 1880, No. 43, col. 1410.)

For reasons hard to understand, this essential part of these manuscripts has thus far remained unnoticed. Scholars like Montfaucon, Wattenbach and Gardthausen, who have treated of Greek palaeography, seem to have forgotten, disregarded, or failed to observe it. They tell us that the manuscripts are made up of quaternions, or they say that a given manuscript is composed of quaternions and of ternions, but it never occurs to them either to describe the structure of a quaternion, or to say how we can distinguish the leaves one from another. And they seem to think that the quaternions and the ternions put themselves together, or are mingled by chance, in the manuscripts which they describe. Nevertheless, this question of the composition of the quaternions has not merely an archaeological interest, as we wish to know how they used to make ink, papyrus and parchment: it has also a direct interest for palaeographical students, for its solution suggests to us an answer to many questions—for example, as to the original composition of a mutilated manuscript, and as to the position of scattered leaves; and it even assists a student in the rapid examination of the actual condition of a volume.

First of all, we must speak of the parchment and of its two sides, the outside and the inside, with respect to the animal from which the skin came. We distinguish these two sides by calling one the hair side—that is to say, the outside—and the other the

¹ A paper read before the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* at Paris, August 7, 1885, printed in the *Compte Rendu* of the sessions of that Academy, Paris, 1885, July—September, pp. 261–8, and also struck off separately.

flesh side—that is to say, the inside. They differ as respects color, surface, and the marks of the hair, although in the finest parchment the difference is often very difficult to determine; strangely enough, the distinction which seems to be the most trifling, the color, here comes to our aid. In general, the hair side is relatively dark, rough, and perhaps marked by the roots of the hairs, the remains of the natural hair-dye of the animal. The flesh side, on the contrary, is relatively light, smooth, and free from the hair-marks. It is true that these marks sometimes show through on the flesh side, but in that case they are less distinct than on the hair side. The coarse surface of the hair side may also be so thoroughly polished with pumice-stone as to differ little from the surface of the flesh side. But if the marks and the surface fail us, a slightly darker tint may betray the true nature of the hair side.

It is probable that the ancient parchment-makers prepared the sheets for the most part in certain fixed sizes. Common sense applied to the needs of their trade will have told them, at an early date, that books should have leaves of the same size. So far as I know, we have not yet found the dimensions of these leaves mentioned in ancient authors, but it is clear that we have them approximately in practice in our manuscripts—usually somewhat trimmed by the binders, it is true. The parchment-maker then furnished the parchment for the book demanded.

Here arises an important question. In ordinary cases, did the scribe buy the parchment of such a size that he could fold, and re-fold, and fold again, the one sheet, in order to make the four double leaves desired, the quire sought, of which he then would cut the leaves as we cut our printed books? Or did he rather buy the parchment of the size of a double leaf, so as to have nothing to do but to fold it once? In other words, did the scribe see in his sheet of parchment a quaternion not yet folded, or a double leaf which would form a quarter of a quaternion or of a quire? We answer, the double leaf. Putting aside the large volumes, for which it would have been necessary to use the skin of an elephant to make a quaternion of a single leaf of parchment, it was the double leaf which formed the unit of construction of the quaternion, as the quaternion formed the unit of construction for the volume. Sometimes reasons of economy, or the wish to use a certain parchment for a certain book, may have forced the buying of leaves of parchment which would give two or three double leaves of the size required; this is possible. The letter of Planudes

published recently by Professor Lambros, in the *Δελτίον τῆς Ιστορίας καὶ ἑθνικῆς ἐπαρίστης Ἑλλάδος*, 1885, πάτος, p. 62-4, is of a late date, yet, in any case, this scholar had ordered certain leaves which would give only one double leaf, and other out of which two double leaves could be cut. But, we repeat it, it was the double leaf, the *δίφυλλον*, that they had in view. We not only have not the least indication that they folded a sheet thrice to make a quaternion of it, but we shall soon see that the double leaf is of necessity the aim of the scribe. We may imagine that, in general, the small sheets, which gave only a single double leaf, were cheaper, because they could cut them out of large ones that had been spoiled.

The parchment is ready, whether supplied in sheets of the size of the double leaves desired, or whether cut by the scribe into such sheets. The scribe puts it on his table, if he is careful, and if he is not hurried, leaf by leaf, the flesh side down. Taking a pair of compasses, he measures and points off on the hair side the spacing out of the lines, and he draws these lines against a ruler with a circlet of lead, with the point of his compasses, or with a dull knife. The reason for drawing the lines on the hair side seems to be that this side, which is a little tougher, can better endure the force of the instrument, and that the flesh side, which is more delicate, shows better in relief the lines traced upon the other side of the parchment.

It is important, at this point, to observe that the horizontal lines are drawn upon the entire sheet, the double leaf, without interruption at the middle, where the fold will afterwards be made. The practical reason is, of course, to avoid beginning the line again, and the actual result is, on the one hand, to assure us that the double leaf was the true unit of construction of the quaternion, and, on the other hand, to furnish us with one more means for recognizing the original union of two leaves to-day separated. There are several other things to be said about these lines, but we pass them for the moment in order to follow the process of the formation of the quire.

The scribe now has before him a pile of flat sheets, the lines drawn on the hair side and showing through as a slight elevation on the flesh side. He takes a sheet and places it on the table, the flesh side down; upon this a second, the hair side down; upon this a third, the flesh side down, and upon this a fourth, the hair side down. He folds the four sheets together at the middle; he

unites them, perhaps, for the moment by a thread around the middle, or perhaps by a thread entering into the cuts which will serve later for the binding of the volume, and we behold the quire, the quaternion, ready to receive the writing. If we look at it, we shall find that the first page is a flesh page, light, smooth, the lines in relief; the second and third pages are hair pages, dark, less smooth, the lines indented; the fourth and the fifth are flesh; and so in succession, until we find that the last page is a flesh page, to answer to the first page of the following quire. This is the quaternion. The reason for this—for every rule in a trade has its practical reason—seems to be beauty, the need of having the two pages, at whatever place you open the book, altogether alike, one to the other, in color, surface and lines. The effect of the neglect of these rules, in a manuscript in which the difference of the sides of the parchment is distinct, is very disagreeable.

It is scarcely necessary to show how useful a knowledge of these rules is in the examination of manuscripts. Aside from the chief cases in which we can determine by these means the original condition of a volume or of a quire, a knowledge of these rules permits us to determine in an instant, by the eye, or even by the hand, in turning over the leaves rapidly, the lack or the transposition of leaves.

When Tischendorf described the *Codex Sinaiticus*, he noted, as a remarkable circumstance, that the leaves were so arranged that two flesh sides and two hair sides followed each other alternately. We are now in a position to say that it would have been much more remarkable if the arrangement had been different. Every one will ask how such a rule could have escaped not only Montiaucon, but also Tischendorf, who lived among manuscripts during so many years. The answer is that his work bore almost always upon ancient manuscripts with very fine parchment, in which the arrangement is less striking, and upon palimpsests—like the *Codex Epiphanius*—or upon fragments, and that his researches touching the manuscripts in which he might easily have observed the rule, were made very rapidly and with a view to the contents rather than to the condition of the books themselves. The *Codex Sinaiticus* was his bread and his wine, the air in which he breathed for a long while, and it was in this intimacy that he came to discover the singularity in question, without suspecting for a moment that he had approached a general rule of Greek palaeography.

Some persons may be tempted to say that the thing is a matter of course, and that there is no need of even mentioning it. On the contrary, when the rule presented itself to my mind in 1879, I communicated it to one of the most eminent palaeographers of our day, and he refused to admit it. It is only after examining hundreds of manuscripts, in various libraries, that I have dared to state the rule publicly.

In these few words we have not exhausted the subject. But we do not wish to abuse the time of the Academy. We shall only allow ourselves to name a few exceptions, as, for example, the quinions instead of quaternions. Hebrew manuscripts generally have quinions, and I am inclined to think that these quinions in some Greek manuscripts give us a hint as to the origin of the manuscripts. In any case, it is necessary to examine very carefully the manuscripts which offer another number of leaves than eight in a quire. For example, they were sure, they had printed, that the *Codex Alexandrinus* at London was not in quaternions; it seems to me that they had even unsewed one of the volumes. Nevertheless, Mr. Henry Bradshaw, the learned librarian of the University of Cambridge, refused to believe it, and a still more careful examination revealed the fact that a binder had cut apart all the double leaves of the quaternions, and had joined them again in other combinations. The variations observed in many manuscripts result from the wish to begin important books, for example a Gospel, with a new quire. In consequence, the quire which concludes the Gospel, or the preceding book, is made up of two, three, four, six or ten leaves at need, in order to finish the material and to permit the following book to begin with honor. The manuscripts in which the Gospels do not each begin with a quire are much fewer. Another exception concerns the side of the parchment for the first page. In a very small number of cases the quire begins with the hair side, and this, if I mistake not, is another indication of origin.

As to the lines, it is necessary to say that this rule is far from being as general, far from being as carefully followed in a given manuscript, as the rule for the sides of the parchment, which has but few exceptions. When the scribe was lazy or hurried, he pointed off and drew the lines on two or three leaves at once, or even on more, and sometimes he did it after the quire was made up. The way in which the lines are drawn is to be carefully observed, for it may at times betray to us a second hand; never-

theless, it is possible for a scribe, who has prepared the first sheets accurately, to finish by drawing the lines less exactly. In each case we must study the habit of the scribe in the manuscript, before pronouncing upon an apparent exception to the rule.

We have throughout spoken of the scribe, but, of course, in the large bookshops they may well have had a workman to prepare the quires for the scribes.

Other questions would lead us too far: the signs for the numbers of the quires; the page on which the writing begins for the initial quires, whether of the volume, or of the books in the volume; the number of the lines, and many other points, remain to be discussed.

A special study should be made of each kind of manuscripts. I hope that my friend, Dr. Reinhart Hoerning, of the British Museum, will answer for the Oriental manuscripts. Who will treat of the Latin manuscripts, I do not know; among other things, he will have to speak to us of manuscripts which begin with the hair side, and in which the writing begins on the second page; for my friend, M. Henri Omont, of the National Library at Paris, tells me that these peculiarities are often found in Latin manuscripts. This work upon other palaeographies will explain to us some of the variations in Greek manuscripts, and permit of conclusions as to the age and as to the country of the scribe.

In reference to the lines: I trust that my friend, Mr. T. W. Jackson, of Oxford, who had observed a certain regularity of the lines, without reaching the rule here stated, will continue and publish his researches upon this subject.

CASPAR RENÉ GREGORY.

III.—FRAGMENTS OF JUSTIN MARTYR.

The following pages are the first results of some researches which I have recently been making into the Parallels of S. John Damascene and the extracts of Ante-Nicene Fathers preserved therein. In regard to Justin, they may be regarded as supplementary to the third edition of Otto. The MSS from which they are drawn are all referred to either by Otto or the previous editors of Justin from whom he quotes; a detailed account of them will be found in a shortly forthcoming work of mine on the fragments of Philo Judaeus. It is, therefore, only necessary to make a few brief allusions for the sake of clearness.

The standard text of the Parallels of S. John of Damascus is that published by Lequien, based upon a Vatican MS (which is generally cited now-a-days as Par. Vat.); followed by a limited amount of extracts from a MS of Parallels formerly in the possession of Cardinal Rochefoucauld, and hence referred to as *Parallela Rupeſucaldi*, or Par. Rup. Lequien's imperfect text from this MS is again to be supplemented by the use of passages extracted by other writers, who generally speak of it as *Codex Claromontanus*. In the case of Justin Martyr, the most important of these are Halloix (*Scriptores Ecclesiae Orientalis*, Duaci, 1636), Maran (*Justin Martyr*), Grabe (*Spicilegium*). The MS of the latter text has recently been re-examined by myself, and I can only say here that it is a mine of valuable patristic extracts.

In addition to these two important authorities, there are two other very important MSS of Parallels, from which editors have been constantly borrowing—viz.: Cod. Coislin 276, of the National Library at Paris; and Cod. Reg. 923, of the same library, from which Maran makes some extracts, but, as far as I know, without pointing out that it is an uncial MS of the ninth century (he calls it, however, *Codex Antiquissimus*), probably the earliest collection of Parallels, and containing, in the case of many early Fathers, the only uncial authority for any portion of their respective works. I have collated the whole of this latter MS, and cite it as Par. Reg. Following the order adopted by Otto, we begin with the known passages.

theless, it is
accurately, in
case we mi-
before pronun-

We have the
large books; the
the quires for

Other ques-
of the quires
quires, whether
the number dis-
cussed.

A special
I hope that
Museum, will
treat of the L
he will have
hair side, and
my friend,
tells me that
This work
the variation
to the age in

In referen-
Jackson, of
lines, without
lish his rese-

Rup. in Lequien 753:

is in error, and so Otto in giving
it should be ἀκολονθεῖν; also, in
no article.

112b: τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰουστίνου καὶ φιλο-
τιάριον (sic) αὐτοκράτορα.

Otto; we accordingly transcribe it in

*ταῦτην πᾶς ὁ σώφρων ἀποφαίνεται,
τοῦ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν βίου καὶ λόγου ἀμεμπτον
μὴ βίᾳ μηδὲ τυραννίδι, ἀλλ' εὐσεβείᾳ
φιλοτιθεσθαι. Οὗτος ἀν καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες
τοῦτον. Ἐφη γάρ τις ποῦ τῶν παλαιῶν ἦν
τοῦτο, οἱ ἀρχέμενοι οὐκ ἀν εἴλεν εὐδαίμονες.*

(so Cod.), μὴ . . . εὐδαίμονες in Rup. f.
the printed text in this sentence is note-
probably correct.

Vol. 446, Par. Reg. f. 139, Par. Rup. f.
τοῦτο δύναται ἄρχοντες . . . ἐρημίᾳ.

an important passage, which is given
not seem to have been used by Otto, but
important for the text of one of the most

The sentence is referred to in Lequien,
found in some previously printed collection
not given. We print it in full, as found
in the extended heading: (τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰουστίνου
τοῦτον. Η κακία πρόβλημα ἑαυτῆς τῶν πράξεων τὰ
καλὰ διὰ μημήσως φθαρτῶν προβαλλομένη,

φθαρτος γαρ οὐδὲν ἔχει οὐδὲ ποιῆσαι δύναται,
τὸν διθρόπων, τὰ προσώπα αὐτῆς φαῦλα τῇ
ποιῶσιν οἱ κυριακούριτες τὰ προσώπα τῷ ὅντι καλὰ

in the above the title applied to the
suggests that it must have circulated as
Apology, and in the modern order.
In the ordinary printed text, the following

The text is in both places πρόβλημα, with
intercalated between προβαλλομένη and περιβαλλο-
μένη. περιβαλλομένη is also the reading of the

printed text, and would easily be affected by any error made in the foregoing word *πρόβλημα*, we should read *περιβλημα*, *περιβαλλομένη*. This is Ashton's conjecture, and seems right. For ἀφθάρτων of the printed text, we must certainly read *φθαρτῶν*, with Gildersleeve, and against Otto, Maran, etc. Otto's remark on the reading ἀφθάρτων ("obloquitur Braunius sine causâ") is unhappy, as is also his note on the closing words καλὰ καὶ ἀφθαρτοί: ("Perion. et Goez. temere legunt ἀφθαρτα"), since our text has in both places the suggested emendation. Notice, finally, the words ὡν καταπίνουσιν, which have entirely disappeared from the printed texts.

Dialogus cum Tryphone, c. 82: Πᾶς δὲ δυνάμενος λέγειν τὸ δληθὲς καὶ μὴ λέγων κριθήσεται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.

From Par. Vat. 357: ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς Τρύφωνα β' λόγου, and with similar heading in Par. Rup. f. 72a (Lequien 754); and Par. Reg. f. 73, without reference.

Cohortatio ad Gentiles. From Par. Vat. 518, Par. Rup. f. 177, Par. Reg. f. 194b, c. 5: Ἀδίνατον . . . ὁρθῶς.

We come now to the fragments printed by Otto from the collections of Parallels; the extracts being numbered as in Otto, beginning with Tom. II, p. 256, Fragment V.

Frag. V = Par. Vat. 315. Deest in Cod. Reg.

Frag. VI = Par. Vat. 339 = Par. Reg. f. 61, τοῦ δύιον Ἰουστίνου φιλοσόφου καὶ μάρτυρος, and Par. Rup. f. 235b, reading οὐ τῷ ὅντι θεὸν.

Frag. VII = Par. Reg. f. 73: τοῦ δύιον Ἰουστίνου.

Frag. VIII = Par. Vat. 362 = Par. Rup. f. 73b = Par. Reg. f. 76.

The important point to be noticed is that Reg. expressly refers this fragment to the *De Resurrectione*, and reads εἰς αὐτὸν for πρὸς ἑαυτὸν.

Frag. IX. Par. Vat. 398 = Par. Rup. f. 130 = Par. Reg. f. 102b.

Reg. only gives the extract as far as θεοῦ, and refers to Justin: Rup. as far as γνῶσις; both Rup. and Reg. add the following quotation in the Parallels, Rup. expressly: τοῦ αἴτοῦ; but it is Chrysostom in Vat., and so a title must have dropped.

Frag. X. Par. Vat. 569 = Par. Rup. f. 200 = Par. Reg. f. 222.

Reg. seems to refer this, by writing τοῦ αὐτοῦ, to Gregory of Nyssa, a quotation from whose commentary on the Beatitudes precedes; but Vat. and Rup. agree to refer it to the first Apology, which does not seem to make its identification any easier. Note that there is no καὶ before τῷ θεῷ in Rup. Cf. Grabe, *Spic.* ii 173.

Frag. XI. Par. Vat. 600 = Par. Rup. f. 210b = Par. Reg. f. 390a.

The quotation only runs from Δυσαναβίβαστος . . . κακῶν. Cod.

Reg. reads **διασθεν** (= **ἀλισθεν**) and **δυσεκβίστος** for **δυσεκβίβαστος**. But the most important feature is that Rup. refers the extract to a treatise against the Jews (**ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰουδαίων**). Does he mean *Dial. cum Tryph.*?

Frag. XII. Probably, as Maran half suggests, this extract from Par. Rup. (Leq. p. 753) is not Justin at all. A title has perhaps dropped.

Frag. XIII. Par. Rup. (Leq. p. 754).

Frag. XIV. **'Η τοῦ διδασκάλου . . . ἐκεῖνοι.**

This passage should be removed from the list. Maran quotes it from Par. Reg. 253b; but it is given in Par. Vat. as Nilus, and the title in Reg. is only the title of a fragment printed above from the *Cohortatio* which has slipped from its proper place. Query also whether the reference should not be f. 194b.

Frag. XV-XVIII. This fragment and the following are printed from the Melissa Antonii, Lib. I, serm. 19. Similarly, the XVIIth and XVIIIth fragments are referred to Lib. II, serm. 6 and 43.

It is *a priori* almost certain that any quotation found in the Melissa Ant. is taken from an early form of the Damascene Parallels. The XVIIIth is, in fact, given in Par. Rup. f. 211b, but without specifying the book from which it is taken. The XVIIth is referred to Philo by Maximus (II 584), but, as it precedes a quotation from Philo in the Melissa, perhaps this may be an erroneous reference. Maximus adds **καὶ θαράπων** after **φέρεσθαι**.

Frag. XIX. This fragment from Coislin 276, f. 33b, is headed somewhat like Frag. XI in Rup.: **τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰουστίνου ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους.** One would naturally suppose, therefore, that these two fragments formed a part of the dialogue with Trypho, concerning which Eusebius says (H. E. IV 18): **Καὶ διάλογον δὲ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους συνέταξεν διν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐφεσίων πόλεως πρὸς Τρύφωνα κτέ.** But I have not been able to verify either of them.

To the above we may add as follows:

Frag. XXI. Par. Rup. f. 34: **τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰουστίνου δὲ τῶν πολλῶν βίος δεῖ δείκνυσιν ὡς πάντες μὲν φαῦλοι, οὐδεὶς δὲ ἐνάρετος.**

The passage occurs again on f. 238, and with reading **πάντες ἔσμεν** for **πάντες μὲν** in f. 39. In this place it is followed immediately by **ἔσκεψη ἡ ἀμαρτία παρακαλύματος** (sic Cod.) **κωλύοντες τὴν ἔννοιαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι.** On f. 238 the Cod. has **παρακαλύματι** (l. **παρακαλύμματι**). This, however, is not Justin; a reference to f. 238 shows the same sequence, but the second passage is given to Theotimus. This writer is only known by two or three quotations from his works in

the Damascene Parallels; he is sometimes quoted as Theotimus the Scythian; his principal works are *De Jejunio* and a commentary on Genesis.

Frag. XXII. Par. Rup. f. 200b : τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰουστίνου φιλ. καὶ μάρτ. Οθεν εἰκότως οἵμαι καὶ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἀγαθῷ μόνῳ φίλον εἶναι· τὸν δὲ κακὸν οὕτε τῷ ἀγαθῷ οὔτε τῷ κακῷ.

Frag. XXIII. Par. Rup. f. 241b: τοῦ ἀγ. Ἰουστίνου τοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ μάρτυρος. Θεοῦ ἔργον ἔστι πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι εἰπεῖν καὶ οὕτως δειχθῆναι γινόμενον.

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

IV.—INCHOATIVE OR *N*-VERBS IN GOTHIC, ETC.¹

The investigation of which the following is the main result I was led to make by a note in Morris and Skeat's Specimens of Early English, Part II. On p. 209, in the extract from Barbour's "Bruce" (Book VII, ll. 178–80), occurs the passage :

Till his fostir-brothir he sais,
‘May I trast the me to valk,
Till I a litill slepyng tak?’

In their note to these lines (p. 336), the editors say : “*Valk*, awake ; used transitively. The intransitive form is *walkyn*, whence *valknyt* in l. 210. The introduction of the letter *n* renders a verb intransitive in Moeso-Gothic, Swedish, etc. Thus we have Swedish *vaka*, to watch ; *vakna*, to awake.”

Valk can hardly mean “wake” in this case. It would give little sense to translate, “May I trust thee to wake me till (or while) I take a little sleep ?” The originally intransitive verb “wake” (of which our *valk* is another and curious spelling) seems here to have the transitive meaning “watch” (not “wake”), and the sense of the passage appears to be, “May I trust thee to watch me while I take a little sleep ?”

But it is with the statement in the rest of the note that we are especially concerned. The introduction of the letter *n* does not “render a verb intransitive in Moeso-Gothic, Swedish, etc.” The large class of Gothic verbs in *-nan* and the same kind of verbs in the Scandinavian languages are not intransitive in the ordinary sense, neither are they passive, as Braune calls them (p. 75 of his Gothic Gram., Eng. trans.). The verb quoted in the note above, *vaka*, is itself intransitive, meaning “to be awake,” and the adding of an *n* can, therefore, not *make* it intransitive. But the fact is that this *n* makes an intransitive or neuter verb *inchoative*, changing the meaning in the case of *vaka* and *vakna* from “to be awake”

¹ This is a condensation of a paper read before the Johns Hopkins University Phil. Assoc., May 2, 1884. Since then I have been engaged in other work and have not pursued the investigation any further, so that the remarks here made represent the subject as it appeared to me at the time.—A. E. E.

to "to become awake." Let me illustrate this by an example from Danish. The verb *vække* means "to wake," "to rouse from sleep," of which the passive is *vækkes* (or *blive vækket*); *vaage* is a neuter verb and means "to watch," "to be awake," and *vaagne* means "to awaken," *i. e.*, to enter into the state expressed by *vaage*. Now, one who had merely a superficial knowledge of the language might suppose that there is not much difference between the passive *vækkes* and the inchoative *vaagne*, and that they may be regarded as convertible terms. This would be a serious mistake. There is an essential difference between *vækkes* and *vaagne*, and it is this, that when *vækkes* is used one thinks of the subject of the verb as directly affected by some person or thing, while when *vaagne* is used the thought of the cause is absent or remote. When the logical subject is a person, *vækkes* only is used; when the logical subject is a thing, *vækkes* or *vaagne*; and when the logical subject is not expressed or prominent in the mind, *vaagne* alone is used. In other words, I can say *vækkes* "ab aliquo," *vækkes* or *vaagne* "aliqua re." "I was awaked by my brother" would be in Danish, *jeg vækkedes af min broder* (never *jeg vaagnede af min broder*); "I was awaked by the noise," *jeg vækkedes* or *vaagnede af larmen*; with this difference, however, that when I say *jeg vækkedes af larmen*, I think of "larmen" as the logical subject, I personify it, while in *jeg vaagnede af larmen*, "larmen" is not felt as the logical subject.

The difference between passive and inchoative verbs of the same stem (as in the case of *vækkes* and *vaagne*) is so marked in the Scandinavian languages, that I supposed it must be equally true in regard to Gothic, which contains so many inchoative verbs in *-nan*, and that Braune's statement is not very accurate when he says (Goth. Gram., p.75): "In Gothic, verbs with a passive meaning are formed by means of the suffix *-no*," etc. Contrasting this statement with what he says of the medio-passive verbs, one is left to himself to find out which are the more truly passive, the latter or the verbs in *-nan*. The last verb of those he mentions, *ga-dauthnan*, he translates "to be put to death" (German text, *getötet werden*), "to die," the latter being the only correct definition. Bernhardt also wrongly defines it as "getötet werden." The verb *ga-dauthnan* occurs over 20 times in Ulfilas, and in every case but one it translates ἀποθνήσκειν; in the one instance (Mark ix 48) it translates τελευτᾶν, which means the same thing.

To satisfy myself, I read through the whole of Massmann's

Ulfilas and noted every case of the use of verbs in *-nan*,¹ and I found my supposition to be true, namely, that the verbs in question generally translate Greek neuter and medial verbs (the Latin text often having inchoative verbs); and while they also frequently render passive verbs, I found not a single example where a logical subject is expressed or understood, which we have seen makes all the difference in regard to Danish *vaagne* and *vækkes*.

Below I give an alphabetical list of the *n*-verbs in Gothic, together with a reference to all the verses where each occurs. In parenthesis I add, for comparison, corresponding verbs from the Scandinavian. I first give the verbs most typical of the class, or those in which the inchoative idea is most clearly felt.

auknan (Norw. *aukna*), Col. ii 19. *bi-auknan*, I Thess. iv 10.

ga-blindnan,² II Cor. iii 14. *and-bundnan*, Mark vii 35. *us-bruknan* (cf. Norw. and O. N. *brotna*), Rom. xi 17, 19, 20.

af-daubnan (cf. Norw. *dauvna*, *dovna*; O. N. *dofna*; Swed. *domna*), II Cor. iii 14. *ga-dauthnan* (cf. Norw. *daana*, to faint; O. N. *dd*, a swoon, "the root-word of *deyja*, *dauðr*," Cleasby-Vigfusson), Matt. viii 32; Mark v 39; ix 48; xii 19, 21; Luke viii 49; xx 28, 29, 32; Joh. vi 50, 58; viii 21, 24, 52, 53; xi 21, 25, 26, 37; Rom. vii 6, 10; I Cor. xv 22; Col. iii 3. *mith-ga-dauthnan*, II Tim. ii 11. *af-dōbnan*, Luke iv 35. *drōbnan*, II Thess. ii 2. (The reading is uncertain; Massmann and Heyne give *drobnan*; Bernhardt, *ga-drobnan*). *ga-drōbnan*, Luke i 12; Joh. xii 27. *in-drōbnan*, Joh. xiii 21; xiv 1, 27. *af-dumbnan*, Mark iv 39. *ga-frisahtnan*,³ Gal. iv 19.

fullnan (Norw. and O. N. *fullna*, trans.), Luke ii 40; Eph. iii 19; Col. i 9. *ga-fullnan*, Mark iv 37; Luke i 41, 67; viii 23. *ufar-fullnan*,⁴ I Cor. xv 58. *us-fullnan*, Matt. xxvii 9; Mark i 15; xiv 49; xv 28; Luke i 23, 57; ii 6, 21, 22; iv 21; ix 51; xiv 23; Joh. iii 29; xii 38; xv 25; xviii 9, 32; Skeireins iv, l. 1.

us-geisnan, Mark ii 12; v 42; ix 15; x 26; xvi 5; Luke ii 47; viii 56; II Cor. v 13. *us-gutnan*, Matt. ix 17; Mark ii 22; Luke v 37.

ga-hailnan, Matt. viii 8, 13; Mark v 29; Luke vii 7; viii 47. *us-háuhnan*, 2 Thess. i 12.

¹ *ga-blindnan*, *ga-frisahtnan*, and *silda-leiknan*, verbs not occurring in Massmann, I have supplied from other editions.

² *gablindnodedun*, marginal gloss in Codex A to *afdaubnodedun*.

³ *laudjai gafrisahtnai*, marginal gloss in Codex A to *gabairhtjaidau*.

⁴ *ufar-fullnandans*, conjectural reading of Massmann for the MS reading *ufar-fulljandans*, given by Heyne and Bernhardt.

af-hwapnan (cf. Norw. *kvavna*, *kvamna*, *kvaavna*, *kvövna*, *kovna*, to be smothered ; O. N. *kvafna*, *karna*), Is. lxvi 24 ; Mark v 13 ; ix 44, 46, 48 ; Luke viii 33. un-hwapnan, Mark ix 43, 45 ; Luke iii 17. dis-hnupnan, Luke v 6.

fra-kwistnan, Matt. v 29, 30; viii 25 ; ix 17 ; Mark ii 22 ; iv 38 ; Luke v 37 ; xv 17 ; Joh. vi 12 ; x 28 ; xvii 12 ; I Cor. viii 11 ; xv 18 ; II Cor. ii 15 ; Skeireins vii, l. 25 (Bernhardt). ga-kwiunan (cf. Norw. and O. N. *kvikna*), Luke xv 24, 32 ; Rom. vii 9 ; I Cor. xv 22.

and-lêtnan, Phil. i 23. af-lifnan (cf. Dan. *levne*, trans.), Luke ix 17 ; Joh. vi 12, 13 ; I Thess. iv 17 ; Skeireins vii, ll. 16, 24, 27 (Bernhardt). silda-leiknan,¹ II Thess. i 10. ga-luknan, Luke iv 25. us-luknan, Matt. ix 30 ; xxvii 52 ; Mark vii 35 ; Luke i 64 ; iii 21 ; Joh. ix 10 ; II Cor. vi 11. fra-lusnan (cf. Norw. *lausna*, *losna* ; O. N. *losna*, to become loose), I Cor. i 18 ; II Cor. iv 3.

us-mêrnan, Luke v 15. mikilnan, II Cor. x 15. minznan, Skeireins iv, ll. 2, 6 ; vi 2.

ga-nipnan, Mark x 22.

ur-rumnan, II Cor. vi 11.

ga-skaidnan, I Cor. vii 11. dis-skritnan (cf. Norw. *skretna*, to become thin, rarefied, as cloth, clouds, etc. ; also expressed by *grisma*, *gresna*), Matt. xxvii 51 ; Mark xv 38. bi-saulnan, Joh. xviii 28. af-slauthnan, Mark i 27 ; x 24 ; Luke iv 36. ga-staurknan (cf. Norw. and O. N. *storkna*, to become "stark," coagulate, as blood, tallow, etc.), Mark ix 18. swinthonan, Luke i 80 ; ii 40. ga-swinthonan,² Eph. iii 16.

af-taurnan, Luke v 36. dis-taurnan, Matt. ix 17. ga-taurnan, I Cor. xiii 8, 10 ; II Cor. iii 11, 13. ga-thaursnan, Mark iv 6 ; v. 29 ; xi 21 ; Luke viii 6 ; Joh. xv 6. ga-thlhahsnan, Luke i 29.

ga-waknan, Luke ix 32. weihnan, Matt. vi 9.

In the following verbs the inchoative idea is not so prominent ; they appear to be simply intransitive or neuter verbs :

ga-batnan (cf. Norw. and O. N. *batna*, to become better, improve), Mark vii, 11. ga-bignan, Luke i 53 ; II Cor. ix 11.

ga-gawairthnan, II Cor. v 20.

ga-haftnan, Luke x 11. ufar-hafnan (cf. Norw. *hovna*, *kvapna*, to become swollen), II Cor. xii 7.

¹ Conjectural reading of Uppström.

² This is the reading of Codex B given by Heyne and Massmann ; Codex A has *in-swinthjan*, given by Bernhardt.

managnan, II Thess. i 3; II Cor. iv 15. us-managnan II Cor. viii 2. ga-nōhnān, I Thess. iii 12. tundnan, II Cor. xi 29. in-tundnan, I Cor. vii 9.

Gabelentz and Loebe (ii², p. 102), Massmann (p. 808), and Jacob Grimm (i 854; cf. however, iv 26), also class *infeinan* and *asceinan* with the *nan*-verbs. But, if we look closely at the verbs given above, we shall see that in every case the stem ends in a consonant; *ga-kwiunān* might seem an exception, but according to Kluge (Etymol. Wörterb., s. v. *keck*), it is formed from the adjective-stem *kwiwa-*, so that it is equal to *gakwiwnān*. The same applies to inchoative verbs (in *-na*) in Scandinavian. This difference in form, besides the great difference in meaning from the typical verbs of the class, is, I think, besides what Braune states (Goth. Gr., Eng. trans., §172, n. 2; §194, n. 2), additional reason for not classing these verbs with the genuine inchoatives in *-nan*.

To be sure, it is not always easy to see the difference in meaning between the passive of a transitive verb and an *n*-verb formed from the same stem; as Gabelentz and Loebe say (ii², p. 138, 3, Anmerk. 1): "Oft kommt das Passivum neben diesen Wörtern derer Conjugation von demselben Stamm vor, ohne dass ein wissenschaftlicher Unterschied nachgewiesen werden könnte, so: *vaurda* [vaurdā] *ayullanda* in *mela seinamma* Luc. 1, 20, neben *usfullnoda* [usfullnāda] Mth. 8, 17; *ushaujhada sunus gups pairkh pata* [ushaujhāda sunus gups pairkh pāta] Mc. 1, 4, neben *ushauhnip namo fraujins* Thess. 2, 1, 12; *ni* [ni] *daurda daurons* Neh. 7, 3, neben *haurds mis usluknoda* Cor. 1, 1, 17; *gareihada* Tim. 1, 4, 5, neben *veihnai namo pein* Mth. 26, 12, 13; *daupjada* Mc. 7, 10, neben *gadaūpnān*; *fraletada* Luc. 1, 1, 17 [1, 17 is evidently meant], neben *andletnan*; *merjada* Cor. 1, 1, 17, neben *usmernan*; *gatairada* Joh. 7, 23, neben *galaurada* [galaurāda] Phil. 1, 20, neben *mikilnan*"; and yet I venture to assert that the belief that the Goth felt a difference in each case, and that the two such expressions as those quoted in the first example above may be looked upon as synonymous. Thus, "John was killed by James," and "John died at the hands of James" are synonymous expressions; but who would say that "John was killed" and "John was killed" are convertible terms? So, in regard to the question which has much importance to this point, but nevertheless give it for answer.

[With this it may be worth while to note that most of the practical passives in Greek have a malign signification, *ekpiptw*, *ekpiptw*, *phiw*. *páσχω* (*κακῶς páσχω*) and *κακῶς páσχω* are probably only partly in agreement with them by analogy *ev páσχω* and *καλῶς ákobō*. There is, however, an impression of an avoidance of responsibility.—B. L. G.]

the second example above, I can easily feel the difference between “to be glorified” (passive of *hduhjan*) and “to become glorified” (*ushduhnjan*). The same distinction may be made in regard to the other examples. Thus, *Xristus mērjada* (I Cor. xv 12) means “Christ is preached, proclaimed,” while *usmērnoda thata waurd bi ina* (Luke v 15) means “his fame became known, got abroad,” there being no reference to *who* or *what* noised it abroad. The Greek makes the same distinction, being in the first case *κηρύσσεται*, and in the second *διηρχέτω*.

As was shown above in regard to Danish *vækkes* over against *vaagne*, namely, that the latter cannot be used when the logical subject is a person or personified thing, so also in Gothic, although there are examples where passive verbs and verbs in *-nan* seem to be used synonymously, in no case could a verb of the latter class be used when the logical subject is a person or personified thing (expressed or clearly understood). To illustrate what I mean: If I wished to render into Gothic “the fame of him was noised abroad by the people,” I could not say *usmērnoda thata waurd bi ina fram thizai thiudai*, but would have to use the passive of *usmērjan*. I am quite convinced that this is the law, and there is not one example in Ulfilas to the contrary.

The best treatment of Gothic verbs in *-nan* I have found in Grimm's Deutsche Grammatik (i 854; ii 166–7; iv 23–27) and in Skeat's Moeso-Gothic Gram. and Glossary. Skeat shows, on p. 303 of this book, as well as in his remarks under *awaken* and *waken* in his Etymol. Dict., that he understands the subject well enough. It is therefore so much the more remarkable that he should make such inaccurate statements as the one criticised at the beginning of this paper; and in his Gothic Glossary, while he defines the other *n*-verbs very accurately, he gives *gawaknan* as meaning “to be awake” (in the grammatical appendix, however, it is correctly defined as “to become awake”). In the glossary to Spec. of E. E., Pt. II, he also in two places, under *valknyt* and *wake*, gives the meaning of *gawaknan* as == “to be awake.” To be sure, the word occurs only once in Ulfilas, namely, in Luke ix 32: *gawaknandans than gasēhwun wulthus is*, translated in the Authorized Version by “and when they were awake they saw his glory.” From this single example it is, perhaps, difficult to prove that *gawaknan* means “to become awake,” and not “to be awake”; but on the analogy of the majority of this class of verbs in Gothic, and the use of this verb or its equivalent in the Scandinavian lan-

guages, it is quite safe to say that the meaning must have been "to become awake." The Greek, too, will bear out this translation. It has : *διαγρηγορίσαντες* &c. *εἰδὼς τὴν δάκων αἴρον*. *διαγρηγορέων*, according to Liddell and Scott, means "to be awake." But the aorist of verbs denoting a state or condition expresses the entrance into that state or condition (cf. Goodwin's Greek Gram. p. 155, n. 5), and thus *διαγρηγορίσαντες* will have to mean "when they had become awake." The translation of the Authorized Version is thus found not to be quite accurate, and the revisers have tried to make an improvement by putting in the word "fully," rendering the word "when they were *fully* awake."

N-verbs are very common in the Scandinavian languages, and, as in Gothic, they are formed from other verbs, usually with the vowel of the past participle, or from adjectives. The great majority of them are inchoative, as in Gothic. For comparison, I give a few verbs of this kind from the Norwegian: *besna* (to become better), *brosna* (to become brittle), *flagna*, *flakna* (to become torn), *mugna* (to become musty), *visna*, *vesna* (to become faded), *rakna* (to become rent, as cloth), *rimna*, *revna*, *ribna*, *rimna* (to burst), *ljøsna*, *ljøsna*, *josna* (to become light), *slettna* (to become smooth), *sveigna* (to become damp), *kvitna*, *svartna*, *sjukna*, *veikna*, etc. For additional lists and a good treatment of the subject see Ivar Aasen (*Norsk Grammatik*, p. 274, bottom; 275, note; 277, top) and Grimm (ii 170; iv 27, 942, bottom).

One would like to infer that the Anglo-Saxon (as well as the other Germanic dialects) must also once have had a distinct class of verbs of this kind. But the introduction of an *i* (or *j*) after the *n*, making them look like verbs in *-jan* or *-njan*, where *j* and not *n* is the formative element (cf. *æfnian*, *beacnian*, etc.), seems by analogy to these to have brought about a corruption of meaning as well, rendering most of them transitive.¹

It is very difficult in Anglo-Saxon to eliminate the effect of analogy, and to tell with certainty which verbs belonged originally to this class and which did not. Thus, we find quite a number of verbs (as *brytnian*, *costnian*, by the side of *bryttian*, *costian*, etc.) where the *n* seems to be merely adventitious and to cause no change of meaning. I made a collection of several A.-S. verbs that I thought

¹ I give these remarks for what they are worth. The main object of my investigation was to show the essential difference in meaning between passive verbs and verbs in *-nan*, rather than to go into the history of the formation of the latter.

were once inchoative, but will give only a few, about which there can be little doubt.

broſnian (cf. Norw. *brosna*, *brotna*), Béow. 2261 : here-pâd . . . broſnað æfter beorne. Phœnix 38 : næſre broſniað lêaf under lyfte.

druncnian (cf. Swed. *drunkna*, Norw. *drukna*), Aelfric, Hom. ii 38, l. 7 ; ii 70, l. 27.

ēacnian (Goth. *auknan*, Norw. *aukna*), Sweet's A.-S. Reader (4th ed.), p. 73, l. 417 : Efne mæden sceal geeācnian and oncennan sunu ; cf. Luke i 24, 31.

wæcnan (wæcnian), Béow. 85; Finsburg Fragment, 10; Wanderer, 45 ; Cædmon, Christ and Satan, 604 ; Phœnix, 648.¹

Frignan and *meornan* do not belong here, because they form their preterite and past participle like strong verbs, while all genuine *n*-verbs are weak. In mod. English, I do not think there is a single instance of an *n*-verb that has retained a prevailingly inchoative meaning, not even *waken* (or *awaken*) ; see Skeat's remarks on these verbs in his Etymol. Dict. In Shakespeare and the Bible *waken* and *awaken* are always transitive.

I have repeatedly called the verbs treated of in this paper by the name "inchoative." In all the works consulted on this subject I have found only one author who has used this term, namely, Wimmer (Altnordische Grammatik, übersetzt v. E. Sievers, p. 127, top). Some better name might probably be devised ; but I think this is at least more accurate than "intransitive" or "passive" ; for, as we have seen, the verbs in question are, strictly speaking, neither. Many of the verbs that we have been considering correspond exactly to the so-called inchoative verbs in Latin, as :

auknan : crescere.

af-dumbnan : obtumescere.

us-geisnan : obstupescere.

ga-staurknan : arescere.

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¹ Many more references might be given.

V.—THE TRANSLATION OF BEOWULF, AND THE RELATIONS OF ANCIENT AND MODERN ENGLISH VERSE.

This subject involves, at the outset, answers to two questions : Is Beowulf in itself worth translating ? Are the people who cannot read the original worth the trouble and time of a translator ? Granting in each case an affirmative, how shall we bring poem and readers together ?

To the first question we may answer, "Yes," and fear no challenge. So with the second : colonization surely does no harm to discovery. Translations react on the original, encourage the study of it, and give scholars the moral support of a public. But the third question waits as yet for a satisfactory answer. This paper is intended to determine the more important conditions of the problem, and to point the way to a solution. If it fail in both of these directions, it may at least stimulate interest in a question vitally important for English philology and English literature.

Translations of Beowulf have been discussed in this Journal, II 355-61, by Professor Garnett; by Professor Wölker in the *Anglia IV, Anz. 69-78*, and elsewhere. Wölker condemns the "alliterating" German translations, and prefers Heyne's blank verse. Garnett is still more outspoken for the latter measure. He says (p. 357) : "The most suitable measure for a poet to use in translating Beowulf is the Miltonic blank verse. . . . When a knowledge of Anglo-Saxon poetry becomes a more common possession, that poet will arise, and we shall have a translation of Beowulf which will give the general public an idea of its manner as well as its matter." I beg to call attention to this view of the case, noting especially that Garnett recognizes the claims of the manner as well as of the matter of poetry, and thinks Miltonic blank verse adequate to the demands of Anglo-Saxon poetical style. Professor Garnett has not only discussed the translations of others, but he has made a translation of his own. Specimen verses from this translation are given in the article just quoted, and are followed by the remark that the author "does not compete with [he sticks to his text (Grete, 67).]" This slightly vague statement is explained by the preface to the published translation,

where we are told that "literalness" is the most important object in view. This translation of Garnett's will be considered farther on. For the present let us confine ourselves to those translations which follow the dictum of Conybeare (*Illustr. of A.-S. Poetry*, p. xlvii): "Poetry can alone reflect, with any degree of truth, the images of poetry." There are three methods of translating an epic poem. One can hardly be called a translation: it is simply the story of the original faithfully rendered in clear and vivid prose. Such a translation is Butcher and Lang's *Odyssey*, which aims to give "the simple truth about the matter of the poem." This, of course, is not a translation of the poem; it renders the story, and with the story the skilful translator contrives to give us a distant flavor of the epic style. Of the metre we get nothing. To translate the poem, we must have a rendering in some shape of the full poetical style, of the full poetical rhythm. There are, then, really two methods of translating the actual poem. One is to find a modern metre and a modern diction which will give us the general effect of the diction and metre of the original: this is what Wölker and Garnett advocate, and their choice is blank verse. The other is to adopt the original metre and the original diction, making such sacrifices alone as are rendered necessary by (1) the changed conditions of syntax, and (2) the more metrical, more regular character of our modern system of versification. I purposely refrain from any illustration or argument for this method, which may be based on the practice of Ettmüller, Grein, and Simrock, in their German translations, or on the theories of Mr. Matthew Arnold with regard to Homer's hexameters. My object is to deal solely with the problem of translation from the oldest English verse into the latest English verse: any foreign comparisons will hinder rather than help.

I think the question can be made still narrower. A careful examination of the various modern metres used in translating A.-S. poetry convinces me that, of them all, blank verse is the only one which we need to consider as a serious claimant. This is what Prof. Garnett thinks; it seems to be what Prof. Wölker thinks. The question lies, then, between blank verse and the original A.-S. metre. But first let us briefly examine the other claims.

Thus we have the ballad measure, which Col. Lumsden has selected for his translation of Beowulf. Garnett (as quoted above) has rightly ruled this metre out of the question. True, it has some advantages. It is both antique and popular; it carries us,

as blank verse does not, far back into the glories of our national past, and rids us of all dangers from the modern associations of Hamlet's soliloquies or Satan's speeches. It is not "intellectualized." It is the ballad measure, and the ballad is the lineal descendant of the epic. But not only is the ballad measure "jaunty and smart," not only has it the "jog-trot," as Mr. Arnold has shown us; not only is it too rapid for Beowulf, as Garnett points out; the ballad measure is easy and garrulous where Beowulf is breathless and rough. We feel that the ballad, once started, can flow on forever. It is of unbounded ease in diction: Beowulf gasps heavily. Such music as may be found in the verse of Beowulf is "music yearning like a god in pain." Ten Brink (Lit. Gesch. p. 26) has noticed the great expense of power and the lack of actual movement: "Bei aller Unruhe hat man das Gefühl dass man nicht von der Stelle kommt." This half-fruitless strain and effort of the verse may be likened to Milton's "tawny lion, pawing to get free" from the earth through which he cleaves his way up to life. What has this to do with the "jaunty" and "smart" pace of the modern ballad? Ballad verse is totally inadequate to the demands of Beowulf; so is the ballad diction, the so-called "ballad slang," into which modern writers are sure to fall. The peculiar style of A.-S. poetry I shall consider below, in speaking of blank verse; but let any one go over the main features of that style as set forth by Heinzel,¹ and then compare the style and manner of the ballad. Nay, even the treatment of the ballad, the tone, will jar with the treatment and tone of Beowulf. The genuine ballad has its glories, but they are not the glories of Beowulf. The translator must not let the sentiment of ballads, not even the sentiment of a later epic like the Nibelungenlied (in its present shape), invade the essentially heathen simplicity of Beowulf. This sentimental touch will apply only to the Christianized verses of Beowulf, to the isolated passages where the poet-monk glanced up nervously at his crucifix.² Even such a tone as we hear in the Nibelungenlied, when Siegfried is dying, may be called foreign to Beowulf:

Mir müezen warten lange min vater unt mine man.

Not so in the English epos, when the hero thinks of the possibility of dying:

¹ Ueber den Stil der altgermanischen Poesie, Strassburg, 1875.

² Cf. Wölker, Grundriss zur Gesch. der Ags. Lit., pp. 297, 306.

Na þu minne þearft
 hafalan hydan, ac he me habban wile
 dreore fahne, jif mec deað nimeð,
 byreð blodi; wael, byrȝean þenceð,
 eteð anjenȝa unmurnlice,
 mearcasð morhopu: no þu ymb mines ne þearft
 lices feorme lenȝ sorȝian !
 Onsend Hiȝelace, jif mec hild nime,
 beaduscruda besti, þæt mine breast wereð,
 hræȝla selest ! þæt is Hrædlan laf,
 Welandes ȝeweorc. ȝæð a wyrd swa hio scel !

(445 ff. Wölker's text.)

Or take the words of the dying Beowulf, when he asks to see the treasure (2743 ff.), after rejoicing that he has fought a good fight, ruled his folk in honor, oppressed no one, nor sworn deceitfully. The nearest approach to our modern tone is in his last word to Wiglaf (2813 ff.):

þu eart endelaf usses cynnes
 Wæȝmundinȝa ! ealle wyrd forsweof,
 mine majas to metodsceafe,
 eorlas on elne : ic him aester sceal.

But this merely states a fact. Further, cf. Beowulf's speech to Hrothgar (1474 ff.) in regard to the latter's course in case Beowulf should be killed in his second combat. The ballad style in its naked simplicity, as used centuries ago, is something we cannot even imitate; the later ballad style has too much mannerism and sentiment. To translate Beowulf in the former is an impossibility; to use the latter is to fail.

There is another measure, not mentioned by Garnett, which finds favor in the eyes of those who translate A.-S. verse for the readers of the London Academy. It is that strong metre consisting of six stresses with irregular number of light syllables—i.e., with mixed double and triple measures—which Mr. William Morris chose for Sigurd the Volsung. For example, Academy, May 14, 1881, Miss E. H. Hickey translates The Wanderer. The effect is certainly pleasant-looking, that is, simply at the translation apart from the original :

Still the lone one and desolate pines for his Maker's ruth,
 God's good mercy, albeit so long it tarry, in sooth :
 Careworn and sad of heart, on the watery ways must he
 Plough with the hand-graspt oar—how long ?—the rime-cold sea :
 Tread thy paths of exile, O Fate, who art cruelty.

Now the original (Wulker's text, Kl. Ags. Dicht.):

Oft him anhaja are ȝebideð,
metudes miltse, þeah þe he modceari;
ȝeond lajulade longe sceolde
hreran mid hondum brimcealde stæ,
wadan wraclastas : wyrd bið ful aræd !

Aside from the few mistakes in translation (as of *gebideð*, where the perfecting force of *ge-* is not brought out : "to wait for and receive," like *gefriwan*, "to ask and get an answer"), there is trouble in the number of extra words needed to fill out the long verse: "in sooth," "God's *good* mercy," etc. The version is spirited, but fails to reproduce the original. It does not follow that this metre is suitable for Beowulf because Mr. Morris has succeeded so well with it in Sigurd the Volsung. It gives us the feeling of speed, ease, inexhaustible store, that we noted above. True, one has not the sense of garrulity ; but there is the same effect of the couplets and the click of rime as in the Chapman measure, the same need to patch out the verse with quaint phrases: "*yea, now*," "*in sooth*," etc. Let us try, for the nonce, to reproduce the diction and metre of the original :

Often the fugitive fiadeth pity,
His Maker's mercy, though he, mood-heavy,
O'er the water-ways be wearily fated
To fret with his hands the frost-cold sea,
To wander in exile : Wyrd is fulfilled !

This at least preserves the verse-movement, the rime, and the important features of the style—*e. g.*, the parallelism. But the question of original metre belongs elsewhere. Two other forms of verse may be here mentioned. The metre of Scott's well-known tales is applied to translations from the A.-S. by Conybeare (as in his paraphrase of the "Fight of Finsburg," Illustr. p. 179 ff.), and by Wackerbarth (*Beowulf*, London, 1849). Simple four-stress couplets are used by Conybeare for the "Gnomic Poem," Illustr. 228. Besides these common metres, the last-named writer employs a mixed verse with somewhat sonorous manner in his translation of *Widsið*, 22 ff. Perhaps it would be hard to find a greater gulf than that which yawns between the manner of the original and the manner of the translation. Thus with *Wid.* 70 ff. follows :

Far o'er Italia's fair and fertile soil
My course was sped with Elia's faithful band :

And Edwin's son well recompensed the toil,
For large his soul and liberal was his hand.

It would be a miserable business to sneer at this "paraphrase" by a man who, in his day, worked so well for A.-S. philology; but it is plain that the verse "will never do." It is still worse with the Scott metre. As verses, Wackerbarth's lines read well enough for one who likes the kind; but applied to Beowulf, the effect is very bad. Beowulf is dignified. It may be ponderous, but it is "noble." This verse chatters, grins, swings about in the most nimble and tiresome way possible. Scott's great talent saved his favorite metre from the flippancy so easily attaching to it; Wackerbarth, tied down to a definite order of narration, forced to hunt for rimes, is unable to avoid the besetting sin of the verse. Take an example. The vassals of Scyld watch the ship bearing away their dead lord: "Their souls were sad, their mood mournful. Men cannot say, in sooth, hall-owners, heroes under heaven, who received that burden." Thus Wackerbarth:

His gallant band of cheer were low
And sore dispirited,
For, sooth to say, no mortal, though
He wise may be, can ever know,
Nor answer how or whereunto
The precious cargo sped.

What a relief when we come to the last line, and quiet is restored!

We now turn to the two remaining metres, blank verse, which Heyne, Wölker and Garnett regard as the best medium for translation; and the original metre, which Wölker condemns. As to the original metre itself, I accept in the main Rieger's well-known explanation (*Z'st für deutsche Phil.* VII, 1 ff.). For metre in general, I assume that the verse, or line, not the "foot," is the unit of any metrical scheme, and that the movement of the individual verse is the chief fact of rhythm. I also assume the close relation between the metre of A.-S. poetry and its style. The chief characteristics of the latter have been set forth by Heinzel, Ten Brink, Scherer, Hoffmann, and others, and are too well known to be repeated here. But it is very essential to the discussion of our question that these peculiarities should be kept constantly in mind. We may now make two inquiries: (1) Is blank verse adequate to the demands of A.-S. metre and poetical style? (2) Is it possible to reproduce the original metre?

(1) No. I am confident that the characteristics of A.-S. diction, as well as metre, will be lost, even in the most poetic blank-verse translation. Take Conybeare's translation of fragments of Beowulf: "Recht geschickt abgefasst" is Wölker's judgment. At first sight we may approve the choice of metre. It is right that the seventh-century monk should be clad in the singing-robcs of Milton. But the result of Conybeare's work, vigorous as his metre often seems, is to give us neither the old epic nor the new, but a kind of Paradise-Lost-and-Water. Grendel becomes a flabby Satan. The tone, the manner of the original disappear; we have no hint of the spirit, of the style, or of the metre—so intimately joined to the style—of Beowulf. Thus, with the original verses (445–56) quoted above, compare C.'s rendering (Ill. p. 44):

Should that fate be mine,
Give to its earthy grave my blood-stain'd corse,
Raise high the mound, where many a passer-by
(Within the trench that circling marks the plain)
May swell with pious hand the stony mass
Unsorrowing—little need with long parade
Of tears to grace the banquet of the dead.
But this, the gorgeous mail that guards my breast,
By Weland's art high-temper'd, duly send
To royal Higelac. Now betide what may.

I choose this passage for the reason that it exhibits the three main sins of a translator. First, the sense of the opening lines is completely missed (not a matter for surprise if we remember that the translation was made in the first years of the century); secondly, "should that fate be mine" is false manner for "if death take me," just as "gorgeous mail" is vague pomp for *beadu-scruda betst*, or "by Weland's art high-temper'd," for *Welandes zeweorc*; besides, the parallelism *beadu-scruda betst* (453a) and *hræyla selest* (454a) is entirely lost, "gorgeous mail" doing service for both expressions. Conybeare's literal Latin rendering of the last lines is (Ill. p. 96): *Mitte Higelaco (si me bellum auferat) apparatus Martium optimum quod pectus meum gerit, gestamen præstantissimum, id est e spoliis conservatum Welandi opus. Accidat quid (fatum) velit.* Thirdly, the metre is, of course, entirely lost. Moreover, there is nothing in this verse to give us an impression similar to the impression made by the original. It is idle to answer that the translation reads well. It reads better than the original, for that matter. It reads too well. One travels better in a Pullman car

than in a stage-coach; but suppose our object is to revive the sensations of the old-fashioned journey? The language of blank verse, more than of any other kind, is what Arnold calls "a literary and intellectualized language." It is fatal for the reader of Beowulf, the reader of verses which, in the original, picture the life and deeds of twelve centuries ago in a purely Germanic world, to be constantly hearing echoes and phrases which remind him not only of the tirades of Tamburlaine, or of the soliloquies of Hamlet, or of the declamations of Satan, but even of Greek and Latin associations. Blank verse fails to bring us to Beowulf; it fails to bring Beowulf to us; we fall into the intervening chasm among the Lorenzos and Philanders of the last century; and the epic tone, meant to be so full and sonorous, dwindles into the *vox exigua* of a ghost. The grand epic of modern times—of Dante, of Milton—is an absolutely different creation from the primitive epic—Homer, Beowulf. Blank verse, in English, has become the language of the grand epic; to render the primitive epic, we must use a metre free from such misleading tendencies.

Either the original metre, then, or else the simple story of Beowulf in clear and vivid prose. But before we answer our second question, before we consider the possibility of reviving the old verse, let us look more closely at the relations between this verse and that of modern times. Perhaps we shall not only find the reason why blank verse seemed *a priori* the proper verse for the translator of Beowulf, but also gain some ground useful in solving the final problem—some *a priori* reason for the possibility of a successful translation in the original metre.

On p. 437 of that excellent work, Schipper's *Altenglische Metrik*, we are told: "Dass der englische fünftaktige Vers höchst wahrscheinlich dem französischen Zehnsilbler nachgebildet worden ist." A note to this says: "Wir stellen diese Entstehungsart . . . nicht als eine Thatsache hin aus dem Grunde dass der englische Fünftakter sich ohne romanische Einwirkung durch Verkürzung um einen Takt aus dem Alexandriner entwickeln konnte, wie manche . . . Beispiele solcher Verse in altenglischen, Alexandrinischen Gedichten darhun, oder auch, dass er durch Erweiterung um einen Takt aus dem viertaktigen Verse entstanden sei, wie z. B. in dem Early English Psalter, welche, für sich genommen, sich ungezwungen in den fünftaktigen Rhythmus fügen." . . . After allowing this possibility, however, Schipper remarks that such 5-stress verses are really to be read—since they *can* be so read—

as 4-stress verses ; and he concludes his note : " Für den fünftak-tigen, altenglischen Vers der Kunstpoesie dürfte die Annahme, dass er dem altfranzösischen Zehnsilbler nachgebildet wurde, schwerlich anzusehen sein."

Again, Ten Brink, Chaucer's Sprache und Verskunst, p. 174, remarking that to Schipper belongs the credit of having set in motion the inquiry about English heroic verse before Chaucer, calls attention to certain 5-stress lines in the poem *L'en puet fere et defere* which he thinks are imitated from the French "Zehnsilbler." As regards Chaucer, Ten Brink thinks the heroic verse of the early poems (*e. g.*, *Compleynte to Pitee*) is imitated from the French, while the later metre—as in the Canterbury Tales—is strongly influenced by the Italian *Endecasillabo*.¹

Such is the opinion of two great authorities. To run directly counter to this opinion would be folly ; nevertheless, the question is open, as Schipper says in his note. He states his opinion as something " höchst wahrscheinlich," " nicht als eine Thatsache," etc. Now, if there is any one fact prominent in English history and English literature, it is that the people, their laws, their institutions, their poetry, never act *per saltum*. Foreign metres have been introduced and have become popular, like the Septenarius or the Alexandrine ; foreign forms of verse, like the Sonnet ; foreign forms of speech itself, like the French order of the sentence, which drove out the old Germanic arrangement ; the language as a whole, too, absorbed countless Romance elements ; yet we know how gradual every change has been which affected English life, or letters, or institutions. In all cases, there is in the very act of receiving foreign influence a sort of sturdy self-assertion on the part of the native element. Chaucer, who really introduced the actual 5-stress verse into English poetry—for all earlier specimens are sporadic and half accidental—is one of the greatest benefactors of English metre, because he had " die Kunst, germanische und romanische Art—die accentuirenende und die syllabische Weise—nicht durcheinander zu mischen, sondern harmonisch zu verbinden."² This wonderfully flexible verse of his, which does equal justice to the exquisite pathos of the prioress and to the rude vigor of the miller—is this merely a French measure introduced by a *tour de force* into English poetry ? Or is it not more likely to be

¹ Schröder (*Anfänge des Blankverses, Angl. IV 2*), speaking of Chaucer's verse, says : " Der italienische Endecasilabo ist das Vorbild."

² Ten Brink, Chauc. S. und V., Einleitung, p. 5.

a harmonizing—as Ten Brink puts it—of the two great systems, the Germanic and the Romance, the rhythmic and the metric, *on the basis of two representative measures?* I believe this latter to be the case. What representative English measure, then, will answer to the French 10-syllable verse, or the Italian *Endecasillabo*? All agree that Chaucer's other metre (short couplet) must be referred to a double origin : “ Einmal der nachwirkung der angelsächsischen epischen halbzeile, dann dem bestreben, den französischen achtsylbler wiederzugeben ” (Ten Brink, Chaucer Studien, p. 13 ; cf. also Schipper, M., p. 258 ff.). What, then, of his heroic verse? What English measure is the foundation upon which Chaucer, with his eye turned toward Romance models, built so strong and graceful a structure? Referring to the second alternative in Schipper's note, as well as to his distinction (p. 258) between *viertaktig* and *vierhebig*, I answer: Not the imported *zehnsilbler*, not the imitated “ *viertaktig* ” verse, but the old national, 4-stress verse of Beowulf, as well as of later times, corrected, changed, disguised, it may be, by a hundred influences, is the foundation of our heroic measure. Only in this way can we understand the great preponderance of this measure. Is it likely that the prevailing movement of English poetry since the middle of the fourteenth century should be an outright importation? To assume this is to run counter to the teachings of English history. The case of the Septenarius is hardly in point. Is it likely that the old verse, so popular in the work of Langley, and in the northern romances like Gawayne, should breathe its last in Skelton's hysterical lines, and leave no heir? Is it not probable that the popular native measure, and the popular foreign measure, should have combined their strength, and so should have produced the favorite modern verse? Is it likely that Chaucer, running over certain verse of Guillaume de Machault (cf. Skeat, Prioreses Tale, etc., p. 19; Furnivall, Trial Forewords, pp. 47, 115; also Skeat's references) should conceive the idea of trying that measure in English?—that he should try it, and, after a little further help from the Italian, should awake one morning and find his experiment to be the favorite English metre? That does not seem to be the English way. It does not seem like Chaucer's way. The English manner is to make a compromise between native and foreign claims. It lets the foreign form (witness our language itself) assume certain external and regulative functions; it keeps the heart of the thing native. “ Der Mensch knüpft immer an Vorhandenes an.” At the heart of the new heroic verse

there is the old movement ; externally there is a great change. And this is a real change ; it would be madness to compare the new verse directly with the old verse. The Romance element tinges all our modern metres. As English is at once very different from A.-S., and yet not different in a deeper sense, so with the verse of Beowulf and the verse of Paradise Lost. Neither our language nor our favorite verse is a mere importation. Of course, I do not undertake to say *how* Chaucer (if he first used heroic verse) combined the two elements ; but I want to prove that both elements are there. In some way the Romance system of alternating stress and no-stress, of using a light and shifting cæsura (this is Italian), was applied to the free long verse with marked and fixed pause. The result was heroic verse.¹

Both Guest (Hist. Eng. Rhythms) and Lanier (Science of English Verse) have assumed a single principle for English metres, as well before as after Chaucer. Both treat the A.-S. verse and the heroic verse from the same point of view. This is undoubtedly wrong. All writers on English metre are now pretty well agreed in regard to the sharp line which we must draw between old and new verse ; and in spite of Lanier's argument, we must accept the following as a settled fact : "In der alliterierenden Poesie waren die Hebungen das Feststehende, das Wesentliche für den Bau des Verses, während die Zahl der Senkungen nicht fest begränzt war. In der mittelalterlich-lateinischen accentuierenden Poesie, sowie auch in der romanischen ist dagegen eine regelmässige Aufeinanderfolge von stärker und schwächer betonten Silben oder von Hebungen und Senkungen Gesetz, die beide von gleichem Werth für den Rhythmus sind" (Schipper, p. 79). This Romance versification penetrated our native poetry about the twelfth century. The two systems, after more or less clashing, were harmoniously united in the verse of Chaucer. Schipper has followed the process of disintegration in the old 4-stress (A.-S.) verse. Revived in Piers Pl., still vigorous, though lawless and extravagant, in a poem by Chaucer's late scholar, Dunbar, the old metre ran wild in Skelton, and in the Mysteries gasped out its last breath as an independent system. In other guise, it reappeared in the rimed verses of Minot (with strong Romance influences), and may be guessed

¹Schipper's suggestion that heroic verse might have grown out of the *viertaktig* verse (cf. p. 437 note) cannot be accepted, since the latter has not a strongly marked pause (*ibid.* p. 258) which, giving up part of its importance, caused, by compensation, a new (fifth) stress.

in modern verse, like that of Burns, in *My Nannie's Awa*, as well as in all free 4-stress verse, like—

Never on custom's oil'd grooves
The world to a higher level moves.

In this sort of verse, however, the pause, so prominent in A.-S., is reduced to a minimum. The triple measure is introduced once, or perhaps twice; but in general the number of light syllables does not exceed that of the heavy by more than one or two. There is less of the leap and more of the march. Occasionally the pause helps the light syllables to pass the limit of triple measure, as in Lord Randal, and we have something of the old freedom :

I hae been to the wild-wood; mother, make my bed soon.

In general, however, the old verse loses its heaping of light syllables, its strongly marked pause, and, of course, its regular beginning-rime. But it is precisely this pause, invariably dividing the verse into well-marked halves, it is the number and distribution of light syllables, and, of course, alliteration, which chiefly distinguish the A.-S. metre from heroic verse. On one hand *four* stresses, fixed pause, indeterminate amount of light syllables; on the other, *five* stresses, shifting and slighter pause, strict ordering and number of light syllables. According to Rieger, however, there is in the best A.-S. poetry a certain limitation as to the number and position of *Senkungen*. "Halbverse, in welchen an den drei stellen zugleich die anschwellung das mass erreichte, das sich der dichter für jede einzelne derselben gestattet, gibt es nicht" (Alt- und Ags. Verskunst, p. 62). And again: "Mit recht beliebt sind zwei metrische haupttypen, die dadurch entstehn, dass man entweder beide senkungen ohne den aufstact, oder den aufstact, aber keine der senkungen, anschwellt, beide als erster und zweiter halbvers oftmals und oft in mehrmaliger widerholung hinter einander kombiniert." Particularly is to be noted a tendency to add light syllables at the beginning of the second half-verse—*i. e.*, after the pause: "Im Beowulf ist, wie überall, die anschwellung des aufstactes mehr im zweiten als im ersten halbvers zu hause" (p. 59). Now, it has been often noticed that in our common heroic verse there are seldom, if ever, five actual stress-syllables such as the verse-scheme demands: cf. Ellis, Early Eng. Pron., p. 334, and Abbott, Shaksp. Gram., §453a. Mr. Abbott says: "From an analysis of several tragic lines of Shakespeare, taken from

different plays, I should say that rather less than one of three has the full number of five emphatic accents. About two out of three have four, and one out of fifteen has three." Probably the first statement shows far too great a proportion for five stresses, provided we read the line in a rhetorical way; meaning five stresses *syntactically* regarded, the statement will be near the truth; though, as Abbott says, the personal element enters too largely into the question for exact results. We note, then, that the majority of heroic verses may be said to have really but four stresses. Further, any reader of English verse will remember a certain tendency, notably strong with Dryden, Pope and Johnson, to balance lines in such a way that the verse falls in halves, with a slight pause after the second measure, or in the middle of the third (masculine or feminine pause), with a very weak third or fourth stress, which in the case of a feminine cæsura gives the effect of heaped-up light syllables after the pause (cf. Rieger on the second Aufact):

No secret island in the boundless main.
Resund the plunder of the beggar'd land.

Where the pause is masculine, the fourth stress is often weak, though this does not disturb the balance:

Slow rises worth, by poverty depress'd.

An analysis of the individual verses of Johnson's London with regard to the movement and the position of pauses and light syllables gives the following results. Of course, the personal element prevents the analysis from being absolutely trustworthy; in the main, however, it will hit the actual facts. I take (:) to represent the pause; (;) weak stress and pause coming together; (.) the weak stress. The figures refer to the actual stresses. Thus, the verse—

No secret island in the boundless main

in 2 : 2. Of this movement there are 46 verses out of 259. Of the same balance, but with a more emphatic third stress, as—

When injur'd Thales bid the town farewell,

there are 23. Of the form 2 : 1 . 1, as—

Here falling houses thunder on your head,

there are 63. Of the form . 2 : 2, as—

While yet my steady steps no staff sustains,

there are 9. Of the form 1 . 1 : 2 , as—

Where honesty and sense are no disgrace,

there are 8. Of the form 2 : 2 , as—

Collect a tax or farm a lottery.

there are 7. Now, all these forms undoubtedly resemble the old verse in that they have a middle pause, only four real stresses, and in most cases a heaping up of light syllables: they make 60 per cent. of the whole poem. The other prevailing movements are shown by the couplet—

Who scarce forbear, tho' Britain's court he sing,
To pluck a titled poet's borrow'd wing ;—

that is, 2 : 3 and 3 : 2 . There are, of course, other movements. But the fact important for us is that, against the 60 per cent. named above, we have only 31 per cent. of the form 2 : 3 , or 3 : 2 —that is, with five really pronounced stresses. If we chose to read as Mr. Ellis does, and count the rhetorical stresses, there would be scarcely any of the latter class.

It will be said, however, that this is only a peculiarity of the distich as developed by Waller and Dryden. Let us look at Chaucer. In the first hundred verses of the Cant. Tales we find of the movement 2 ; 2 , as—

The tendre croppes, *and* the yonge sonne,

32 per cent. against less than 18 per cent. in Johnson. Of the whole class of verses which may be compared with the A.-S. rhythm, Chaucer shows 62 per cent. to Johnson's 60 per cent.; but this is not a just comparison, for whereas in Johnson 31 per cent. are of the form 2 : 3 , or 3 : 2 , there are in Chaucer only 5 per cent. corresponding to these—*i. e.*, with five real stresses. The other verses in Chaucer—aside from the balanced verses and those just noted—have only four stresses; but the pause excludes a balance, as in (3 : . 1) :

The holy blisful martir for to seeke.

The pause after the second stress is the commonest in Chaucer. Schipper (p. 451) says that of the first two hundred lines of the Prologue, about 110 have such a pause; Prioresses Tale, 150 out of 250. In this case, the scheme is very apt to be 2 : 1 . 1 , in

which Johnson wrote 21 per cent. of his entire London; cf. Chaucer:

Ful wel sche sang | the servise divyne (122).

Corresponding to this is the pause after the third stress; here the scheme is apt to be 1 . 1 : 2; cf.—

A Cristofre on his brest of silver schene (115).

The real medial pause, much used by Chaucer, is feminine just before the third stress (2 ; 2):

Sche leet no morsel | *from* hire lippes falle,
Ne wette hire syngres | *in* hire sauce deepe (128-9).

Next to the pause after the second stress, this is Chaucer's favorite; cf. Ten Brink, *Chauc. S. und V.*, p. 178.—This mere glance at Chaucer, then, shows us that the majority of the verses are formed, to some extent, on the A.-S. plan. We note his jealous care not to burden a verse; in 95 per cent. there is at least one weak verse-stress, whereas in Johnson it is the case in only 67 per cent. Chaucer had 32 per cent. with third stress weak; Johnson only 18 per cent. Chaucer had 62 per cent., which showed a general balance (two stresses in each half-verse); Johnson had 60 per cent.; while in Milton, of the first 100 verses of *Par. Lost*, I find barely 30 per cent.

Our next step ought to be an examination of the various forms of degenerate A.-S. verse—*e. g.*, in the Miracle Plays (cf. Schipper, 195-243). For that, time and material fail me. We can, however, approach our question still more closely than we have done, if we examine a well-known poem by that master of English heroic verse, Spenser. I refer to the Shepheards Calender. Unable to consult any treatise bearing on this poem, I am forced to rely on a hasty reading, where the “personal element” may, perhaps, interfere with exact analysis, though I hope it will not affect the general result. Compared with heroic verse, the verse of certain parts of the S. C. shows (1) only four stresses; (2) a more marked pause, which in nearly all cases *must* divide the verse into halves, each with two stresses; (3) a movement far more free, since triple measures are systematically used, few verses being without any, though the movement is by no means “anapestic” throughout; (4) freedom to drop the unaccented syllable between two stresses; (5) lavish use of beginning-rime, which almost rivals the end-rime used to bind the verses in couplets. But this is approaching closely to the old A.-S. verse. Let us look at the poem in detail.

It is well known that the Elizabethan poets had an overwhelming passion for the iambic movement. Where the trochaic movement—the “falling” metre—found its way into certain lyrics, such as Sidney’s Serenade (in Astrophel and Stella), or the songs of Greene, Barnefield and Constable, it still remained a regular double measure; triple measures—the “dactylic” or the “anapestic” movement—were avoided. In his Certayne Notes of Instruction, etc., Geo. Gascoigne laments that “wee are fallen into suche a playne and simple manner of wryting, that there is none other foote used but one.”¹ He also says: “We have used in times past other kindes of Meeters: as, for example, this following:

No wight in this world that wealth can attayne,
Unlesse he beleve, that all is but vayne.”

But this is just the movement of many lines in S. C.—as, Sept. 222 (I use the Globe edition, ed. Morris):

No sooner was out but swifter than thought.

Spenser took this measure because it was a country measure, an old-fashioned affair, good to play with, but banished from serious work. The triple measure was associated with the old *rom*, *ram*, *ruf*, once so popular. It was a country cousin that must stay in the country. The iambic measure of the university poets and of the learned guild generally felt, perhaps, that this “tumbling” verse might prove, on close inspection, to be a near relative. But Spenser’s clowns were welcome to use it. It was undoubtedly popular in rude songs and ballads. Puttenham (Arber’s Rep. p. 85) quotes some verses, prevailingly in triple measure, beginning—

Now sucke child and sleepe child, thy mother’s owne ioy,
Her only sweete comfort, to drowne all annoy,

and says this metre is used by “ordinarie rimer,” and sounds “very harshly in mine eare.” Skelton, who used the “tumbling” verse, which is proved by Guest and Schipper (cf. also Eng. Stud. V 490 ff.) to be merely the old A.-S. long verse split in two and furnished with end-rime, is called by Puttenham (p. 97) “a rude rayling rimer,” whose verses are compared to the “old Romances

¹ Mr. Gosse seems to have taken this statement literally when he says in his From Shakspere to Pope, Am. ed., pp. 9 and 160, “The dactylic and anapestic movement was entirely unknown to the Elizabethans.” He could find many more exceptions than the two he mentions.

or historicall rimes," as the "reportes of Guy of Warwicke, Adam Bell, and Clymme of the Clough." "In our courtly maker," says Puttenham, "we banish [these "short distances and short measures"] utterly." Schipper points out that the long verse of four stresses is common in the *Mysteries* and the *Moralities*. Wherever Puttenham has any street-rime to quote, it is mostly in this measure; cf., too, what a gentleman said "in our vulgar," on p. 267. Then, there is Tusser talking in this "vulgar" metre to his audience of farmers; cf. Guest, *Hist. Eng. Rhyth.*, 2d ed., p. 537. See, too, the songs (including that for the queen) at the end of *Roister Doister*; or, for a later poet, Greene's *Mulidor's Madrigal*—*e. g.*:

That I with the primrose of my fresh wit
May tumble her tyranny under my feet.

We meet it in Shakspere: "And so tell your master. O Lord, I must laugh"—Com. E.: cf. Abbott, *Shaks. Gr.* §502; and in Lyly: cf. Schröer, *Anf. des Blankv. in Eng., Anglia*, IV, p. 60. Webbe (Arber's Rep. p. 59) says of the verse for February, in the S. C., that it is a more rough or clownish sort of metre. In short, this verse with triple measure was (*a*) the lineal descendant of the A.-S. verse, though changed somewhat from the old form, and (*b*) was banished by polite "makers" because the iambic movement was practically the only one recognized. Spenser chose the metre because it was old-fashioned and rustic; or, as his friend, E. K., puts it, "having the sound of those auncient Poetes still ringing in his eares, he mought needes, in singing, hit out some of theyr tunes" (Globe Ed. p. 441). Now, I hope to show, by an analysis of parts of this poem, that our heroic verse, as I have said, is *simply the result of forcing the iambic movement (influence of foreign models played its part here) upon some late form of our old four-stress verse*. This process, in a word, reduces the pause, and cuts down all triple measures (aside from cases of slurring); but it adds a new verse-stress, though this, in the majority of cases, has no real syntactic force. Such a verse as Chaucer's (C. T. 500):

That if gold ruste, what shall yren doo?

is itself almost enough to support the above statement; note the pause, the balance, the real movement:

u u z z u | u u z u z

as compared with the movement of the verse-scheme:

U U U U | U U U U

the omitted light syllable between two stresses not separated by the pause, etc. But we shall have better proof in Spenser's verses.

The Shepheards Calender for January is written in ordinary heroic verse. The form is stanzaic, with the scheme *a, b, a, b, c, c*. Nothing here calls for special notice. Otherwise with February. There are 246 verses of the general A.-S. form, though the beginning-rime is irregular, end-rime constant (in couplets), and the light syllables are more symmetrically ordered than in A.-S. The commonest movement is *2, 2 : 3, 2* (the figures here indicate the number of syllables in the measure or "bar"); the cæsura being sometimes masculine, sometimes feminine: as—

From good to badd, and from badde to worse,

for the masculine. The feminine pause gives a different effect, though the verse, read continuously, is still *2, 2 : 3, 2*, as—

Who will not suffer the stormy time.

One-third of all the verses may be referred to this measure. We remember Rieger's statement about the *auftakt* of the second half-verse. Of the second movement (*2, 3 : 2, 2*), as—

Yet never complained of cold nor heate,

I count 18 per cent. The next favorite is *2, 2 : 2, 3*, as—

Of winters wracke for making thee sad,

of which there are found also about 18 per cent. Perhaps a dozen have the movement *2, 3 : 2, 3*, as—

Now listen a while and hearken the end.

A dozen more are *3, 2 : 2, 2*—

But my flowring youth is foe to frost.

Further, we have *2, 3 : 3, 2*, and *2, 2 : 3, 3*—

And broughten this oake to this miserye;
And mochell mast to the husband did yield;

while there are a dozen without any triple measure, as—

So smirke, so smoothe, his pricked eares.

¹ This can be read, by slightly wrenched accent, as iambic 5-stress.

There are verses with the A.-S. freedom of dropped light syllable between two stresses:

The sweet Nightingale singing so lowde.

Many verses have the correct alliteration of A.-S., as—

So loytring live you little beardgroomes;

the majority have some form of alliteration. But the important fact for us is that *nearly 10 per cent. of the verses will allow the iambic movement, and so become heroic verse.* Let us look at some of these verses. In a few cases we need to "wrench" the accent a little; in others the lines read smoothly as possible. Thus—

Whose way is wildernesse, whose ynde Penaunce,

is good 5-stress "iambic" verse; though we must probably read $\underline{\text{u}} \text{ } \underline{\text{u}} \text{ } \underline{\text{u}} \text{ } \underline{\text{u}} \text{ } \text{u}$ | $\underline{\text{u}} \text{ } \underline{\text{u}}$. To make heroic verse of this, we simply call one of the light syllables a verse-accent. Further, cf.—

Least thou the price of my displeasure prove.

Here we have a genuine heaping up of light syllables in the second *austact*. Accent one of these, and we have a good iambic movement, with the favorite pause. So with feminine pause,

And dirks the beauty of my blossomes rownd,

which, read in iambic movement, is the favorite "balance" of Chaucer and of Johnson. Further:

That bene the honor of your Coronall.
 Submitting me to your good sufferance,
 { And praying to be guarded from greevance.
 But all this glee had no continuance.
 And beate upon the solitarie Brere.
 But little ease of thy lewd tale I tasted.

These are all faultless 5-stress verses. With wrenched accent are such as—

That oft the blood *springeth* from woundes wyde.

Cf. Milton:

Cast wanton eyes on the *daughters* of men (P. R. II 180).

Examples of such wrenched—or, rather, in this case, *hovering*—accent (Schwebende Betonung) could be collected from almost every writer of heroic verse. Even a violently wrenched accent

need not fail for good company ; thus, applying the "iambic" movement to

They wont in *the wind wagge their wrigle tayles*
makes no worse effect than George Chapman's

As soul to the dead water that did love.—(Hero and L.)

Lastly, there are verses which could be read as "iambic" with but one syllable in the first measure—*e. g.* :

Throughly rooted and of wonderous hight.
Cherfully the winters wrathful cheare.

Passing by March, we find some interesting verses in April. Hobbinoll sings the song which Colin made about "fayre Elisa" once "as by a spring he laye, And tuned it unto the Waters fall." The water, we note, was patriotic enough to vary the "iambic" verse with a few echoes of the old A.-S. metre. In February (and, as we shall see, in May and September) the 4-stress verse breaks frequently into the regular heroic movement; in this song to Elisa, the iambic verse breaks now and then into triple measure. The first stanza ("Ye daynty Nymphs") is regularly iambic, both in the short and in the long verses. In stan. 2, one triple measure creeps in the last short verse ("Of heavenly race"); so in 3; and in 4 (verse 4). In 5, each of the short verses has one triple measure. So in 6; where, further, the couplet is slightly irregular. In 7, verses 2 and 4 have each a triple measure; 7 and 8 forsake their scheme and take 3 stresses (all these verses short), and the heroic couplet breaks partly into the movement of the February verse—*e. g.* :

Soone as my younglings cryen for the dam
To her will I offer a milkwhite lamb.

The last verse of the stanza is also in the 4-stress movement. In 8 we have more regularity in the long verses; but in 9 there is undoubtedly free movement :

Lo ! how finely the Graces can it foote
To the instrument :
They dauncen deffly and singen soote
In their merriment.

Note, too, the beginning-rime ; and compare the corresponding verses of the first stanza :

Ye daynty Nymphs that in this blessed brooke
Doe bathe your brest, etc.

So with the rest of the song, which deserves study. After it is sung, the two shepherds separate, each with a stanza; but this, unlike the opening stanzas, is free. This mingling, this confusion, of the old and the new movement must speak plainly for the narrow surface-breach between the two, and for a common foundation.

We pass to May. This is like February, only longer. It has 317 verses. It shows, as compared with Feb., longer lines—*i. e.*, more triple measures, and a stronger tendency to heroic verses, and even heroic couplets. About 14 per cent. have the movement 2, 2 : 3, 2; 10 per cent. have 2, 3 : 2, 2; 11 per cent. have 2, 2 : 3, 3; 14 per cent. have 2, 2 : 2, 3; and there are many other movements which we need not detail. Interesting are two 11-syll. verses:

Eke cherish his child, if in his wayes he stood.
I am a poore sheepe, albe my colour donne.

There is also much freedom in—

Yet not so prevelie but the Foxe him spyeid.
For with long traveile I am brent in the sonne.¹

But our main interest centres in the verses which admit an iambic movement. Of these there are 13 per cent.—a very good proportion. Forced into the strict scheme of the verse, these read 2, 2 : 4, 2, or 2, 2 : 2, 4, or 2, 4 : 2, 2:

Ylike as others, girt in gawdy greene.
Our bloncket liveryes bene all to sadde.
For Younkers, Palinode, such follies fitte.
To fetchen home May with her musicall.
Ah, Piers, bene not thy teeth on edge, to thinke.
} Passen their time, that should be sparely spent,
} In lustibede and wanton meryment.
Well is it scene theyr sheepe bene not their owne.
They must provide for meanes of maintenaunce.

And others of the same kind. Regular couplets, besides the one above, are :

{ That not content with loyall obeisaunce,
Some gan to gape for greedie governaunce.

¹ Spenser uses this freedom, however, in his regular heroic verse: cf. *Ruins of Rome*, Bellay IV:

One foote on Thetis, th' other on the Morning . . .

Note that *Morning* rhymes with *compassing*.

{ Let none mislike of that may not be mended:
 { So conteck soone by concord mought be ended.
 { Bearing a trusse of tryfles at hys backe,
 { As bells, and babes, and glasses, in hys packe.

Seven lines together break into heroic verse :

There at the dore he cast me downe hys pack,
 And layd him downe, and groned, 'Alack! Alack!
 Ah, | deare Lord! and sweete Saint Charitee!
 That some good body woulde once pitee me!'
 Well | heard Kiddie al this sore constraint,
 And lengd to know the cause of his complaint.
 Tho, creeping close behind the Wickets clink, etc.
 . . . Tho on the flore she saw the merchaundise
 Of which her sonne had sette to deare a prise.

These, and other like verses, in a poem whose prevailing movement is practically that of the old A.-S. verse—surely this is not accidental. Not that heroic verse is developed directly out of the 4-stress verse such as is used by Spenser's clowns; not even that Spenser's clowns use a verse as free and irregular as A.-S. verse; but rather, I claim, that the old verse, smoothed to some extent, but still allowed to use the triple measure and marked pause, becomes the verse of Spenser's clowns; while the same old verse, rigorously treated according to the new rules for harmony and alternation of strong and weak syllables—that is, made *iambic*, becomes the verse of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales or Spenser's Faery Queene. The many heroic lines (*i. e.*, lines that must be read either as heroic, or else with *Senkungen* of three syllables) point to a common origin for both kinds of verse, and this common origin can be nothing else than the A.-S. long verse. Still another form, popular in lyric poetry, results from the retaining of four stresses and the suppressing of all triple measures, as—

Tho marking him with melting eyes.

Guest (whose theory ranged A.-S. verse and heroic verse under the same movements) thought the free, "tumbling" verse of Spenser and of Lidgate (cf. his London Lickpenny) to have been developed from carelessly handled heroic verse!

The opening stanzas of August show the same mixture of 4-stress with 5-stress, of free with regular, which we found in April. The scheme of strict heroic verse breaks into movements like—

With piping and dauncing did passe the rest.

The last stanza for the month may be quoted as example of the general effect of such a mixture :

- (4) P. O Colin, Colin ! the shepheards joye,
- (5) How I admire ech turning of thy verse !
- (4) And Cuddie, fresh Cuddie, the liefest boye,
- (5) How dolefully his doole thou didst rehearse !
- (?) C. Then blowe your pypes, shepheards, til you be at home ;
- (4) The night nightheth fast, yts time to be gone.

The third and last eclogue in free verse is September. Here again the favorite movement is 2, 2 : 3, 2—of which I count 28 per cent. :

But tell me first of thy flocks estate.

Next comes 2, 2 : 2, 3, with 14 per cent. :

They looken bigge as Bulls that bene bate.

Of verses which may be read in strict heroic measure I find 10 per cent.; examples :

- Never I wist thee in so poore a plight.
- { Where is the sayre flocke thou wast wont to leade ?
- { Or bene they chaffred, or at mischiefe dead ?
- Hobbinoll, I pray thee, gall not my old grieve.
- Eche thing imparted is more eath to beare.
- My sheepe bene wasted ; (wae is me therefore!).
- And so there is, but all of miserye.
- I wote ne, Hobbin, how I was bewitcht
- { With wayne desire and hope to be enricht.
- { Or they bene false and full of covetise,
- { And casten¹ to compasse many wrong emprise.
- They boast they have the devill at commaund.
- For they will listen to the shepheards voyce.
- But heedy shepheards to discerne their face.
- { For all their craft is in their countenaunce,
- { They bene so grave and full of mayntenaunce.
- Too good for him had bene a great deal worse.
- Diggon on fewe such freends did ever lite.

The couplet 174-5 makes us think of Chaucer:

- { He is so meekē, wise and merciable,
- { And with his word his worke is convenable.

Yet we cannot be sure of a movement; thus, we begin the couplet—

¹ Slur for heroic verse; otherwise the movement is 2, 3 : 4, 2, with feminine caesura.

For had his wesand bene a little widder,
He would have devoured both hidder and shidder,

as heroic verse, but the second line throws us perforce into the free 4-str. movement. Surely all this points to a common origin. Then there are verses which become heroic by use of "wrenched" accent :

{ Sike question ripeth up cause of newe woe,
{ For one, opened, mote unfolde many moe.

But in November, professedly in heroic verse throughout, we have verses like (p. 481, col. 2) :

For she deemed nothing too deere for thee.
Thereof nought remaynes but the memore.

Here we have to wrench the accent sadly in order to bring out heroic rhythm. There are other like irregularities in the eclogue. Finally, in December (heroic verse in stanzas *a, b, a, b, c, c*) we have a couplet :

Soone as the chaffe should in the fan be synd,
*All was blowne away of the wavering wynd.*¹

That is 2, 2 : 2, 2, 2 (heroic) and 3, 2 : 3, 3. One bit of verse remains, the epilogue, in which the poet sends out his book : "Goe, lyttle Calender," etc. The metre (Alexandrine) does not interest us ; the words do :

¹ Sir Thomas Wyatt shows this same tendency to confuse 4-stress with heroic verse. In the opening number of the *Wiener Beiträge* (1886) R. Alischer discusses Wyatt's free 4-stress verse (pp. 72-75). He quotes as examples :

I abide, and abide; and bétter abide.
And seek to convéy it sécretly.

Turning to the poem from which the second verse is taken, we find that 3 verses of the 13 can be read as heroic,—*e. g.*,

' Handle it soft and treat it tenderly.

On the other hand, Alischer quotes as heroic verse with the license of two light syllables to a measure :

With Venus and Bacchus all their life long.
With innocent blood to feed myself fat.

These occur in undoubtedly heroic verse, but I am inclined to regard them as sporadic 4-stress lines, such as we found in Spenser's April or August. They have the same movement as—

I abide, and abide; and better abide.

The two forms meet in the couplet (Aldine Ed. p. 115):

(4-str.) Such grace or fortune I would I had
(Heroic) You for to please howe'er I were bestad.

Goe but a lowly gate amongst the meaner sorte :
Dare not to match thy pype with Tityrus¹ his style,
Nor with the Pilgrim that the Ploughman playde awhyle ;
But followe them farre off, and their high steppes adore.

It is needless to comment on this confessed imitation of Chaucer and Langley, the chief representatives of the heroic and the old long verse. It seems to me that we must regard Chaucer's great creation, heroic verse, as really founded on the national verse, not an importation. How national Chaucer's poetry really was, we all know; cf. Lindner, Allit. in Cant. Tales, Chauc. Soc. 1876, p. 201 ff. He used the alliterative forms, the homely expressions, of the popular traditional songs. He sang to the people, and in their own fashion. Who can read the verse (*Knight's Tale*, 1747; C. T. 2605) :

Ther schyveren schafstes upon scheeldes thykke,

and doubt that Chaucer wrote it in stress, in rhythm, as well as in alliteration, upon the model of that verse whose best notes we hear in Beowulf? Ten Brink says of this poet's beginning-rime (C. S. V. §338) : "Am schönsten ist die Wirkung der Alliteration dann wenn der Stab auf die erste, zweite und vierte Hebung fällt, während die Cäsur nach der auf die zweite Hebung folgende Senkung eintritt,"—as in the above verse. But this is the A.-S. rule; this is the "balance" so common throughout English heroic verse—whether carrying with it remnants of alliteration or not.²

¹ Chaucer.

² What was said above in regard to the persistence of the A.-S. movement may, perhaps, find support from a study of early dramatic poetry. Schipper speaks of the late form of A.-S. verse (stripped of regular alliteration) as verse "der uns in den altenglischen Moral Plays und Interludes namentlich häufig entgegentritt sowie auch noch in den ersten Repräsentanten des regelmässigen Dramas" (p. 231); yet (p. 227) he says he will not treat this verse at length, because "jene altnationalen Rhythmen zu dem jambischen Versbau des Elisabeth'schen und späteren englischen Dramas in keinerlei direkter Beziehung stehen." That the popular drama of later time (e. g., the plays considered by Schröder as the earliest in blank verse) has practically no connection metrically with older Moral Plays, Interludes, or such recent work as Roister Doister, seems unlikely. In the Prol. to R. R. we stumble at once on a good heroic verse:

For Myrth prolongeth lyfe and causeth health.

From this, it is true, nothing can be argued; but a thorough study of all the material might well strengthen my position. Schipper notes (p. 217) that the dying A.-S. verse swayed now toward the *vierstaktig* verse, now toward the Alexandrine. Many verses in Roister Doister can be read not simply as—

Let us gather up the threads of argument. What has the genesis of heroic verse to do with the translation of Beowulf? This : it shows why blank verse seems *a priori* a fitting medium for translation ; but also why, on reflection, blank verse seems to be just the metre we should shun. In the great course of English verse we have found unity, it is true, but we have found that blank verse—even the wider term, heroic verse—is essentially modern. It is the adaptation of the old verse to the new life of English poetry, begun with Chaucer, and perfected by the Elizabethans. But our investigation also proves that *practically all the elements of Anglo-Saxon verse are preserved in our modern poetry, though in different combinations, with changed proportional importance, and subjected to demands unknown to the old verse.* Hence, I conclude: the translator of Beowulf must avoid blank verse ; he can, and therefore he must, revive the original verse itself.

Now for the last stage of our inquiry. Practically, *how* are we to revive the original metre ? Absolute fidelity is impossible. There are certain elements of A.-S. verse which are clearly at variance with the law of modern rhythm. But these are not the essential elements. As such, I reckon (1) the general movement of the verse ; (2) the strict beginning-rime, or alliteration ; (3) the metrical peculiarities which are necessary to the chief features of A.-S. poetic style—as *parallelism, variation, etc.* Translations which in some way follow the original, but not in these essentials, and not consistently, will not do. We do not want, for example, the metre of Mr. William Morris's Love is Enough for our translation of Beowulf.

On the threshold, however, of our final inquiry, some one may raise the objection that A.-S. metre has itself inherent defects, is not a desirable metre to revive, even if we can revive it. To this a sufficient answer is the mere fact that it is the metre of our original

Full gréat I do abhór this your wicked sayíng (Sch. p. 234),
but as Alexandrine :

Full gréat I dó abhór this yóur wickéd sayíng,

where *wickéd* can be matched by many cases of wrenched accent in Surrey and others. Now, that this swaying between 4-stress and 6-stress should, under pressure of iambic movement, compromise with 5-stress, is not unreasonable. And this agrees with my position : that our heroic verse was originally a late form of A.-S. long verse, with a prevailing surplus of light syllables at the pause; to this were applied the iambic movement, the light and shifting pause, and the Romance tendency to count syllables.

and gives the original its most pronounced characteristics ; that it is the metre of all our national verse during some five or six centuries. But we may defend the metre for itself. True, it is inferior to its subject ; it never worked itself into clear relations with the epic material (cf. the early pages of Ten Brink's Lit. Gesch.). Christianity, sweeping over the Germanic epos, disturbed and broke the process of development. The frank, outward sensations of heathendom were troubled and shaken by a religion based on personal suffering. The form of A.-S. poetry, compared with the form of the Homeric poems, had something of Mignon's fate : *Vor Kummer alert' ich zu frühe*. But, all this concession made, the metre remains not only the one fit expression of our early national spirit, the one metre which adapts itself to the national diction : it has a strength and nobility of its own ; at its best it strides along like a warrior in mail, and in its sane vigor can delight even the dull ear of this late time. But *can* we revive it ?

It is the "alliteration" which most scholars think fatal to the revival of our old metre. Alliterative poetry, they say, is a thing of the past, foreign to our ears. "Mr. Ettmüller's fancy," said Thorpe, "of adopting the alliteration of the original, I consider far from happy." Another scholar of the past, the German Vilmar, says (Gesch. d. deutsch. Nat.-Lit. p. 21 f.) that alliterative forms remain in German speech "wenn gleich der Gebrauch der Alliteration in der Poesie . . . bei dem Zustande unserer Sprache . . . niemals wieder zu erwecken ist." To come to modern times, Heyne rejected the old metre for his Beowulf translation, and chose blank verse—a choice which, as we saw, Wülker called "einen entschiedenen Fortschritt"; and he added : "Ein vergleich dieser übersetzung mit Grein's und Simrock's arbeit scheint mir genügend zu beweisen, dass wir für unsre zeit den stabreim, fur den man jetzt doch kein ohr mehr hat, aufgeben müssen" (cf. Ang. IV, Anz. 72.)

Against this view much can be urged. There is a fallacy in the use of the term "*alliteration*"—we make it something opposed to *rime*. But alliteration *is* rime. Beginning-rime, end-rime, assonance, perfect rime, are all varieties of the general notion, rime. Alliteration, therefore, is in no way opposed to the genius of our poetry. All poets use it in some degree ; many use it frequently ; some use it systematically. With Swinburne it is a factor of verse ; with all poets it is an occasional ornament. To use it in a consistent way, as in A.-S., is to introduce no new principle, only a

new formula, into our modern verse. If we admire one verse, or two verses, like—

The pulse of war and passion of wonder,
or—

Maiden and mistress of the months and stars,

why not a dozen such, or a hundred, or a thousand? In the 392 verses of Swinburne's *Triumph of Time* there are 63 per cent. (249 verses) which have alliteration of accented syllables. The prejudice against making one's verses "run on the letter" dates from Elizabethan times (Chaucer's *rom, ram, ruf* is no argument; see his next line) when, as we saw, both alliteration *and also triple measures* were looked on as vulgar and fit only for street-songs. Who now objects to triple measures? Nay, further, do we not find pleasure in reading the half-modern *Piers the Plowman*, with its practically correct A.-S. metre? And did not Spenser couple Langley and Chaucer as his models for the Sheph. Cal.? If it seems, from all this, not impossible for a skilful poet to revive the old verse for original work, *a fortiori* how reasonable to use it simply in the translation of a poem where so much depends on the metre! The objection, once made to me by a well-known German professor, that there are not enough original root-words left in modern English to reproduce the alliterating words, need not frighten us. As Mr. Arnold says, *Solvitur ambulando*; besides, one is not obliged to confine himself to A.-S. derivatives.

Granted the alliteration, the *movement* must be as faithful to the original as our modern demands for regular distribution of light syllables will allow. There must be in this respect a nicer sense of proportion than is shown by the original. We cannot have verses like B. 1461:

Manna ænzung, þara þe hit mid mundum bewand.

It will not do, however, simply to give the movement of balanced heroic verse. There must be frequent (*but not constant*) triple measures, and a more marked pause. As an approximate example of the movement which the translator may often use, I would instance those charming rimeless lyrics of Goethe, *Das Göttliche* and *Grenzen der Menschheit*. The end of the odd lines will answer to the A.-S. cæsura.

Nur allein der Mensch
Vermag das Unmögliche

has almost the rime, as well as the movement, of A.-S. verse. Who does not find exquisite melody in those opening lines of the Grenz. d. Mensch. :

Wenn der uralte,
Heilige Vater
Mit gelassener Hand
Aus rollenden Wolken
Segnende Blitz
Ueber die Erde sät,
Küss' ich den letzten
Saum seines Kleides,
Kindliche Schauer
Treu in der Brust ?

I do not say that all the translator's verses must be after this model. It is too uniform for the A.-S. But it gives him a hint. Verses little different in movement from these of Goethe will very fairly hit the usual movement of A.-S. verse ; sometimes they hit it exactly : cf.—

Wenn der uralte, heilige Vater;
Oft him anhaja are gebideþ.

Having, I hope, established the necessity of translating Beowulf in the original metre, one question remains to be answered : Has that metre been fairly tried in English ? Lanier and others cite William Morris's poem, Love is Enough, as if it were practically the same metre as the A.-S. Secondly, Prof. Garnett's translation claims to follow the original.¹

Morris's poem dispenses with end-rime, and, with a verse of four stresses, has more or less beginning-rime. But two faults (from the A.-S. point of view) condemn the metre. The rimes are of uncertain number and position ; the movement is uniformly "anapestic"—*i. e.*, modern, light, rapid. Will it be said that the use of rimes was not so important in A.-S. verse as to warrant the fault ? So sensitive were the best poets, that in the second half of the century they anxiously avoided the many alliterating forms, and "grammatical" rime : cf. Kluge, *Zur Geschichte des Versmaßes*, Braune, *Beit. IX*, esp. 427 ff. Kluge shows a steady development of end-rime in the series Beowulf—Andreas—Judith—Waltharius—Wieland—Hildebrand. With the latter there breaks in irregularity in position of the rime. So that the translator of B. must exclude the use of rime as well as for couplets, etc.), and as Mr. Swinburne, in his article on Anglo-Saxon Poetry in *Macmillan's Magazine* (1867), says, "the rime in the poems of Beowulf, and in the poems of the 'Phoenix' and 'Waldere' is of the most simple and primitive character." Mr. Swinburne's article, however, is not to be relied upon for the history of the metre, as he himself admits. He quotes Mr. F. G. Stephens's *Phoenix*, said (Ang. V, Anz. 92) to be in the

rigorously bar out beginning-rime from the last verse-accent, except in the forms *a, b, a, b*, or *a, b, b, a*; both of these, by the way, Horn—unsuccessfully, it seems to me—tries to reject, as well for A.-S. as for Old Saxon (P.-B., *Beit. V* 165 f.) But the rimes in Love is Enough (see extract below) are quite arbitrary as to number, position, and even occurrence. Then the movement is not that of A.-S. Schipper is not quite accurate when (Eng. Stud. V 490) he maintains against Wissmann that A.-S. verse is anapestic. It is not anapestic in the modern sense. The measures in A.-S.—if we allow the expression—often exceed two syllables; but they often consist of but one. This well-known property of the verse deprives it of the modern anapestic character: the dash of the gallop is constantly broken by something to be leaped over; it is not light running, as in the anapestic, but run and leap, strain, stress, immense action, which, however, does not cover ground very fast. Rarely, onomatopœia gives us a rapid verse, as of the boat just launched and catching the wind (B. 217):

;ewat þa ofer wægholm winde ȝefyzed,

but it is exceptional. With a movement like (10 f.):

ofer hronrade hyran scolde,
þomban ȝyldan : þæt wæs ȝod cynin,

cf. the following movement from Love is Enough (p. 41 Eng. ed.):

Then the world drew me back from my love, and departing
I saw her sweet, serious look pass into terror
And her arms cast abroad; and lo! clashing of armor,
And a sword in my hand, and my mouth crying loud,
And the moon and cold steel in the doorway burst open,
And thy doughty spear thrust through the throat of the foeman
My dazed eyes scarce saw; thou rememberest, my fosterer?

This is vivid poetry, but it is not A.-S. metre. It is far too vivid and rapid; the A.-S. poet would never have separated the two elements—departing maiden and on-rushing battle: they would have alternated throughout the description in a restless back-and-forth which could find its expression only in the peculiar metre of which Morris gives us scarcely a hint.

Prof. Garnett's translation of Beowulf, now in its second edition, is certainly the best existing translation for any one who wishes to know the general style and the literal meaning of the original. It is a conscientious and praiseworthy piece of work. But it is not

consistently done. Prof. Garnett "does not compete with the poets"; yet his translation is intended "to reproduce the rhythm of the original." "I have endeavored to preserve two accents to each half-line, with cæsura, and while not seeking alliteration, have employed it purposely wherever it readily presented itself" (1st ed. p. xii). Had the author systematically translated as he does in scattered lines, he would have made the "ideal" translation:

Ne'er heard I of keel more comely filled
With warlike weapons and weeds of battle,
With bills and burnies! On his bosom lay
A heap of jewels which with him should
Into the flood's keeping afar depart.

The movement of the first three lines is admirable; the fourth and fifth have no rhythmical movement whatever. They do not "go." As regards diction, Prof. Garnett has allowed the parallelisms, etc., to become matters of syntax as well as of general style, thus increasing on the reader's part that effort of mind which, according to Herbert Spencer, he ought to reserve for appreciation of the diction and metre, and not waste on study of the meaning. But this regards the translation as a poem: as a literal translation, which is what Garnett says he really sought to make, the book merits all praise.

One word more. I shall probably be told that, in trying to prove the claims of A.-S. verse for a share in the origin of our heroic measure, I ought to have instituted elaborate comparisons between the Romance models and the alleged A.-S. foundation, and so have decided what our favorite metre owes to each. It is precisely this method which one must reject. The only way likely to lead to the "Saxon" element in our verse is to listen with concerted attention to the rhythm of the old and the rhythm of the new, and so find the common elements. It is for the invaders of modern rhythm to prove their right and trace their claim.

I add an attempt to translate the opening lines of Beowulf in accordance with the above principles. From the "perishable" we itself I have more than that "oriental detachment" which Arnold felt toward his hexameters. But I think the movement will be found to have some degree the movement of the original; not line for line, but at least in the general effect. The rime follows,

though not in every particular, the rules laid down by Rieger. I do not for a moment pretend that the whole is a poetical and faithful rendering. It may illustrate, it may strengthen, my argument: possibly it will rouse some one to an adequate translation. The beginning of Beowulf is thought by some critics to be unworthy of the rest. I cannot agree with this view. The closing verses of the extract recall a saying of Saint-Beuve: "La poésie ne consiste pas à tout dire, mais à tout faire rêver."

BEOWULF, I-53.

Lo, of Danes spear-arméd people-kings, how the doughty earls Oft Scyld Scefing from many a clan, —aw'd was the earl— a friendless foundling ; he wax'd under welkin till the folk around, across the whale-road, gave him gifts : To him a boy in his halls a prince, in grace to the folk, that ever they lack'd so long a while ; the wonder-wielder, Beowulf had renown, the son of Scyld So becomes it a youth with his father's friends that to aid him agéd come willing clansmen, to help their prince : shall an earl have grace Forth at fate's hour grim-hearted Scyld, Then they bore him back loyal comrades, while spake in power the lief land-chieftain : In the roadstead rock'd ready and gleaming, there laid they down in the boat's wide bosom by the mast the mighty one ;	in days that are sped, the power we have heard, wrought deeds of valor ! from scathing armies, the mead-bench tore, since erst he lay he far'd the better : in worth and name, both far and near, hush'd before him, 'twas a good king ! was born thereafter, whom heaven sent for God saw well an earl for leader the Lord repaid him, with worldly glory. broad spread his name, in the Scedelands. to quit him well by fee and gift, in after days should war draw nigh him, through praiseworthy deeds in every clan. far'd the Scefing, into God's protection. to the beach of ocean, as late he bade, the Scyldings' friend, long he ruled. the ring-prow'd vessel, a royal ship : their dear old lord, the breaker of rings, many a treasure
--	--

fetch'd from far
Ne'er have I known a ship
with weapons of war
with blade and breastplate.
the heap'd-up hoard
far o'er the flood with him, . .
No less these gave him
ample treasure,
who in former time
sole o'er the sea
Then they rais'd above him,
high o'er his head ;
gave him to ocean :
mournful their mood,
to say in sooth,
warriors under heaven,—

they flung beside him.
nobler deck'd
and weeds of battle,
On his bosom lay
that hence should go
floating away.
lordly gifts,
than erst did they
forth had sent him
a suckling child.
a banner of gold,
let the heaving sea bear him,
grave was their spirit,
Men are powerless
sons of the hall,
who welcom'd that freight.

FRANCIS B. GUMMERE.

VI.—VOWEL-LENGTH IN OLD ENGLISH.

In Wülcker's edition of Grein's *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie*, I 393–400, there is a list of words containing accented vowels. The pieces reprinted from the Exeter Book are not included in this survey, but the accents in Beowulf, and certain other important texts, are accurately set down. These texts are Waldere (W.), Beowulf (B.), Spells (Sp.), Gnomic Verses (Gn.), Byrhtnoth (By.), Brunanburh (Brun.), Edmund (Edm.), Edgar (two obituaries, represented by Edg.¹ and Edg.²), Alfred's Death (Alf.), and Edward (Edw.), the last five being taken from the Old English Chronicle. In the summary given below, the parenthetical A, B, C and D represent the MSS as classed by Wülcker. The basis of my grouping is the lists of concurrent accentuation in my former paper on this subject (A. J. P. VI 298), followed by instances of more sporadic occurrence arranged as in that article.

Of the words accented alike in Orosius, Lives of the Saints, and Guthlac, the following examples are found :

ár B. 336, 1168; Sp. I 36, VIII 20; Brun. 73 (B). dæl Sp. I 8. dóm W. 10; B. 1491, 2376, 2820, 2858. eá Gn. 30; By. 63; Edm. 4 (A, B, C). líf B. 2743, 2751; Edg.² 9 (A, B, C), 4 (C). mán B. 2514. sáe B. 507, 564, 579, 690, 895, 1149, 1223, 1882, 1896, 1924.

góð B. 1562, 1870, 2342, 2586; Gn. 50; By. 315; Edw. 23 (A, B). án B. 449, 2280 (cf. 2210); Gn. 19; Brun. 46 (B).

cóm B. 2103, 2944; Brun. 37 (A, B); Edw. 18, 22 (A), 25 (B). dóñ B. 1116, 2090; gedón (pp.) Sp. I 2. gán B. 386. hét Alf. 16 (B). lét Edg.² 3 (A). slóg- Brun. 4 (A). stód B. 759, 2679, 2769. swác B. 2584, 2681.

á Gn. 54; Edw. 15 (A, B). aér W. 31; B. 1187, 1371, 1388, 1587; Gn. 12, 56; By. 290; Edg.² 6, 13 (A, B, C); Edw. 16 (A, B). ðær Brun. 32, 37 (B). út B. 33; Brun. 35 (A, B).

á- B. 775, 1390; Edg.¹ 16 (A, B, C); Edg.² 24 (C).

swá Edm. 3 (B). úp Sp. I 28; Brun. 13 (C, D), 70 (D).

ún- Brun. 31 (B, D); Edg.² 11 (C).

Of the accented words common to Or. and LS.:

ád B. 3010, 3138. bán B. 780, 1445, 3147. fýr B. 2689, 2701.

hám B. 1407, Brun. 10 (A, C); Edm. 7 (A, D). ræd B. 1201.
wíf Sp. I 63.

ús Brun. 68 (B). hí Gn. 45; Edm. 11 (B); Alf. 8, 14 (A).

síf Edm. 5 (A).

bád B. 264, 301, 1313, 1720, 2258, 2302, 2568, 2736, 3116.

dráf Alf. 7 (A). wát B. 1331.

eác Brun. 2, 37 (A, C, D); 19, 30 (C, D). ðá Brun. 57 (B);
Edg.¹ 10 (B); Edg.² 16, 24 (A, B); Alf. 6 (A).

tó Brun. 17 (B); Edg.¹ 13 (C); Edg.² 11 (C).

ón Brun. 35 (B); 29, 36, 41, 43, 49, 51, 54, 65, 66 (C); Edm.
10 (C); Edg.² 21 (C).

Of the accented words common to LS. and Gu.:

hád B. 1297. hláf Sp. I 71. lác B. 1863. lár Sp. VIII 32.
móð B. 1167; Brun. 56 (A); Edg.¹ 21 (A, B). ríce Edg.² 11
(A, B). tíd Brun. 14 (A, C, D); Edg.¹ 12 (A, B); Edw. 8 (A,
B), 31 (A).

-líc B. 2109.

gewát B. 123, 210, 1274; Brun. 35 (A, B); Edg.² 8, 14 (A, B, C).
daég Edg.¹ 8 (C).

Of the accented words common to Or. and Gu.:

dæd Edm. 3 (A); Alf. 11 (B).

Of accented words found only in Or.:

bót Sp. I 1. gemót Brun. 50 (A). wís B. 2716; Edg.² 33
(A, B), 27 (C). fór B. 2308.

Of accented words found only in I.S.:

blöð B. 1121. béc Brun. 68 (A, B, C, D). hwíl B. 2002. láf W.
18 (B); B. 2631, 3076; Brun. 6 (A); Edg.¹ 13 (A), 54 (A, D), 46 (D).
rím Brun. 31 (A, B); Edg.¹ 11 (A); Edg.² 7 (A, B, C). stán B.
2553. wíg Brun. 20 (C). wín B. 1233. wóp B. 128. þý Brun. 46
(B). sís B. 1966, 3025, 3119. hálf B. 300. bráec Edg.² 23 (A, B).
brúic B. 1177; Brun. 63 (A). dráf Alf. 7 (B). hát B. 386. móð
B. 603, Sp. VIII 38. ráð B. 1883, 2898. sáet Alf. 3 (A). scán
B. 1965. hér Alf. 1 (A). tó- Edg.¹ 18, 23 (C). lóf Edg.² 17 (C).
náð Brun. 68 (B). Né (rel.) Alf. 15 (A).

Of accented words found only in Gu.:

hælo Edw. 8 (B). sár B. 975, 2468. mære Sp. V 5 (B). mære
Brun. 65 (A). rím Gn. 57. wnd B. 2346; Edg.² 17 (A), 31, 34
(A, B). wyr Sp. V 1 (C). kurd Brun. 20 (C).

The remaining words may be classified in the usual way.

I.—ORIGINAL LENGTH.

Nouns.

áéses Brun. 63 (B). bát B. 211. beáman Sp. I 8. cométa Edg.¹ 32 (A, B, C). fáés B. 2230. flód Brun. 36 (A). freán Edg.¹ 15 (A, B). gád B. 660. gár B. 537, 2155, 2641; Gn. 22; Brun. 50 (A, D). hleó Edm. 12 (A, C). hrá Brun. 60 (B). hrúsan Edg.² 35 (A, B). líc B. 2080. mál Sp. I 19. pádan Brun. 61 (A). réc B. 3144. rúnwita B. 1325. sápan Sp. I 47. stór Sp. I 46. swát B. 2558. tír Gn. 32; Brun. 3 (A, B, C); Edg.³ 13 (A, B). péoden Edm. 1 (B). þúsend Edg.¹ 16 (B). wíc B. 821, 1275, 2607.

Pronouns.

sýnum Edw. 8 (B).

Adjectives.

brún B. 1546. fáne B. 2655. fróda Brun. 37 (A). hár B. 357, 1307, 2557; Brun. 39 (A, B, C). hwít Brun. 63 (A). róf B. 2084, 3063. scír B. 1895. swíþran Sp. III 1. wáce Edm. 3 (A, B).

Verbs.

gó B. 1394. gebáded Brun. 33 (A); Edm. 9 (A). agælde Edw. 33 (B). onlút Sp. I 23. nát B. 681. sáh Brun. 17 (B). swáf B. 2559. gewác B. 2577.

II.—SECONDARY LENGTHENING.

Nouns.

bórdweall Brun. 5 (A). gebýrd Edg.¹ 12 (A, B). cneár Brun. 35 (D). eár Brun. 26 (D). écgum Brun. 4, 68 (C). flót Brun. 35 (B), 32 (D). hæleða Edw. 8 (B). hórd Brun. 10 (A). rínc Brun. 39 (D). sécgas Brun. 13 (C). síce (!) Sp. VIII 2. týrf Sp. I 4.

Adjectives.

hwáte Brun. 73 (B).

Verbs.

genérode Brun. 36 (B). þórfie Brun. 39 (A).

There are, besides, the proper nouns Constantínus Brun. 38 (A) and Dór Edm. 3 (A), and the irregularly accented words haſuc Brun. 64 (C), heafóc Brun. 64 (D), and gitá Brun. 66 (D).

The numerous instances of secondary lengthening in the Chronicle, and especially in the Battle of Brunanburh, are worthy of special remark.

ALBERT S. COOK.

28 November, 1885.

NOTE.

POSTPOSITIVE ETENIM.

The statement of the syntactical works (cf., e. g., Dräger, II, p. 171 (§351, 1), Schmalz, Lat. Gram. p. 309 (§200)), "Etenim is first postpositive in Horace," is incorrect. In the poets we find five examples: The first, Scito etenim bene longincum mortalibu' morbum, e. q. s., is due to a conjecture of Muretus, the MSS having cito (cibo) bene enim. The second is Afran. 369 (Rib. 2, 212) . . . etenim codtidiano in rebus maximis, e. q. s. The last three are Lucr. 3, 288; 5, 632; 6, 912. Among the later poets we find the following results: Etenim is not found in Catullus (enim 4 times and nam 54). The only example in Tibullus (3, 1, 14) is postpositive. The three examples in Propertius (2, 7, 17; 2, 10, 25 (MSS etiam); 3, 19, 27) are postpositive. Horace has six examples (Carm. 4, 5, 17; Serm. 1, 6, 54; 7, 10; 2, 3, 284; 5, 60; 7, 37), with one exception (the last) postpositive. Etenim is found three times in Ovid (Met. 14, 695; Tris. 3, 3, 77; Ex Pon. 3, 7, 13), but not postpositive.

WILLARD K. CLEMENT.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

THEODOR ZAHN. *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur.* III Theil. Supplementum Clementinum. 329 pp. Erlangen, 1884.

The volume before us contains an exhaustive treatment of the fragments of Clement of Alexandria which are preserved in various ecclesiastical writers and catenae; and it goes without saying that it is a monument of industry and learning. In the first 176 pages we have such a collection and discussion of the fragments as has never before been made; and the rest of the book is occupied with valuable supplementary matter, arranged in the following order: I. A discussion of Anatolius' treatise on the Passover. II. On certain fragments of a Greek Hieronymus, found in catenae on the Psalms. III. A further discussion of Theophilus of Antioch and his Commentary. IV. On the reading in I Tim. iii 16, with especial reference to two fragments of I Tim. in the Louvre. V. On the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.

It would take a very large space to treat these supplements in the way that such work deserves, and there is a further difficulty that, in the third of the supplements, we should have to plunge into a controversy which is already heated sevensfold. We shall therefore confine ourselves to some remarks on the earlier part of the book, for which, we venture to think, Professor Zahn will not be altogether ungrateful.

In discussing the fragments of Clement which are preserved in the pages of the Parallels of St. John of Damascus, Dr. Zahn has used the printed edition of Lequien, which gives the florilegium in two recensions—viz.: from a Vatican MS, and (very imperfectly) from a MS presented by Cardinal Rochedoucauld to the Jesuit College at Paris, and hence known as the Codex Rupefucaldi. The latter MS has for a long time been inquired after in vain, and it is much to be desired that its locality should be indicated and the text contained re-examined. We hope to be able to report on these points in a forthcoming work on the Fragments of Philo.

What is more important even than the re-discovery of the Rochedoucauld MS, is the information (the details of which we postpone) that the National Library at Paris possesses an uncial MS of Parallels in some ways superior to either of the texts used by Lequien, and very useful in the work of identification of the fragments composing the Parallels. This MS is No. 923 among the Greek Codices, and by its aid we are able to throw some light on points concerning which Dr. Zahn was obliged to suspend his judgment, and to make some necessary corrections and additions to his work. Our notes are as follows:

- P. 18. Paed. i 9. Also in Reg. f. 361 as from Clem. Rom.
- P. 19. Paed i 81: *after* Par. Vat. 702 add and Reg. f. 338.
- P. 20. Add Paed. ii 15 (D. 226): *τῶν ἀμφὶ . . . προσεπειν·* from Par. Rup. f. 239, reading *καὶ κυπταζόντας, λιχνότητος.*

P. 20. Paed. ii 44. The passage is found in Par. Reg. f. 119.

P. 20. Paed. ii 49. The passage is also in Par. Rup. f. 45, with the same readings as in the authorities given. A similar addition should be made to the next quotation (Paed. ii 51). Both the passages, with slight variations, in Reg. f. 23.

P. 20. Paed. ii 52. Also in Par. Reg. f. 114, reading *πάντες ευπορεῖν*.

P. 20. Add Paed. ii 52 (D. 260): *μάραν . . . ἐνεργουμένα*, from Par. Rup. f. 39 as *ἐν τοι τοῦ παταγωγοῦ*.

P. 20. Add Paed. ii 58 (D. 264): *'Απέστω . . . λόγων*, from Par. Rup. f. 109b.

P. 20. Paed. ii 60. Also in Rup. f. 278. Reg. f. 356b and f. 573.

P. 21. Paed. ii 68. Also in Reg. f. 209b.

P. 22. Str. i 12. Also in Reg. 116b, as from a CTPOMA.

P. 22. Add Str. i 23 (D. 12): *αὐτῷ γὰρ . . . μείναι*. From Rup. f. 109b.

P. 22. Add Str. ii 1 (D. 146): *τῷ ὅπῃ . . . ἔπαινος*. Rup. 109b reading *γνῶν*.

P. 22. Add Str. ii 7 (D. 149): *οἵτοις ἐγκρίνειν . . . ὑδατα*. Par. Rup. f. 34b referred to Greg. Naz. (*τοι εἰντι· οἷοι τοι διερέποι στρεμματα*).

P. 22. Str. ii 9. Also in Reg. f. 85, and contained in Rup. f. 233b from *εἰρίει . . . ἐπερρεειτεῖν*.

P. 22. Add Str. ii 12 (D. 153): *τεούραν . . . γνωται*, from Rup. f. 233b, reading, in L 10, *ειθήραν*, *δειθίραν*; L 12, *λύτει*; L 14, *αντ. αὔτην*.

P. 22. Add Str. ii 40 (D. 171): *Ο τοῦ ἀσθεοῦ . . . βούλεται*.

This passage is printed by Zahn, on p. 53, among the 'Citate ungewisser Herkunft.' It is found in Rup. f. 58, reading *τὸ μὴ ἀσθεοῦ* (sic Cod.), *ινούσειν* for *οὐκετεῖν* (so Cod. Reg.) and *δειθίραι* *αντα*. Cod. Reg. expressly refers to the extract *ἐν τοι βῆ στρωματα*.

P. 23. Str. ii 46. Referred to II Strom. in Reg. 102b, reading *δεῖτεσσι* for *Ἐπειτα δέ*.

P. 23. Add Str. ii 76 (D. 195): *παράκειται . . . γνώσει*. Reg. f. 335b.

P. 23. Str. ii 87. Also in Rup. f. 71 and Reg. f. 72b.

P. 23. Str. ii 101. In Rup. f. 71, and again f. 274b. Also Reg. f. 72b, reading *εἰμιτέλητον*.

P. 23. Str. ii 123. Also Rup. f. 213b.

P. 23. Add Str. ii 123 (D. 225): *ἴσοις . . . συγκατασπέμενον*, in Rup. f. 237, with corrupted readings.

P. 23. Add Str. ii 124 (D. 225): *καὶ εἰ μηδέπω . . . ἔλογισθησαν*. Rup. f. 187, but very corrupt.

P. 23. Str. ii 144. Also in Reg. f. 390.

P. 23. Str. ii 145. Also from Θεοφίλες . . . *διαχειραγωγεῖν* in Rup. f. 194b, and again f. 271b, reading this time *διαχειραγωγῆσαι*.

P. 23. Str. ii 146. Also Reg. f. 108.

P. 24. Add Str. iii 43 (D. 270): *Θεοῦ . . . ἀδίννατον*, from Reg. 102b. This sentence should now be removed from p. 54.

P. 24. Str. iv 35. Also Reg. f. 276.

P. 24. Str. iv 38. Referred to 'Quis Dives,' in Reg. f. 179, through the misplacement of a title.

P. 24. Str. iv 74. Also Reg. f. 38b, and Rup. f. 48b.

- P. 24. Str. iv 93. Also Rup. f. 71, and Reg. f. 104.
- P. 25. Str. iv 141. Also Rup. f. 266, reading ἀποστασίαν.
- P. 25. Add Str. v 7 (D. 6): ὅλης . . . θέα. From Rup. f. 72.
- P. 25. Str. v 12 (D. 11, 3. 4): Reg. f. 228 (referred to II Strom.), but V Strom. Correctly in Rup.
- P. 25. Str. v. 25. Also Reg. f. 103.
- P. 26. Str. vi 65. Here there should be inserted, from p. 62, the fragment which Clem. Alex. cites from Clem. Rom. (i 48), and which Zahn has followed Grabe in removing from the genuine fragments, although he notes that it is really found in Clem. Alex. In Reg. f. 338, the passage (*τοσούτῳ . . . εἴναι*) is expressly referred to Str. vi. It should be noticed that Lightfoot, in his edition of Clement, reads μᾶλλον μεῖζων for μεῖζων in this passage; wrongly, I think, since μᾶλλον occurs in the immediately preceding words, and so the longer reading is a correction for μᾶλλον, which the fragment published by Zahn reads in both places.
- P. 26. Str. vi 99. Add at end, and so Rup. f. 191b, Reg. 209b.
- P. 26. Str. vi 102. Also in Reg. f. 131.
- P. 26. Add Str. vi 103 (D. 201): οὐχ ὁ ἀπεχόμενος . . . ἐνεργητέον, from Rup. f. 200b, reading προεργάσονται.
- P. 26. Str. vi 109. In Reg. f. 361, for αὐτοῦ read τοῦ θεοῦ.
- P. 26. Str. vi 112. Also Reg. f. 285b.
- P. 26. Add Str. vi 151 (D. 237): οὐ περὶ . . . στρεπτέον from Rup. f. 109b, as *ἐκ τῶν ἔκτων τῶν αὐτῶν*.
- P. 27. Str. vi 161. Also in Reg. f. 102b, as also the next extract, where Reg. adds the words omitted in the printed Parallels: *εἰ (l. 6) τι ἀν ὁ λόγος ἴπαγορεύει*.
- P. 27. Str. viii 33. Also Reg. 284b.
- P. 27. Str. viii 41. Also Reg. 102b.
- P. 27. Add Str. viii 57 (D. 301): is given more at length in Rup. 233b, going on to περαιωμένη, reading ληπτὸν for καταληπτικὸν and ἡδη εἰς ἀγάπην.
- P. 27. Str. viii 59. This passage is given twice in Reg. f. 335b and f. 286, adding καὶ ἐμπέιρου the second time; it is also in Rup. f. 263.
- P. 27. Add Str. viii 73 (D. 315): ὄταν μὴ . . . γένος, from Rup. f. 200b.
- P. 27. Str. viii 80. The reference to ζ' στρωμ. is correctly made in Reg. f. 156.
- P. 27. Str. viii 82. Also Reg. f. 102b.
- P. 27. Str. viii 99. The same reference is made in Reg. f. 61 (reading διεῖδεν = διῆδεν), and in Rup. f. 109b it is *ἐκ τοῦ α' παιδαγωγοῦ*, the text going as far as παρωρᾶ, and reading *ἰδεῖν*.
- P. 27. Add Str. viii 100 (D. 339) ὡς ἔσκε . . . σεμνή, from Rup. f. 72.
- P. 28. Zahn's view concerning the quotation in Par. Vat. 643 is confirmed by Cod. Reg. f. 279, which expressly refers the passage to Strom. viii, and reads ἵτοι νῷ ἑανῆς for ἀῷ ἑανῆς.
- P. 28. Add Str. viii? Par. Vat. 480, and Reg. f. 149b. The passage from Ἐλεημοσίνας . . . ἐπιτέχεις, is expressly given to Strom. viii by Reg. Zahn has printed it more at length on p. 49, from which it should now be removed.
- P. 28. Add Str. viii? Par. Vat. 570, and Reg. f. 223. The passage, οὐχ η τῶν πράξεων . . . εἰλικρίνεια, is expressly given to Str. viii by Cod. Reg. Cod. Rup.

f. 195b, however, refers it to Philo. The passage which follows is rightly referred by Reg. to 'Quis Dives.' Under these circumstances, I think Zahn should remove the passage from the uncertain fragments on p. 55.

P. 29. Ecl. 11. Wrongly referred to Philo by Reg. 62b, which title really belongs to the following passage.

P. 29. Ecl. 47. In Reg. f. 274b, as far as *ἀγανακτεῖν*. The *στρωμ.* in the references is here only an abbreviated title of Clement, which leads to much confusion.

P. 30. Div. 11. Also in Reg. f. 186.

P. 30. Div. 20. Also in Reg. f. 223.

P. 30. Div. 21 (D. 399, 6-8). Zahn has omitted to notice that the passage is found again in Par. Vat. 315; also in Reg. f. 325, where the reference is simply to Clement.

P. 30. Div. 21 (D. 399, 10-15). This is found in Rup. f. 126b. With regard to the two passages which follow in Lequien, p. 383, the first of which is referred, in the Latin translation, to 'ejusdem ex epist. 21,' and the second, *τοῦ αἰροῦ*, we observe that, although Cod. Rup. has the same title for the second passage, yet Cod. Reg. f. 99 refers it to *Διδύμον*, and reads *τετραγύμνως* before *βιούντων*. As to the former passage, it is more difficult to decide, especially as another exactly similar case is found in Rup. f. 143b of a quotation from the very same epistle, and with the heading, as here, giving it to *Κλήμ.* *στρωματ.* If the reference given in the Latin translation be a genuine one, it will be hard to deny the existence of a collection of letters circulating under the name of Clem. Alex. As far as I can tell from my notes, the first and second passages are continuous in Cod. Rup.

P. 30. Div. 39. The two quotations are found in Reg. f. 385b, 386.

P. 31, line 2. Note that Cod. Reg. also makes the false reference to I Strom.

P. 31, line 9. It should be added that Wordsworth also, in his *Hippolytus* and *Callistus*, treated the three passages of Clement as forming part of the treatise of Hippolytus: *περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς αἵρεσης*. The fact is that the text of Hippolytus must have been taken, in the first instance, from a collection of Parallels very like Cod. Reg., for in this MS the extracts of Clement follow in the order as printed on the long extract from Hippolytus.

P. 33. Frag. 6. The form given from Par. Vat. is found also in Cod. Reg. f. 101b, and in Rup. f. 130 (*Κλήμεντος*).

To the foregoing extracts from Clement. *De Pascha* should, perhaps, be added the following:

Τετήρηται οἱ τῶν λέοντων σκίμνοι καθάπερ καὶ οἱ κύνες τίκτεσθαι τυφλοί. The sentence has no title in Par. Vat. 531, but in Par. Reg. f. 201 it is *Κλήμεντος εἰς τὸ πάσχα*.

We come now to the Uncertain Fragments:

P. 53. Frag. 13 has been already identified.

P. 53. Frag. 14 is Philo, *Quaestiones in Genesim*. iv 40.

P. 53. Frag. 15 is from Theotimus the Scythian. The passage occurs again in Par. Vat. 643, and Cod. Reg. f. 279, where it is by both authorities referred to *Θεοτίμου περὶ νησοτείας*. The fragment Par. Vat. 393 corresponds to Reg. f. 89. And here again it is expressly *Θεοτίμου Σκιθίας*. In Rup. f. 117, it is referred

το Κλῆμα, τοῦ στρωματ. Zahn's foot-note, " wahrscheinlich ist *τε* zu streichen," is confirmed by Rup., which has neither *τε* nor *καὶ*.

P. 53. Frag. 16 is referred in Reg. f. 89 to the treatise 'Quis Dives,' where it will probably be found for a little searching. Also in Rup. f. 117, reading ἀφίεται.

P. 53. Frag. 19 has been identified.

P. 53. Frag. 20 is Διδύμου εἰς τὰς παροιμίας in Reg. f. 89: also Διδύμου in Rup. f. 130.

P. 53. Frag. 21. This is Κλήμεντος in Cod. Reg. f. 120b: in Rup. 143b, however, the astonishing title already referred to is found, Κλήμεντος στρωματέως ἐκ τῆς κα' ἐπιστολῆς. This MS reads κατεξιώμενος.

P. 53. Frag. 22. Cod. Rup. f. 179 (reading τύπος for τόπος), refers this to V Strom.

P. 53. Frag. 23. I think it will be found that both this sentence and the one that precedes it in the printed Parallels are given to Didymus in Reg. f. 201.

P. 53. Frag. 25. Reg. f. 330b as in Maximus and Melissa, and headed Κλήμεντος, as in Rup. f. 261.

To these fragments add:

Frag. 26 (bis). Par. Vat. 712: οἱ πόνοι πανταχοῦ τῶν ἀγαθῶν χορηγοί. Without a title, but referred to I Strom. in Reg. f. 363, where the title has accidentally slipped to the next passage (from 'Quis Dives'), and the title for 'Quis Dives' to the sentence again succeeding.

We now come to the fragments pronounced by Zahn to be spurious.

Frag. 3. Zahn is right in identifying the second sentence as Philo: it will be found in the treatise *De Decem Oraculis* (Mangey, ii 200).

Frag. 4. In Reg. f. 223, corresponding to Par. Vat. 570, this is referred to Didymus, and so, I think, we may take it. Cod. Rup., however, f. 195b, refers to Κλήμεντος στρωματ. ἐκ τοῦ προτρηπτικοῦ.

Frag. 5 is given to Evagrius in Par. Reg.

We subjoin seven new fragments of Clement, from the Par. Rup., and, without making any assumption that there are no more Clementine scraps in the same Codex, we simply want to facilitate matters for the next student who passes this way, and, in particular, for Professor Zahn, who will, no doubt, help us to identify these, in return for the large number of corrections and additions which we have made to his collection. They are as follows:

a. Πάσα ἀμαρτία καὶ διαφορὰν ἔχῃ πρὸς ἑτέραν, ἀλλ' οὐν γε ἀμαρτία λέγεται νόμῳ ἴποκίπτουσα. From Rup. f. 39, following a passage in II Paed.

β. Κλήμεντος ἐπισκόπου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρίας· Ἐρει τις· μηδὲν ζητῶμεν περὶ θεοῦ· φάγης δ' ἀν'· καὶ μὴν οὐδέποτε δεῖ πάιδασθαι λέγοντας καὶ ἀκούοντας περὶ θεοῦ· πλὴν δον ἐφίεται ἡ πιστὸς θυτε λέγεται περὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ λεκτὰ καὶ ἀκούειν τὰ ἀκοντά. From Rup. f. 55.

γ. Ὁλίγων η ἀλήθεια καὶ τούτων δύσοις οἷοι τε ἀνενερεῖν αὐτὴν διὰ μακρᾶς ἐνδείξεως καὶ συναστήσεως ἐπὶ τὴν θεωρίαν διαχειμαγωγούμενοι. From Rup. f. 72: Κλήμ. ἐκ τοῦ α' στρωματ.

δ. Δεῖν οἵμα τὸν ἀληθείας κρύβμενον οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιβολῆς καὶ φροντίδος τὴν φράσιν συγκεισθει, πειράσθαι δὲ ὄνομάζειν μόνον ὡς δυνατὸν δ βούλεται· τοὺς γὰρ τῶν λέξεων ἐχομένους καὶ περὶ ταῦτα ἀσχολούμενους διαδιέρασκει τὰ πράγματα. From Rup. 109b: ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν (? Strom. vi).

ε. Ἡμεῖς τὸν ἀεὶ καὶ ἐν πᾶσι δίκαιον ἐπιθυμοῦμεν ἴδειν· δει μήτε τὴν τῶν συνόντων καὶ ἐπεξιόντων τοῖς πλημμελῆσι μισοπονητίαν εὐλαβούμενος μήτε τὸν ἐξ αἰτῶν τῶν ἀδικουμένων οὐφοράμενος διαμένει (Cod. διαμένω). ὁ γὰρ διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς πράττειν τι τῶν ἀδίκων ἀπεχθέμενος οὐχ ἐκὼν χρηστός, φθέψει δὲ ἀγαθός. From Rup. 200b (Κλῆμ. στρωματ.).

σ. τῷ τελείῳ οὐκ ἐν συμβόλοις πολιτικαῖς οὐδὲ ἐν ἀπαγορεύεσσι νόμοιν ἄλλῃ ἐξ ἰδιοπραγίᾳς καὶ τῆς πρὸς θεὸν ἀγάπης ἡ δικαιοσύνη (τοῦ αὐτοῦ) Rup. f. 200b.

ζ. Ἐλεγχος ἀνδρὸς ἥθους η μετὰ τῶν τοιώνδε συνονοία· δε γὰρ φαῦλος ἐξ ἀνάγκης τοῖς ὅμοιοις συνέσται· δε τοῦ πάλιν σέφερν καὶ σοφδες τοῖς τὰ αἰτά αἰτῷ μετιοῦσιν. Rup. f. 260b (Κλῆμ. στρωματ.).

η. Ἐπιστήμη τίς ἔστιν ἡ Χριστιανὴ θεοσέβεια· δν τρόπον ἐκάστης ἐπιστήμης ίδιοι λόγοι εἰσὶ, καθ' οὓς ἀναλαμβάνων περιγίνεται τὸ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπάγγελμα, οἷον ῥητορικὴ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ῥητορικῶν λόγων, ιατρικὴ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ιατρικῶν· οὕτως καὶ ἡ Χριστιανικὴ Ἐπιστήμη ἀπὸ τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν λόγων περιγίνεται· ίδιοι γὰρ οἱ Χριστιανικοὶ λόγοι εἰσὶν· ὥσπερ οὖν οὐκ ἔστι τοῖς ῥητορικοῖς λόγοις ἀναλαμβάνοντα ιατρὸν γένεσθαι, η τοῖς ιατρικοῖς ῥήτορα πότικα οὐδὲ Χριστιανὸν ἀφ' Ἑλλήνων λόγων ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν. Διὸ φημὶ τοὺς βουλομένους Χριστιανὸν εἶναι δεῖ μόνους ἀναλαμβάνειν τοὺς τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγους καὶ μηδὲν ἑτερον ζητεῖν τούτο γε αὗτοῖς γενέσθαι. Rup. f. 278. Following without discontinuity a quotation from II Paed. 60, headed τοῦ ἀγίου Κλήμεντος.

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

Calpurnii et Nemesiani Bucolica recensuit HENRICUS SCHENKL. Leipsic and Prague, :885.

This excellent edition of the Eclogues of Calpurnius and Nemesianus, by the son of the well-known Vienna professor, Dr. Karl Schenkl, will be welcome to those who participate in the revived interest in the poetry of Rome, not in its well-worked, almost exhausted, Augustan era, but in its subsequent developments. Whatever the age of Calpurnius may be, whether the reign of Nero, as Bücheler and Schenkl think, or a later period, as was the earlier belief, the seven pastorals which have come down to us under his name deserve careful and minute study as poetry, as highly elaborated specimens of the artistic treatment of the hexameter; finally, as historical documents. From this last point of view I cannot but feel sorry that Herr Schenkl has thought it sufficient to refer his readers to the disquisitions of his predecessors. There should have been a chapter in which the chronological data are reviewed, and in which the palpable objections which lie against the Neronian date are considered and answered. For my own part, I will not deny that in reading successively each of the seven Eclogues, the doubts which the first of them raised as to that theory rose steadily with each of the series, and culminated in the seventh. Thus, no one with a shade of the historic sense can fail to see in IV 118 the most definite historic allusion to some enactment about treasure-trove; and will certainly not be contented to be told that Persius has a casual allusion to the same subject. Nothing short of a detailed examination of Roman law, as ascertainable on this point, will suffice to settle even this single question. Again, the description of the amphitheatre in Ecl. VII is minute, and should be compared point by point with the descriptions of Martial and

other authors: to me they seem more advanced than could have been expected in the time of Nero. And could that age have produced on the stage all the outlandish and uncouth animals mentioned in the same Eclogue? At any rate, it is in writers of a much later time, like the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, the *Panegyrici*, Ammianus Marcellinus, and others, that we hear so much of these strange creatures, which were often sent by Oriental or Northern chieftains as highly acceptable offerings to the Roman people. And does not the description of the shepherd lifting the exhausted ewe *on his shoulders*, V 41, seem to point to a time when Christian art had made this a familiar symbol? Or, coming to grammatical questions, would a Neronian writer have said *Non potiar* for *Ne potiar*, VI 9?

The four Eclogues of Nemesianus are so immensely inferior to Calpurnius, from every point of view, as to suggest that they are not by Nemesianus at all. Certainly they will not stand comparison for an instant with the finished and beautiful fragment of the *Cynegetica*, which we know to have been by Nemesianus. Is it not possible that they may be falsely ascribed to him? They look like poor imitations of Calpurnius, and have had a very bad effect on the criticism of the seven Calpurnian Eclogues, which are as fine, not to say exquisite, as the tame centos which follow them in the MSS, and which Haupt, Birt and Schenkl find no difficulty in ascribing to Nemesianus, are feeble and lifeless.

Herr Schenkl's chief efforts have been directed to the cardinal question of the comparative value of the MSS. He gives the greatest weight to the Neapolitanus and the Gaddianus, then to the readings of Ugoletus's German codex, of which a collation is extant in a MS of the Riccardi Library at Florence, of the 15th century. Of somewhat less weight are Harl. 2578 and Paris 8049. Under the letter V he classes all the interpolated MSS, which fall into two groups, designated by the letters *v* and *w*.

Immense, in my judgment exaggerated, attention has been given to collecting parallel passages from other Latin poets. These are grouped under the text, and generally take up a third of each page. I do not deny the instructiveness of these parallels; but they do very little, after all, in settling questions of priority. Which copied which? Is such a passage a direct imitation of such other, or an unconscious reminiscence? Are we justified in such very free use of the term *explare* as Herr Schenkl allows himself in this matter? Poetry is a mimetic art in more senses than one; and some of our own greatest poets have borrowed, more or less consciously, the thoughts, the words, sometimes the very rhythm, of their predecessors. This, I think, is the most serious allegation I have to make against Herr Schenkl. Judging from his language, a great poet like Gray (for instance) is as much a *thief* as a cento-scribbler like some of the modern imitators of Tennyson or Swinburne.

In the constitution of the text, Schenkl has, on the whole, been very judicious. The advance made on the edition in which the Eclogues are ordinarily read, that of Wernsdorf, is very great. Many old readings disappear entirely, and even when no conjecture can yet be thought to have recovered the *vera manus* of the author, we have the materials for something better. His own contributions are of varying merit: some are very plausible—*e.g.*, *Verna* for *Vana* of MSS in V 6; *sera tamque*, V 61, for *serique*.

Sometimes he has judiciously marked a lacuna where the MSS present advanced corruption—e. g., VI 15, which *V* gives:

Hunc siccique nides miasylie paciscor.

The elder Schenkl emends this as follows:

Hunc, sic ornatumque, nides Miasylie, paciscor
Perdere.

May not *sic* be a residue of *accusare*, as Calp. is describing a tame stag? The rest may be *tame ipse nides*. Sometimes he has allowed himself to be too much swayed by great names, notably Haupt, whose conjectures on Calpurnius are of very unequal merit. Take, for instance, IV 150, r.:

Tam liquidum, tam dulce sonant, ut non ego malim
Quod Peligna solent examina lambere nectar.

Why should *solent* be changed to *parant*? Or again, in V 109, *Incarnare nect
rem et constringere frondes*, where Haupt conj. *Incarnare nectat*, surely the MS reading is quite intelligible, and *constringere* far more aptly expresses the massing of congealed leaves into a frozen lump, than the binding together in a mass for carrying home.

Other passages in which, I think, critics will question the new editor's decision are, I 97:

Nec prius a! meritis defunctos Roma penatis
Censeat, occasus nisi cum resperxerit ortus.

Very meaningless is *a!* If *a meritis* is to be retained, *a* must, I think, be the preposition, 'and Rome shall not count for their services the dead among her household gods,' explaining with Wernsdorf's *Excursus*.

III 71, 2:

Tradimus ecce manus: licet illae uimine torto
Scilicet et lenta post tergum uite domentur.

Schenkl thinks it necessary to change *scilicet* of all MSS into *sem licet*. I cannot think this right: *scilicet* conveys just the touch of indignant, half-plaintive concession which a repentant lover who has maltreated his mistress might be expected to use: 'let them be reduced to order by *all means*.' Very hazardous, too, in so extraordinarily careful a metrist as Calp., is the change of the pluperfect *Contigerant* to *Contigerunt*, in V 79, and quite uncalled for the substitution of the pluperf. *Degustarat* for *Degustabat* of MSS in the exquisite verses:

uixdum bene florem
Degustabat apis, tu cingebare coronis.

III 91:

Phyllida Mopsus habet: Lycidas habet ultima rerum.

So MSS, except that *N* has *lycidax*, with *x* written over *x*, possibly by the first hand. Schenkl strangely gives:

Lycidan habet ultima rerum.

III 5:

Iam dudum nullis dubitaui crura rubetis
Scindere.

Heinsius' emendation *nullus* is too much like prose and ought not to have been adopted.

IV 22:

quae uos tam magna tulere
Iurgia?

is right: 'what is this mighty quarrel that has hurried you both away?' I cannot think *res* for *uos* in any way likely.

IV 152:

Olim quae tereti decurrent carmina uersu
Tunc, Meliboe, sonant, si quando montibus istis
Dicar habere larem!

May not *sona* be right?

Nem. I 78:

Messem tristis hiemps, aestas tractabit oliuam.

I suspect *ructabit*.

II 8:

Quis anni ter quinque hiemes et cura iuuentae,

Possibly

uirent et crura iuuenta.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

Fragmenta Herculanevia. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oxford Copies of the Herculanean Rolls; Together with the Texts of Several Papyri, accompanied by Facsimiles. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by WALTER SCOTT, M. A., Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press. Large 8vo, pp. xii, 325; xli, A-H (iii-H being plates). Price, \$6.50.

Contains: (1) Introduction; with brief account of the discovery, unrolling, and publishing of the rolls found at Herculaneum in 1752; of the spelling, lexicography (29 words not in Liddell and Scott), and authors quoted or referred to in the rolls. (2) Catalogue of the Oxford Facsimiles (lead-pencil drawings, made by, or under superintendence of, Rev. John Hayter, 1802-9, and others made or published since); with certain papyri, grouped together, which are known to form parts of the same work. Those of the Oxford facsimiles which belong to the groups thus appear twice. (3) A restored text of two rolls, of which the Naples facsimiles have been already published; the Oxford facsimiles being reproduced to accompany the text wherever there seemed any possibility of recovering the sense. In the restored text conjectural criticism is frequently resorted to, based, however, on existing fragments, and proceeding scarcely farther than the restoration of lacunæ, or the correction of clearly faulty copies. (4) The text of three of the best preserved rolls in the Oxford collection, not hitherto published in any form; giving with each roll a single page only of the Oxford facsimile, in order to show the characteristics of the handwriting. These texts are based on a collation of the Oxford facsimiles, the Naples facsimiles, and the originals. (5) The Oxford facsimiles of Philodemus *περὶ θαύματον*, and the Carmen Latinum, from plates engraved at Palermo (1806-9), hitherto preserved in the Bodleian Library, and never before used.

The object of the catalogue is to show what has been done, what not done, and what, perhaps, may yet be done, with the rolls or facsimiles in question. It gives full data and notices of former publication, with other pertinent remarks.

The groups of connected rolls contain like data and notices, with palaeographical and exegetical notes. New, and of especial value, are the remarks on the palaeography of papyrus 157-152, on pages 98-100, with the foot-notes. The roll in question differs from most of the others in containing abbreviations.

For literary purposes the work is rather dreary, except for the illustrative quotations introduced from the known classic authors; though here and there a bright saying is found. For beginners in palaeography the work is well worth going through—first, for its specimens of the earliest Greek manuscript; next, for a sample of the care needed in dealing with obscure writing or faulty copies; next, as an exhibition of the extensive research, patient industry and scholarly qualification required to handle such subjects with success. The palaeographic student, or rather, the beginner, will learn quite as much from the author's methods, and style of stating results, as from an immediate study of the facsimiles. Few books exhibit the necessary drudgery of a palaeographer so much or so well as this; but the exhibition could not be avoided. It is a masterly piece of work, and its value is permanent. The author was called away to Australia before the work had passed through the press, and left the correction of the proofs to Wallace M. Lindsay, of Jesus College, Oxford, who assumes the responsibility of typographical errors, and of part of the palaeographic notes above referred to, on p. 98.

I. H. H.

Studia Biblica. Essays in Biblical Archaeology and Criticism, and Kindred Subjects. By Members of the University of Oxford. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1885. 8vo, pp. viii, 263.

These essays are sent out by Professors Driver, Sanday, and Wordsworth, of Oxford University, and contain papers read by themselves and other instructors of the University at meetings held by them for the purpose of Biblical research.

The first paper is a discussion of Recent Theories on the Origin and Nature of the Tetragrammaton, by Dr. S. R. Driver, Christ Church, Regius Professor of Hebrew. Though he treats especially Delitzsch's theory and that of Robertson Smith, he also notices all opinions of which we have any record. Theories may conveniently be divided into those which regard the divine name *Yahweh* as formed from the Semitic substantive verb, and those which derive it from some other source. Dr. Driver seems to favor the signification "he that is," implying not only one who barely exists, but one who asserts his being, and enters into personal relations with his worshippers; yet we should judge, from the general tone of his remarks, that he would regard such a signification as a very unlikely one for early times. He says, indeed, that the possibility of a stage in which the name denoted the author of some physical phenomenon is undeniable. Might he not go further, and substitute probability

for possibility? That his definition suits Ex. 3, 14 may be granted; but this is a late passage, and could hardly guide us in our views of etymology. He rejects Smith's derivation from a verb meaning "to fall" (so that the name would be, "he who causes to fall"—*i. e.*, rain), on the ground that so special a meaning as this could not well have been conveyed by the verb. It may be doubted whether this is a good objection; a better one, perhaps, would be found in the infrequency or doubtfulness of the verb in question. He rejects Delitzsch's view that *Yahweh* comes from the non-Semitic *ya* or *i*, adopting the objections of Tiele and Philippi. The strongest objections to this view, as it seems to me, are the difficulty of explaining how *Yahweh* could have grown out of *i*, and the fact that the name is almost entirely confined to the Hebrews. There are traces of it, indeed, in the surrounding Canaanite and Aramaic districts, but the detached name has not been found outside of the Israelitish people. Dr. Driver does not notice the fact that the *w* in the divine name does not belong to the Hebrew form of the substantive verb, but to the Aramaic. This seems an almost insuperable difficulty in the way of a Hebrew etymology from the substantive verb, not to speak of the extreme improbability of such a conception of deity in those very early times to which the origin of the name must be referred. Certainly none of these explanations are quite satisfactory: neither *he is*; nor *he will be*; nor *he is becoming*; nor *he causes to be*; nor *he causes to rain*. Sayce's derivation of *Yahu* from the Hittites is entirely without support. The historical probabilities seem to me to lie in two directions: the Midianites (Ex. 2) and the Babylonians; but I should not venture to pronounce a definite opinion.

Mr. F. H. Woods, Tutor of St. John's College, inquires into the light thrown by the Septuagint Version on the Books of Samuel. He first makes an estimate of the value of the Septuagint as a critical authority with special reference to the Books of Samuel, and then points out the most important passages in which that version throws light on the original text or on the manner of its composition. While he recognizes the difficulties which exist in the Greek text, from the condition of the manuscripts and from the ignorance or inadvertence of the translators, he holds that the version is in effect equivalent to an independent Hebrew text, that it often helps us to reconstruct the original or very early texts, and that in some cases its readings are manifestly to be preferred to the Hebrew. He points out, also, that we are thus able to follow in some instances the progress of the construction of the Masoretic text. Mr. Woods has followed a strictly scientific method, and his conclusions are in general trustworthy.

A paper on The Dialects Spoken in Palestine in the Time of Christ is furnished by Mr. A. Neubauer, of Exeter College, reader in Rabbinical Hebrew, and sub-librarian of the Bodleian Library. He examines the question as to how far Greek and Latin were understood in Judea during this period, and comes to the conclusion that they could in no sense be termed dialects of the country; he believes that few persons had a substantial knowledge of Greek. The language which the disciples of Jesus spoke and wrote, he holds, was the language of the Palestinian Talmud—that is, the Talmud of Jerusalem. No apocryphal book, he observes, as far as our knowledge goes, was composed in Greek by a Palestinian Jew, and very few sayings in Greek are quoted in the Midrashic literature. The conclusion to which Neubauer comes is that

which commands itself to the majority of scholars in the present day, and is one to which we should naturally be led by all that we know of the permanence of national dialects. The adoption of Aramaic by the Palestinian Jew is, indeed, a remarkable phenomenon, but one which receives a natural explanation from the historical conditions; similar conditions did not exist in the time of the Greek and Latin occupation of Palestine. As to Jews in Egypt and Asia Minor, their case is different. Forming small communities in the midst of established civilizations, they were forced to adopt the languages of their various regions.

Mr. A. Edersheim, of Christ Church, has an article on *A New Theory of the Origin and Composition of the Synoptic Gospels*, proposed by Dr. G. Wetzel. The greater part of his paper is taken up with a brief statement of the numerous theories which have been advocated by various critics, and he confines himself to a very short mention of Wetzel's view, which is that the one staple historical notice in regard to this question is the preface to Luke's Gospel; that the Apostle Matthew gave instruction to the Jerusalem Hellenists in Greek, and that thus the First Gospel was called after him; that the Apostle, trusting to his memory, did not always arrange his material in exact chronological order; that from the notes taken by his hearers, various Gospel narratives came into circulation, and that these form our Synoptic Gospels. This theory of Wetzel, Mr. Edersheim rightly holds, does not call for detailed criticism.

Mr. Neubauer also has a paper on some newly-discovered Temanite and Nabataean inscriptions, of which he gives text and translation, with notes. In the former, the Temanite, he calls attention to the occurrence of the divine name תְּמִימָן, as early as the third or fourth century B. C., and to the divine name Rimmon, familiar in Aramean and Assyrian proper names. He suggests Assyrian influences. I hardly know what he means by the sentence (p. 214): "The language of these inscriptions, although, on the whole, old Aramaic, is not Assyrian." If they are Aramaic, how could they be Assyrian? The Nabataean inscriptions are sepulchral, and contain imprecations against those who should bury in the tombs others than members of the family to whom they were appropriated, except by written permission. Neubauer adds some general remarks on the history and mythology of the Nabataeans. He holds that the Edomites and the Nabataeans were, if not of the same race, at all events closely related; but for this he offers no more evidence than the statement in Genesis that Esau married a sister of Nebaioth. He claims Jethro also as a kinsman of the Nabataeans. These ethnological questions, however, present serious difficulties. If Neubauer means to deny the Arabian character of the Nabataeans, certainly we should ask for more evidence than he offers. For the divine names occurring in the inscriptions he finds some parallels in the related Semitic languages. It is surprising that, following Halévy, he includes the Hittite among the Semitic languages; of course, it is a question what he means by Hittite.

Other papers, of which we can only mention the titles, are: *A Commentary on the Gospels Attributed to Theophilus of Antioch*, by W. Sanday, Exeter College, Ireland Professor of Exegesis; *The Text of the Codex Rossanensis*, by the same; *The Corvey St. James and Its Relation to Other Latin Versions*

and to the Original Language of the Epistle, by John Wordsworth, Oriel Professor of Interpretation ; A Syriac Biblical Manuscript of the Fifth Century, with Special Reference to Its Bearing on the Text of the Syriac Version of the Gospels, by G. H. Gwilliam, Fellow of Hertford College ; The Date of St. Polycarp's Martyrdom, by T. Randall, St. John's College ; Some Further Remarks on the Corbey St. James, by W. Sanday.

This fruit of Oxford Biblical scholarship deserves a hearty welcome, and it is to be hoped that this volume will be followed by others of a like character.

C. H. TOY.

Der saturnische Vers als rythmisch erwiesen von OTTO KELLER. Leipzig, G. Freytag. Prag, F. Tempsky, 1883.

Prof. Keller revives the theory that the Saturnian verse was accentual, maintaining that this was in accord with the natural pronunciation, and that quantitative verses were purely artificial imitations of the Greek, and because of their greater beauty finally supplanted the Saturnians. But in the end nature must prevail; consequently, in the middle ages, the accent once more rises to supremacy, and metre based on quantity totally vanishes. The ancient metricians were wholly in error as to the nature of the Saturnian verse. They found but few examples that suited the scheme they devised. This fact, together with the vast number of licenses necessary to any scheme based on quantity, leads Keller to try the accents; "und hier machen wir nun die überraschende Entdeckung, dass in der That ein ungemein grosser Procentsatz sich in die von den Metrikern aufgestellten Schemata flügt, sobald wir schon die überlieferten Musterverse als rythmische Verse auffassen, und zweitens . . . dass die Erscheinungen in auffallender Weise mit den von Wilhelm Meyer für die spätere rythmische Poesie ermittelten Gesetzen harmonieren." . . . "Die Quantität ist völlig gleichgültig, um so mehr kommt auf den Wortaccent an." Of what he holds to be the same principle in late Latin he says: "Jede im gewöhnlichen Leben betonte Sylbe kann den Ictus haben und als Länge gelten, und jede unbetonte Sylbe als Kürze." Accordingly, we have Dábunt málum | Metélli | Naévió | poétae. He uses new characters in indicating his accentual scheme. If we employ the ordinary characters, it is

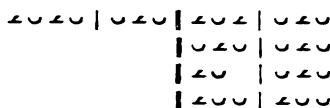
— | — | — — — —

That dactyl with feminine caesura is not an occasional license, but is required in the strict Saturnian. Moreover, it may become — | — or — — | —, so that we have such verses as

dvéllo mágno | diriméndo | régibús | subigéndis
mágnum númerum | triúmphat | hóstibús devíctis.

On this he says: "Man hat mir die Möglichkeit bestritten, dass drei unbetonte Sylben aufeinander folgen sollen; allein erstens ist die Cäsur zu beachten, welche zwischen die fraglichen drei Sylben fällt, zweitens kommt es auch in der romanischen Rhythmis unzähligemal vor, dass drei unbetonte Sylben hintereinander stehen." It will be observed that a syllable alternating with the tone-syllable may be accented or not, according to convenience. His rule is

that more than two accents must not fall on one word. In the history of the verse there are two periods—that of the old, rude Saturnian, and that of the strict, so to speak, classical Saturnian. The rude form shows much unevenness; but the strict form requires only the following schemes:



with the privilege, indeed, of an additional unaccented syllable between the first and second ictus, the second and third, the fourth and fifth, the fifth and sixth. We may dispense with a statement of the varieties of the less strict Saturnian.

The work abounds in hints that there is much prejudice to be overcome: the word "unbefangen" plays an important part. The author apparently has no hope of any one who has himself written on the subject. But the difficulties that suggest themselves even to one who is entirely "unbefangen" are numerous and serious. There is space here for the brief mention of only a few of these difficulties. The author tacitly assumes that ictus and accent were identical (p. 54), which some scholars will certainly not concede. Again, if the natural pronunciation gave to an accented syllable the value of a long, and to an unaccented one the value of a short, what was it that caused the first imitators of Greek verse to use invariably as long, certain unaccented syllables, even when there was not position, and certain accented syllables always as short? In other words, on what was quantity based in such words as *amicitia*? Keller finds fault with the quantitative scheme because it requires certain changes of traditional quantity, such as *säuer*; but in showing that the people had a tendency to recognize accent in verse, he cites even quantitative dactylic hexameters in which this happens, as C. L. L. i 1454:

Quí petis póstempus coarctárum quód rogás nón est.

Why might not this have happened as well in the Saturnians? Keller, it is true, denies that accent is at all regarded in the quantitative authors, Plautus himself not excepted. Even if this is granted, his theory about verses like that just cited, if true, ought to be applicable to quantitative Saturnians, if it was, as he claims, the verse of the people. Again, if the accentual rhythm was the natural one, which finally triumphed, the artificial method could hardly have rendered the other so unintelligible as is implied by the statement: "Mit der Übung des Dichtens im saturnischen Rythmus schwand nun auch allmählich alles Verständniss desselben im römischen Volke. Horaz verräth uns dass kein Mensch mehr zu seiner Zeit die altsaturnischen Saliarischen Gesänge u. dgl. wirklich verstanden habe, wenn er epist. II 1, 86 ff. sagt": u. s. w. His further remarks show clearly that he has reference to the metrical appreciation of such authors as Naevius, and not merely to the obscure matter of the Carmen Saliare. His view, by the way, must be that the survival of the accentual rhythm was in the provinces, or else it must have been rather a revival; unless, indeed, it was merely the principle that survived.

These are mere illustrations. The reader of this notice has, no doubt,

already seen for himself the improbability of some of the features of Keller's scheme.

The book is evidently the result of much thought and labor, and some of its points are certainly very strong; but, on the whole, it is likely to disappoint even those who are so "unbesangen" as to commence reading it with the hope and expectation that they are going to find the troublesome problem at last solved. One lays the book down with the feeling that, whatever may be said of "rythmisch" in the title, "erwiesen" is certainly the wrong word.

M. W. H.

Brinton's Library of Aboriginal American Literature. Number VI. The Annals of the Cakchiquels. The Original Text with a Translation, Notes, and Introduction. By DANIEL G. BRINTON, A. M., M. D. Philadelphia, 1885. 8vo. pp. vi, 234.

Dr. Brinton has added another interesting book to his editions of American texts. The Cakchiquels occupied a portion of the area of the present State of Guatemala. The annals here published are from the pen of one of their own authors, a member of a distinguished family. He describes the early history of his people and the arrival of the Castilians, with the events that followed their conquest. These are not very remarkable, but they serve to give a picture of the times.

The editor has prefixed an index in which he discusses the ethnological position of the Cakchiquels; their culture; their capital city; computation of time; personal and family names; tribal subdivisions; terms of affinity and salutations; titles and social castes; religious notions, and language. The people, like the Mayas and Aztecs, were agriculturists and builders. They had the art of picture-writing, but the editor leaves it undecided whether their system was derived from that of the Mexicans or that of the Mayas. Their literature consisted of poems and dramas. The form of government was a limited monarchy, the regal power being divided between two families, to one of which belonged the author of the Annals. Their constitution was that of tribes and sub-tribes. It is curious that the name of one of their subdivisions, *hay*, is the same as the Arabic word for "tribe." It is to be hoped that nobody will found on this a theory of close relation between the two peoples. They had Nature-deities similar to those of the Mexicans; a sylvan deity known as "the man of the woods"; an obsidian oracle, to which they paid implicit obedience; they practised human sacrifices, and had a regular order of priests.

Dr. Brinton, though he acknowledges his obligations to the manuscript version of the late Abbé Brasseur, holds himself responsible for the present translation. For the grammar he has depended on the anonymous grammar which he edited for the American Philosophical Society in 1884. For the significations of the words his authorities are the Lexicon of Varea, of the seventeenth century, and the Spanish Cakchiquel work of Coto. A vocabulary of the Annals and an index of native proper names are appended. The work must be a useful one for students of native American peoples and languages.

C. H. Toy.

A Sanskrit Reader: with Vocabulary and Notes. By CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN. Parts I and II. Text and Vocabulary. Boston, 1884.

More than two years have elapsed since the appearance of Lanman's Reader, and it may seem to the readers of the Journal as though a notice of so important a book had been deferred unduly. It was the intention of the writer from the start to review it, but it did not seem to him that a mature opinion could be given in a shorter time. The book is a practical one, and a correct knowledge of its value will largely depend upon practical use in the classroom. The test which it has received by use with two generations of beginners in Sanskrit furnishes a much closer insight into its character than any survey made ad hoc could possibly do. The author may rest assured that his modest hope that the book 'may help to enlarge the scope of classical teaching, to quicken the interest in the history of our mother-tongue, and to make Sanskrit study among us increasingly fruitful,' has been amply realized. Sanskrit has certainly been brought nearer to the horizon of the general philological public, and there is no longer the feeling that only persons of extraordinary energy, or of superior gifts are destined to an insight into this recondite language. The rapidity with which an average student can be advanced to a reading-knowledge of the language is out of all proportion with the rate in the past. Who does not remember the discouraging labors which were entailed upon him to whose duty it fell to organize a beginners' class? Various editions of Bopp's *Nida*, accompanied by a more checkered catalogue of lexical aids, the latter often based upon most discordant principles, made it possible to carry on the study only under constant friction, and the difficulties which had to be encountered proved more than anything else the vital interest of Sanskrit philology, and the vigorous hold which it had acquired upon the reason and imagination of students and scholars. At the Johns Hopkins University the increase in the number of students of Sanskrit has been most marked in the last two years, and though several causes have co-operated here in producing this result, the increased ease of access to the elements of the language has certainly been an important factor. The Reader is designed as an introduction to the so-called classical Sanskrit, as well as the various Vedic forms of dhatu, Mantra (hymns), Brahmana and Sūtras (ritual). It contains, according to the classical language the first five chapters of the story of King Asoka, 10 fables from the *Mitrayana*, 6 stories from the *Kāshīśrāṅgara*, 4 long passages from the *Uttarakarmanagama*. The Vedic language is represented in the first place by 11 hymns or parts of hymns from the Rig-Veda, a few extracts from the *Āśvamedha* Nishkala, about five pages of small selections from various sources illustrating the Puruṣasūkta, and finally several chapters from the *Apurvaśāstra* describing the marriage and funeral ceremonies.

The classical selections presented in this volume are well-chosen, and the vigorous measure which is made for the selection from the *Mitrayana* seems altogether unexceptionable. The author has been given it a measure by the feeling that it would be well to give selections which have previously been printed frequently in textbooks and encyclopedias. This feeling is traditional in Sanskrit studies and the sense that it is always to one's advantage to reuse old texts. It dates from a time when scholars used their knowledge of certain texts altogether to

chrestomathies; so, e. g., the second edition of Böthlingk's chrestomathy contained, at the time of its appearance, the only European edition of the drama *Ratnāvalī* (contributed to the chrestomathy by Professor Capeller). But it is certainly unnecessary now to discriminate in a chrestomathy against a certain Rig-Veda hymn because it has previously appeared in other chrestomathies. The Rig-Veda is now accessible in several complete text-editions and translations, and we should rather see a guarantee of genuine value and interest in the fact that a hymn has been selected by various authors of manuals. It is certainly one of the first *desiderata* of a Reader that it should present the most advantageous view possible of the language into which the student is to be introduced, even if this be in a measure flattering and disproportionate. Lanman has in general been guided by this spirit in making his selections, but occasionally he has sacrificed something to the feeling just described. So he has chosen RV. x 52, instead of the much more vigorous and dramatic hymn x 51, in illustration of the legend which tells how Agni became tired of carrying the sacrifices to the gods and hid in the waters. And we may suspect that the omission of such characteristic hymns as vii 103 (The Frogs), x 108 (*Sarama*'s mission to the *Panis*), and above all iii 33 (*Vipudmitra*'s meetings with the rivers *Vipāç* and *Cutudri*), is due entirely or partly to the fact that they are the show pieces of most chrestomathies prior to the author's. And yet we content ourselves without them only with reluctance. The only statement which is to be added to the criticism of the selections made is a negative one. The representatives of the Brähmana language are hardly enough to serve as an introduction into the style of those writings; and yet they are, from the nature of their language, peculiarly interesting to classical philologists. They are the only specimens of a genuine continuous prose—the sūtras hardly deserve to be mentioned in the same sense—and are, as I know from experience, peculiarly interesting and refreshing after the monotony of unceasing iambic rhythm which precedes them in the book. We would fain have seen the story of *Cunahorpa* from the *Aitareya-brähmana* inserted, and the author might have sacrificed for it the second selection from the *Hitopadeça*, the somewhat sententious story of the tiger in the rôle of an ascetic.

But what he has given us is printed with a carefulness rarely equalled. We have noted but one misprint (*prasvayandri* for *prasyandire*, on p. 98, ls. 4); unless the somewhat peculiar rendering of the consonantal group *trya* in the 11th line of the same page be of equal origin. The adhesion to the text-editions from which the selections are taken has been too close in one or two instances. Nala i 24b we read *sak्षigānāvṛtā*; ii 6b *sak्षigānāt*; the treatment in composition of feminine stems in long *a* and *i* still needs an investigation reaching back to the MSS; until then the uniform retention of the long vowel is desirable. The writings *ea cchāga* and *yajñacchāga* (p. 43, ls. 7, 11) are troublesome to teacher and student alike, and ought to have been changed, in spite of the Bombay text, to *ea chāga* and *yajñachāga*. In Āçvalā-yana's *Gṛhyasūtra* IV 1, 12 (p. 101, l. 10) Stenzler ought to have printed *abbita-ākācam* as a compound (*bahuvrīhi*); the sūtra is then easily rendered: 'The burial-place should have open space on all sides of it.' Similarly, I cannot help believing that the words *yathā* and *tathā*, Manu IV 17 (p. 62, l. 9) ought to be considered as an *avayibhāva*-compound in composition: *yathā-*

vidhyāyāyaśāstra, 'teaching in the proper manner' (cf. the rules of the *vedabhyāyana*-chapters in the *grhya-sūtras*).

The greater part of the book is taken up by a vocabulary which is superior among Sanskrit chrestomathies in fullness, exactness of execution, and the various accessory helps which it offers to students. It contains 178 pages in double columns and prevailingly small print, while the text amounts only to 106 pages. It is, accordingly, rather an index to the text than a mere lexicon, taking into account every important shade of meaning in the words, and explaining every difficulty. Moreover, ample references to Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar furnish constant assistance to the student, and serve to keep him at home in that invaluable book. In addition to the purely lexical side of the work, two features deserve especial attention: First, the introduction of etymological parallels from the classical and Germanic languages, occasionally also from the Slavic and Celtic; secondly, the developments of meanings in Sanskrit words, illustrated where possible by analogies from other languages, especially English and German. This feature of the book is to be especially commended, and deserves imitation in all better lexical works, as it emphasizes a side of language which both teachers and students are very prone to neglect. Semasiology in all its various aspects does not offer much that is as regular even as the phonetic life of words; so much more worthy of attention are the parallelisms in the development of meanings, which repeat themselves oftentimes in most varied surroundings, inviting even to a search for a psychological cause for this persistence. And the practical use of pointing out these parallels is to be found in the increased ease with which the meanings of a word, often of a puzzling variety, are remembered by the student. We may draw attention to a few of the more interesting comparisons made in the book: For the connection between *kṣi* in the sense of 'to dwell,' and *kṣi* 'to possess, rule,' cf. Lat. *poscidere* and Germ. *besitzen*. For Sk. *atīśa* 'narrow,' and *dīkṣa* 'distress,' cf. English *straiten* 'to narrow' and 'to distress,' Ger. *enge* and *angst*. For *āśvāna* 'occasion,' from root *sar* 'to go' and *ava* 'down,' cf. Lat. *cāsus* 'occasion,' from *cader* 'to fall,' and Germ. *fall* from *fallen*. For *budh* 'to notice,' in the sense of 'to present a person with a thing,' cf. Germ. *jemand* *Anhänger*. We may add here a few such parallels which are not noted in the book: For *ātī-ātī* 'name,' cf. *kratérōv*; for *niti* 'conduct,' cf. Germ. *aufführung*; for *māti-hātu*, cf. *μεριδο-πηγής*; for *prā-sanna* 'kindly disposed,' cf., perhaps, Germ. *genigst*; for root *hūm* and *vi* 'to lag, to loiter,' cf. the colloquial *an hūm adwā*; for *opīya* 'worthy to be seen, splendid,' cf. Engl. *rightly*, Germ. *wundert*; for *ann* 'to shut up, close,' and *ann-ruhlyate* 'to be devoted to,' cf. Germ. *abschließen* and *sic an einer Abschluß*.

The vocabulary, like the text, is elaborated and printed with model care. I have noted but one trifling misprint, *āśva* for *āśvā*. Under *nakṣatra* the designation *m.* (masculine) is to be added to *m.* (neuter) for RV. I, 50, 2 (p. 71, l. 12). *āśvā* 'united' is certainly not from *ātī(a)* + *īta*, but probably a *gnāva*-deictivative participle from *ātī*, 'associated.' *gnāva* is not from root *g-* 'to go' + *āva*, but is an odd comparative, Zend. *gāvīā*, Lat. *gētivis*, pl. *gētivis*. *gnāvapnā* cannot be a compound from *gnāva* + *pñā*; it is a patronymic epithet-deictivative in *gnāva* from *gnāva*. The explanation of *āśvā* as containing reduplicative (**ātī-ātī*) is forced; the long vowel of the root is of a piece with that of *ātī-ātī*, *ātī-ātī* seems to come analogically from

the common class of unreduplicated desideratives, which exhibit it quite often as the result of the fusion of a guttural with *s* (*bbikṣ, cīkṣ*, etc.). The designation of compounds like *agaknūvant* and *asprānt* as adjectives rather than participles, I have found somewhat puzzling to beginners. A name like *devagarman* seems to me better translated by 'having the protection of the gods' (*bahuvrhi*), rather than 'gods delight'; cf. *vīṣṇu-garman*, *varuṇa-garman*, etc., 'having Viṣṇu's, Varuna's, etc., protection'; cf. also *garva-varman*, etc. I do not believe in the necessity of regarding *prabhṛti* as uncompounded in an expression like *tatāḥ-prabhṛti* (to be written so!); this differs in no particular from *tat-prabhṛti* (adverb from an appositional *bahuvrhi*); if so, *prabhṛti* 3 is best cancelled. The development of the meanings in the causative of $\sqrt{sad} + a$ nr. 2 seems to me better as follows: 'to cause to sit near, to bring near, to bring on, to obtain.' *sūrṣṭa*, on p. 28, l. 10, seems to me to be best regarded as an adjective; if so, it is wanting in the glossary. Not accounted for is the use of *anya* agreeing with a noun, but translatable only by 'furthermore' (and the like). The word has an anticipatory value and appositional construction. So in Nala i 13, 14 (*na deveṣu na yakṣeṣu tādṛg rupavati kvaicit mānuṣeṣu api ca'* *nyeṣu dṛṣṭapūrvu*) the phrase *mānuṣeṣu api ca'* *nyeṣu* does not seem to me translatable by 'nor among men and others,' but by 'nor furthermore among men.' So also Nala iii 2: *aham ca'* *va hi yac ca'* *nyan mama' sti vasu kiincana* is not to be translated by 'for both I and whatsoever other good I have,' but by 'for both I and furthermore whatsoever good I have (all that is thine).' The Greek has the same idiom, e. g. in Xen. Anab. i 5, 5: *οὐ γάρ ἦν χρότος οὐδὲ ἄλλο δένδρον*; Plato, Gorg. 473 C: *πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀλλών ξένων*; Plato, Ap. 36 B: *ἀμελήσας . . . χρηματισμὸν τε καὶ οἰκονομίας καὶ στρατηγίῶν καὶ δημογορίῶν καὶ τῶν ἀλλών ἀρχῶν*. The etymology given for *adbhuta* (*ad(i)-bhūta*) is surely to be discarded (see Bezz. Beitraege iii 171); and the etymologies given for *ambara* (*an(u)-vara*), *kitavd* (*kim + tava*), are also hardly sound enough to report. The derivation of *kṣaṇe* from *ikṣṇa* seems to me very unlikely; it is more likely to be derived from a noun *kṣaṇa* 'blow'; cf. Ger. 'auf einem schlag,' Fr. 'tout d'un coup.' On the other hand, the connection between *narman* 'fun,' and *sū-ndra* 'joyous,' *sū-nṭā* 'joyousness,' seems to me fairly secure, and for *avadhiraya* I would venture a suggestion. If we assume for *dhīra* the meaning 'thinking,' $\sqrt{dhīra}$ would mean 'to think,' *avadhiraya* 'to think down,' to despise; cf. *katafforōtō*. The root 3.*kṛ* illustrates one of the greatest disadvantages which attaches itself to the choice of the weak root-forms for lexicons. The short *r*-vowel is quite without foundation in this root (*kirṇd* = *kṛ-nd*; *kir-d-ti* = *kṛ-d-ti* for *kṛ-d-ti*), and the Hindu scholars are quite right in projecting it as $\sqrt{kṛ}$. Yet it may have been well to avoid a notation different from that of Whitney's grammar in a single instance or two. The verbal forms *āsat* (\sqrt{as} , p. 2, l. 7), *aduhat* (\sqrt{duh} , p. 60, l. 11), *muṣṇanti* ($\sqrt{muṣ}$, p. 13, l. 5), *gamnāti* (artificial form from $\sqrt{3-gam}$, p. 97, l. 16), *cayate* ($\sqrt{cī}$, p. 70, l.), *sarati* (p. 31, l. 10), *ni-līyata* ($\sqrt{lī}$, p. 93, l. 16), are not accounted for in the vocabulary; no doubt the notes, which are to be issued soon, will bring their explanation.

The Petersburg Lexicon does not seem to me always happy in its manner of accounting for verbal forms in *-dyā*. It is often disposed to designate as causatives (or so-called *cur*-verbs) forms which are better regarded as denominatives. In this Lanman has followed his authority too closely. So there seems to me to be no reason for doubting that *cintdyāmi* is a denominative from *cintā*;

it means, literally, 'to give thought to' rather than 'to think'; e. g., in selection xix it can be seen clearly that *acintayat* (p. 42, l. 14) is rendered by *cintāta kṛtvā* (p. 43, l. 3). Certainly *pūrdayati* is not a causative of *vīpti*, having the same value as *prāpti* 'to fill,' but a denominative from *pūra* in the sense of 'to make full'; *vardyati* is not a causative from *vīrti* 'to choose,' but a denominative from *vr̥dra* 'choice,' in the sense of 'to make choice'; *pūjyati* does not come directly from *vīpūj*, but is a denominative from *pūjā* 'to do honor to.' And there seems to me no danger of error in stating denominative origin for *tarkdyāmi*, *bhakṣdyāmi* and *abhibhāvdyāmi* (from *tarka*, *bhakṣa* and *abhibhāva*). The class of *cur*-verbs is likely enough to retain forever a liberal allowance of unexplained forms in *dya*; so much more desirable is it to sever from it verb-forms of clearly denominative origin. The accent of these forms presents no difficulty greater than that of *mantrdyāmi*, and a suggestion as to the reason why these words do not exhibit denominative accent (*mantrayāmi*) may not be amiss here. We start from the fact that there are almost no presents in accented *a* (*tud*-class) which exhibit an *a* in the root to be found in the language. The few exceptions can be seen in Whitney's Roots, Verb-Forms, etc., of the Sanskrit Language, pp. 217-18; they are not enough to obscure the fact, which appears clearly, e. g., in the case of the inchoative class: *ydchāmi*, *gdcchāmi*, but *uccchāmi*, *ṛchāmi*, *prccchāmi*, *icchāmi*; the transition-stems from the *na*-class: *pd-na-te* (*ṇepvñui*),¹ *bhd-na-ti* (*ṇbhā*), possibly also *rd-na-ti* (**rm-na-ti*), but *ṛp-na-ti*, *mṛ-na-ti*, *gt-na-ti*, etc.; the transition-stems from the *nu*-class: *dhd-nv-ati* (*dhñ-nv-d-ti*), *rd-nv-ati* (**rm-nv-dtī*), but *ṛ-nv-d-a²*; the transition-stem *vd-n-d-a-te*, but *mu-ni-c-d-ti*, etc. (Whitney, Sk. Gr. 758).³ It may certainly be assumed that this shift of accent is not due to phonetic influences, but to the attraction of the *bhū*-class verbs, which are common in earliest times, and often exhibit in their stems the sequence *consonant + d + consonant + a*, followed by the personal endings. Now, it is evident that the same tendency would change an original **pūrayati* to *pūrdayati*, and thus the confusion between the forms of causatives which had *-dya-* originally (KZ. xxiii 120) may be due to an analogy which emanated from the *bhū*-class rather than the causatives themselves. These might, however, have also exercised a certain attraction upon forms differing from them as slightly as the type **pūrayati*.

The etymological part of the book is done with care and excellent judgment, though in this department scholars agree to differ from one another with almost no acerbity. The lesson of the past has made us wise. I do not believe at all that the author has given too much. The more numerous and palpable the

¹ Pāṇini and the Nirukta report a form *paṇḍyati* in the sense of 'to praise.' If there be any nexus between *ḍyate* and this word, it would fortify the assumption that the *n* of the root *paṇḍ* originates with the *nd*-suffix; cf. *mathāyati* : *mathnāmi*, etc. (Whitney, Sk. Gr. 752).

² This type has also allowed most of its stems containing vowels other than *a* (*jī-nv-āmi*, to pass over into the *bhū*-class.

³ It is certainly not accidental that there is not a single example of an *a*-root contained in this paragraph of Whitney's Grammar. The *a*-roots, in passing over to the *bhū*-class, yield a type (*vd-n-d*) which coincides so perfectly with the prothetic roots containing a nasal (*bilñk*), that they would be at once urged on by the analogy of these to begin to play the part of genuine roots. This explains satisfactorily the existence of a complete tense-system (perfect, aorist, etc.) in root *vand*, and other roots of this type are subject to the suspicion that they are merely extended present-systems.

bonds which connect Indian language, thought, myth, custom, etc., with that of Europe are shown to be, by so much do Indian studies gain in wholesome interest. The teachers of Indian philology can demand more warmly a recognition of the importance of their teachings and their investigation, as they spin one thread after another across from the Ganges to the Tiber, and of course the vocabularies of the ancient Indian dialects offer the best vantage-ground for exhibiting this union. I am not acquainted with any good reason for comparing Lat. *fides* and *foedus* with Sk. *bandh* and Germ. *binda*, as Gr. πειθω πιστός, together with the Lat. words, point to **bhidh*, which cannot be derived from **bhāndh* by any process, acceptable to-day. ήλφον is hardly to be compared with *vrabh*, but with *vargh* (Froehde, Schmidt, Brugmann); with *grhd* 'house' I prefer to compare *γροβίλος* 'cave,' Zd. *geredha* (Fick, Schmidt, De Saussure), rather than to call in *vgrah*; under *abhrd* 'rain-cloud' the formally almost identical ἄφρος ought to be mentioned. There is no good reason for omitting the etymology of *vkṣan* (*kreīw*) under its own head, and reporting it under *v2.k̥t̥i* (*phiīw*); the roots stand in no closer relation than many other pairs or triads of roots for which some relationship has been assumed. Under *v2.tan* the fuller *vstan* deserves a mention, although it does not occur in the vocabulary. The doubtful connection of *vkri* with **vplauai* seems to me preferable to the derivation from *vkar* 'to make.' Since the publication of the Reader, I have myself given reasons for connecting *páka* 'young' with Greek πέτων in the sense of 'mild, weak, little' (Am. Journ. Philol. Vol. VI, p. 42). The following etymologies seem to me well assured: *kuppati*: Lat. *cupio*; *pátra* 'drinking-vessel': old Latin *póclum*; *vgras* 'to devour': *γράω*, *γράστης*; *vbhāq*: English *busy* (Kluge, Froehde); *gdqvant* (for **sd-cvants*): ā-πavrt- (Benfey); *candrd*: Lat. *candere*; *vkar*: Latin *colere* (cf. *sasyath carati*, p. 34, l. 16). Less certain, but yet worth mentioning, seem to me *ñ(x)t̥*: *vah* (e. g., Wackernagel); *rēloov*: *vkarq*; *gubhrd*: Ohg. *sabar*; stem *πολλός*: *pūṇḍ-*, Slavic *j-dro*, is so characteristic a parallel to *anya* 'egg,' that it would have been well to mention it.

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.

La Chanson de Roland. Translated by LÉONCE RABILLON. New York, 1885.

It were superfluous to explain to any reader of this Journal the origin and scope of this remarkable epic, which, though it commemorates a disaster and not a victory—a disaster, too, which had no serious nor lasting results—and though it glorifies a hero of whom we know nothing except that he was Prefect of Brittany, has yet, in one form or another, held the ear of the world for a thousand years.

M. Rabillon's translation can compare favorably with any that we have seen. He seems to have hit a happy medium between the harshness that would repel the reader, and the smoothness and polish that would fail to give the color of the original; and he has been careful to preserve that touch of childishness which is so characteristic of the work of "Tuoldus." He has also succeeded remarkably in his management of the ten-syllable measure, never easy to handle, but especially difficult here. Those who wish to make the acquaintance of the poem without grappling with the old Norman dialect, may do so very satisfactorily and pleasantly in this version. W. H. B.

REPORTS.

PHILOLOGUS, XLIII, 2-4.

No. 2.

1. Pp. 209-18. G. F. Unger discusses at length the source of the error of Apollodorus in placing the birth of Xenophanes from 40 to 60 years too early.

2. P. 218. Unger emends Theophr. Char. 4.

3. Pp. 219-43. On the Vienna Collection of Apothegms, by F. Lortzing. 1. A discussion of the sources of the apothegms ascribed to the so-called *σοφοί*. 2. Additions to, and remarks upon, Wachsmuth's edition of the collection.

4. P. 243. In Plat. Apol. 23 A, K. Füsslein proposes *ταῦταν* for *τοῦτον* (MSS) or *τοῦτ' οὐ* (Wolf-Hermann).

5. Pp. 244-8. On Pseudo-Isocrates *πρὸς Δημόκου*, by E. Albrecht. The author places in parallel columns the well-known similar passages of the first and the second orations. He then shows that those of the first must have been derived from the second. It is highly improbable that Isocrates thus borrowed from himself.

6. Pp. 249-60. On Eudociae Violarium, by E. Patzig. This work, as has been shown by P. Pulch, *De Eudociae quod fertur Violario*, is a compilation of the 16th century. Patzig gives many interesting illustrations of the manner in which the author, who uses works of later date than the time of Eudocia, has stitched together and interwoven passages from various sources. The writer of the MS (Par. 3057) was the author of the work.

7. Pp. 261-96. On the Chronology of the Last Years of the Peloponnesian War, by J. Beloch. This is an elaborate article of great interest, but it is impossible to make an abstract of it intelligible. Specially interesting to the general scholar is the investigation of the genuineness of the chronological data of Xenophon's *Hellenica*.

8. P. 296. C. Hartung maintains that in Theocr. XXVII 14, *καὶ σύγε* is to be retained.

9. Pp. 297-320. On the Construction of the Berlin Model of the Greek Quinquereme, by B. Graser. The model was made under the direction of Graser, who, in this article, defends the construction against certain criticisms, especially those of Zöller and Brunn.

10. Pp. 321-46. Report on Greek and Roman Mathematics.

11. P. 346. F. Becher holds that in Cic. pro Milone, XXIV 66, *diligentiam . . . nimiam nullam putabam* is intentionally ambiguous.

12. Pp. 347-8. Th. Fritzsche emends *Theogn.* V 513.
 13. Pp. 349-53. B. Fabricius gives, as a supplement to his translation of the *Periplus* of the Erythraean Sea, a criticism of Blandi's translation, and corrects δρόμοι into δρυμοί in §15, p. 52.
 14. Pp. 353-6. O. Apelt critically discusses ten passages of Stobaeus.
 15. Pp. 356-8. Ph. Thielmann discusses eight passages of Petronius.
 16. Pp. 358-60. C. Fr. Müller emends *Liv.* XXII 23, 4; 24, 5; 24, 9-10; 38, 3; 51, 6.
 17. Pp. 360-62. In *Cic. Or.* XLVIII 159 (where the quantity of *in-* and *con-* before consonants is treated), L. Müller proposes *inmanis* for *inhumanus*, and *producte dicuntur i* for *producte dicuntur*.
 18. Pp. 362-3. A. Bauer defends *Thuc.* III 50 (the execution of the thousand Mitylenaeans).
 19. Pp. 363-4. G. F. Unger argues that Pyrrhus began to reign in 297 or the second half of 298 B. C.
 20. Pp. 365-6. Martin Schanz contributes some facts to the biography of H. Stephanus.
 21. Pp. 366-84 (end). Extracts from Journals, etc. The Westminster Review, 1882, Vol. LXII, July (a mere list of titles). Revue Archéologique, 1878, No. V to 1879, No. V. This report contains the following paragraph: "Endlich wird, um einem etymologischen Irrthum vorzubeugen, berichtet, dass *Encina*, was ein deutscher Philologe auf der Abbildung eines gallischen Gottes für eine antike Inschrift und für den Namen einer Gottheit, der griechischen Λνάγκη entsprechend, angesehen hatte, die Signatur des Pariser Kupferstechers ist, der die Abbildung gravirt hat."
- No. 3.
1. Pp. 385-404. Dio Chrysostomus as Historian, by H. Haupt. The views of H. S. Reimarus concerning the inaccuracy of the list of works ascribed by Suidas to Dio *Cassius*, are adopted and extended, the author arguing at length that not only the *Terruá*, but also the *Illepoluá*, and even τὰ κατὰ Τρωιανῶν, are works of Dio *Chrysostomus*.
 2. P. 404. In *Statius Achil.* I 394, H. Deiter proposes *Fatuam* for *famam*.
 3. Pp. 405-16. Strabo's Sources for his 17th Book, by A. Vogel. A pleasantly composed and interesting discussion. The conclusion is that Strabo gives much concerning Egypt from personal observation; otherwise he followed chiefly Artemidorus, occasionally other authors, among them Poseidonios.
 4. P. 416. In *Cic. Tusc.* I 36, 38, H. Deiter proposes to follow the MSS in omitting *Ita*, and to write a semicolon instead of a period after *patiare*.
 5. Pp. 417-28. On the Athenian Law of Inheritance in the Absence of Wills, by K. Seeliger. The object of this somewhat intricate investigation is to demonstrate that the law itself was defective, and hence that we must not undertake to emend it into a perfect system.

6. P. 428. C. Angermann connects ἀμπρον, ἀμπελος, ἀμπυξ with ἀπτω, root *ap*, "erreichen."
7. Pp. 429-43. The Four Ages of Julius Florus, by G. F. Unger. An elaborate investigation of the origin of the number of years assigned each age, 400, 150, 150, 200, with a discussion of some collateral questions.
8. Pp. 444-66. Some Questions in Latin Epigraphy and Grammar, by W. Weissbrodt. As this article is of general interest to Latin scholars, a tolerably full abstract is here given:

I.—THE USES OF *I longa*.

Grammarians have noted the fact that about the times of Sulla the letter *I*, produced upward, began to be used to denote *i long by nature*, and so sometimes interchanged with *ei*, which had ceased to indicate a sound intermediate between *e* and *i*, and represented merely *i*. Exceptionally *EI* denoted *i*. Often *I longa* denoted *i consonans*, as *EIVS¹* *GAIVS*. Also, *II* and *II* were used with the same power, as *EIVS*, *EIVS*. Finally the form *II* was used in *imperator*, *imperium*, as a mark of respect. But the lengthened *I* had other uses:

(1) It seems to be universally assumed that it never denoted *two vocalic i's*, whereas there are reasons for believing that it sometimes stood for *II*. (That *II* does not occur in Latin is well known.) For instance, in C. VI 906 (of the city Rome), occur *DIs* and *FILIS*, but common *i* not only in the first syllable of the latter word, but also in *suis*, *libertis*, *postoris*, *Atimetus*, etc. Of course, *dis* and *filiis* are perfectly good; but this does not show that *diis* and *filiis* were not intended by the above mode of writing, and if such was not the intention, it is difficult to divine the object of using *I* in those words only. Similarly, in C. VIII 7969 (Numidia), in the sentence *venationem vari generis promisit*, the adj. is written *VARI*, although the inscription has common *i* in *Commodi*, *Antonini*, *Pii*, *Celerinus*, *promisit*. So C. VIII 8795 (Mauretania) has *Severi*, *Alexandri*, *divi*, *onorati*, etc., with common *i*; but the gen. of *Pius* is *PI*. This *PI* occurs also in C. III 5323 (Seckau), along with *fil.*, *Severi*, *Parthici*, written with common *i*. In C. X 2935 (Naples), *sibi et Is qui inscripti sunt*. So C. X 13,564, *maritus*, *amico*, *Felci*, *coniugi*, *suis*, etc.; but *FILIS*. Also, C. X 2782 (Puteoli), *FILIS* along with *coniugi*, *libertis*, etc.

These examples are taken from inscriptions the transcripts of which are certainly free from falsifications. Supported, then, by these examples, the following may be regarded as almost certain: C. VI 1283, *sternundis*, *repetundis*; but *VENEFICIs*, *VIls* (*quaestor beneficis*, *vis sternundis*). C. VI 12,307, *vixit*, *dirae*, *qui*, *donis*, *tuis*, *meritis*; but *INFERIs* in the pentameter, *ut cineres patrios dederet inferis*. C. VIII 3354, *ARMILLI*; but *Balbi*, *Aviti*. C. VI 8101, *Dls manibus*, *libertis libertabusque*, *quique ab Is manumissi . . . posterisque*. Other examples might be added.

It will presently be shown that the nom. pl. of names in *-iis* was usually in *-ii*, and the gen. sing. in *-i*. Hence, we have instances of *I = ii* in C. V 5378 and 3338, the former of which has gen. *Septimi* and nom. *SEPTIMI*; the latter, gen. *Bellici* and nom. *HORTENSI*. The fact that in other instances this character denotes a single long vowel, does not disprove the use claimed for it in these examples.

¹ In such cases did it not really stand for *ij*?—M. W. H.

(2) When *ii* occurs, sometimes the second *i* is produced upwards merely as a graphic device to secure variety,¹ without any intention of indicating quantity. This often occurs in numerals, as VII, VIII, XIII. In C. VIII 7994, occur *marmoreis, binis, theatri, etc.*; but PODIIS. C. VI 15,856 (A. D. 193), *divi Marci, domini, locis, Felici, etc.*; but AEDIFICIIS. C. VIII 212 (2d century) gives opportunity for I = *i* more than eighty times, but the character is employed only in ELVSIIS. So C. VI 8572, *fisci, Asiatici, vixit, filio*; but COMMENTARIIS. C. VI 9784, *Alexandri, philosophi, Stoici, merenti, etc.*; but DIIS, CLAVDII. C. VIII 10,212, *i* ten times, PII twice. C. X 5052, *i* sixteen times, PII three times. There are many other examples. A very common one is PISSIMIS in epitaphs from all the provinces of the empire.

Rarely the first *i* of *ii* is produced, both in numerals, as XXI^{III}, VII^{II} (C. VIII 10,586), and in ordinary words, as PISSIMVS (C. VI 14,452), DIIS, etc.

(3) Occasionally the complex characters IEI, IEI, II, II, strangely denote each a simple *i*. It may be that in some cases a vulgar pronunciation—sviis = *suis*, for instance—is indicated. For other instances no satisfactory explanation has been found. The examples are too few to indicate a widely prevailing custom, and too numerous to be ascribed to accident. The sound *i* is found represented by II in the first syllable of *filiae, Isidi, Divius*; the last syllable of *divi, liberti, ministri, Opi* (dat. of Ops), *annis, amicis, defunctis, libertis, publicis, coniugi, uxori, bigis, collegis, tabulis, piissimis* (which also has PI = *pii*), and in *qui, posterique*. In C. X 2040 occurs ANNIIS = *annis*, and in VI 639 *sanctissimis*, with II in the ultima. The few examples of IEI seem to belong to the last years of the republic and the beginning of the empire. The numerous examples of II (with one exception from the times of Alexander Severus) belong to the first half of the first century after Christ. For future consideration is reserved the question whether any influence was exercised by the Greek habit of representing the *i*-sound by two letters.

II.—SIMPLE AND DOUBLE *i* IN THE CASE-ENDINGS.

This subject, investigated by many scholars, has been most completely treated by Corssen (Ausspr. II 606–705).

(1) Nouns in -iis, -ium, began to form their gen. in -ii already in the times of Augustus. The epitaph of P. Paquius Scaeva and his wife (C. IX 2845–6) has *Paquii, aerarii, filii*. It mentions Augustus as still living, thus approximately fixing its date; but it contains the word *reliquum*, thus spelled, showing that the composer belonged to the new school of analogists. Also in the Monumentum Ancyranum *conlegis* is no longer to be questioned. To the few examples that have been collected from the times of Tiberius is to be added *filii* (C. VI 10,399 of A. D. 16); in the times of Caligula occurs *divi Juli* (VI 882); about the times of Claudius, *Claudii* (14 times), *Juli* (twice), *Statili*, etc. But the simple *i* still continued to be more common by far.

(2) In the much-cited law of Malaca, the two genitive forms *municipi* and *municipii* are not used promiscuously, as is assumed. The connection in which the word occurs seems to have had some influence, but no fixed rule is consistently observed throughout.

¹ Compare the retention of the old *long s* in writing *ss* in English, and the *j* of medical prescriptions.—M. W. H.

(3) In African inscriptions *flamonium* nearly always has *-i*, whereas *municipium* very often has *-ii*. Here, as in the law of Malaca, the dat. of *municipis* appears to have sometimes led to a differentiation.

(4) The forms *fili*i** (gen. and nom.) and *fili*is** are comparatively rare. The simple *i* greatly predominates, even when attended by proper names with *-ii*. [Here the author gives a considerable list of illustrations.]

(5) Sometimes the gen. sing. and the nom. pl. of a name have the same form. [Here follow several examples.] But the rule is that the nom. must have *-ii*, the gen. *-i*. Proofs may be cited by the hundred. [A long list follows.]

(6) On coins the gen. of names in *-ius* is only *-i*, the nom. pl. *-ii*. *Fili*is**, however, is found as gen. and *fili*i** as nom. The gen. of *imperium* vacillates.

III.—FINAL *m* IN THE TIMES OF THE EMPIRE, AND THE EXPRESSIONS *curam agere*, *cura agere*, *curagens*.

It is a well-known fact that *-m*, because of its weak utterance, was often omitted in writing, and also was frequently added where it did not belong.

(1) Those who supplied occasional poems omitted *-m* whenever quantity by position was to be avoided, but, on the other hand, allowed hiatus between *-m* and a vowel. For instance, C. VI 7578 (in Hadrian's times), . . . *nec passa est PIETATE rependere matri, dixerunt FERALE diem stationibus atris, ut mecum florem fato MORIENTE viderent*. Also, *consulibus tunc natus ERAM iterque Severo*. In VI 1951 stands *UMBRA levem*, but *VITAM servetis amicis*. In VI 9783,

*hic cum lauru feret Romanis iam relevatis
reclusus castris in pia morte perit,*

lauru feret is not to be changed into *laurum fert*, for the double error is much less probable than is *feret* for *fert*¹ in the times of Maxentius.

(2) In some prose inscriptions the omission of *-m* was the rule. In two African inscriptions (C. VIII 8246 and 8247) occur the accusatives *agnu* (three times), *tauru*, *edu* (each twice), *agna*, *aedua*, *ovicula*, *ovicla*, *capone*, *verbece*, *berbece*; in short, *-m* is omitted everywhere—seventeen times in all. In Africa, from the fifth to the seventh century, the formula *alicui domum eternale facere* was in common use, one acc. with *-m*, the other without; *eternalem* only twice.

(3) This omission of *-m* led to the compounds *curagens*, *curagendarius*.

(a) *Curam agere* is construed (1) with the gen. in twelve examples [quoted in the original article]. One of these has the participle. (2) Without the gen., twenty-one examples, fifteen of which show the abl. absolute of the participle.

(b) *Cura agere*. Thirty-eight examples, thirty-one of them with the participle in the abl. absolute. One example with the gen.

(c) *Curagens*, *curagendarius*. The former occurs C. III 5898 and 3096; the latter in the Codex Theodosianus, in a decree of Constantius: *hi quos curagendarios sive curiosos provincialium consuetudo appellat*.

It is clear that *curam agere* is older than *cura agere*. As the abl. absolute *cura agente* occurs so often, one might suspect that a species of attraction, not unknown to Latin epigraphy, took place; but in the case of *memoria fecit*, *fecerunt*, *posivit*, *posuit*, *comparavit*, "erect a tombstone," the finite verb always occurs.

¹ The sense, too, seems to prefer this. Observe also the abl. *in pia* in the next verse.—M. W. H.

Curagere is therefore analogous to *animum advertere, animadvertere*.

9. P. 466. A. Eussner contributes two ancient passages—Seneca Rheticus (Suas 2, 20), on Verg. Aen. XI 288–90, and (Contr. VII 1, 27) on Two Verses of Varro—to the solution of the question whether the defective verses of Vergil have an artistic object, or are due to the incompleteness of the work. The passages favor the artistic theory.

10. Pp. 467–522. Report on Greek and Roman Mathematics, by J. L. Heiberg.

11. P. 522. H. Schiller defends *plus minus* in Bell. Gall. VIII 20, 1.

12. Pp. 523–6. F. Wieseler discusses Eur. Frag. (Nauck) 163, 172, 287, and in Aesch. Pers. 1002, proposes ἀκρότης for ἀγρόται or ἀκρόται.

13. Pp. 526–7. L. Holzapfel defends his views concerning Thuc. III 40, 24 (Rhein. Mus. XXXVII, p. 454 ff.), against Herbst's strictures (Philol. XLII, p. 715).

14. Pp. 528–31. G. F. Unger discusses the question when Alexander Polyhistor wrote, and concludes that it was about 39 B. C.

15. Pp. 531–6. G. Schoemann gives a discussion of the words γνώμων, ἀξολος, λειπογνώμων, as a contribution to the determination of the sources of Etymologicum Magnum.

16. Pp. 536–45. A. Kannengiesser discusses ten passages of Lucretius.

17. Pp. 545–6. J. Weber removes from Cicero (De Domo 38, 101) the passage in which is given the etymology of *Aequimelium*.

18. Pp. 546–7. H. Haupt discusses the question how far Jordanes followed Dictys Cretensis.

19. Pp. 548–76. Extracts from Journals, etc. Revue Archéologique, 1879, VI to 1881, IV. Academy, 1883, Jan. 6 to March 10.

No. 4.

1. Pp. 577–661. The Military Year of Thucydides, by G. F. Unger. The primary object of this searching investigation is to determine at what period the campaign years began into which Thucydides divided the war. The author maintains that the accidental date of the attack upon Plataea—that is, the night on which began the last day of Anthesterion (4–5 April, 431)—was taken as the beginning of the θέρος and end of the χειμών, into which each year was divided, and that the Athenian calendar was followed, so that the last of Anthesterion or the beginning of the θέρος (summer half-year) not only was variable, as compared with the Julian calendar and the actual seasons, but sometimes even fell before the opening of spring (*λαρ*). After a general discussion, the author takes up and investigates the data for each year *seriatim*, not confining himself to the special subject named above, but treating other questions relating to Thucydidean and general Athenian chronology. An abridgment of the article would not be intelligible. To all interested in the subject, the article in its original form is indispensable.

2. P. 661. A. Eussner emends two passages of P. Annius Florus.

3. Pp. 662-77. Exegetical and Critical Discussion of Plotinus, Ennead. I 1-6. The article is chiefly an analysis.
4. P. 677. N. Wecklein reads *fabrosque* for *barbarosque* in Cic. Tusc. V 36, 104.
5. Pp. 678-701. Report on Dio Cassius, continued from XLI, p. 140, by H. Haupt.
6. P. 701. C. Wagener explains the signature at the end of Codex Gothanus No. 101.
7. Pp. 702-7. On the MSS of Cic. De Divinatione, by H. Ebeling.
8. Pp. 707-9. A. Lowinski proposes to read in Aesch. Ag. 642 f., $\psi\chi\eta\varsigma\tau\epsilon$ σωτήρ κανστόλος ἐφέζετο, | ως μήτ' ἀνόρμους, κτέ.
9. 709-25. Recent works on the Greek Tragedians, reviewed by N. Wecklein and F. Hanssen.
10. Pp. 725-7. J. Simon discusses a few passages of Xen. Hell.
11. Pp. 727-43. Extracts from Journals, etc. *Revue Archéologique*, 1881, IV to 1882, I. *Edinburgh Review*, 1884, April.
12. Pp. 745 ff. Index, etc.

M. W. HUMPHREYS.

ENGLISCHE STUDIEN. Herausgegeben von Dr. EUGEN KÖLBING. Heilbronn. VII Band, 1884.

I.—F. Gierth, On the Oldest Middle English Version of the Assumptio Mariae, gives, first, a valuable summary of the poem; secondly, an account of the various Middle English versions of the poem and of their sources; and thirdly, a discussion of the MSS and their relations to each other. Ten Brink attributes the origin of the Oriental legend to the second half of the fourth century, while Tischendorf is inclined to place it still earlier. Besides the Greek versions, there are two in Syriac, one in Arabic, and one in Sahidic. Of the Occidental languages, Latin possesses three, Old French one, Middle High German several, and Middle English four. Of the English versions, it is only the earliest, designated by E, that is made the subject of discussion; it does not derive from either the French or Middle High German, but is based upon the Latin directly. There are five principal MSS, of which the first, MS Gg. 4, 27, 2 of the Cambridge University Library, is the best text, and was edited by Lumby in his King Horn, London, 1866. MS B, Brit. Mus. Add. 10,036, was likewise edited by Lumby in the same volume. The course of the narrative is best reproduced by C, which is Cod. Harl. Chart. 2382 of the British Museum. The five MSS, with two later redactions, are discussed at length, and finally the author promises to publish the text in one of the next numbers of *Englische Studien*, but it has not yet appeared.

On the Sources of the Middle English Versions of St. Paul's Vision is the title of a paper by A. Brandes. Dante may have been acquainted with the mediaeval legend, if an inference from Inf. II 28 may be permitted. The

story was invented at a very early date, since it is already referred to by Augustine and Sozomen. The Greek text, discovered by Tischendorf in 1843, was composed, in its original form, as early as A. D. 381. A Syrian paraphrase of the Greek exists, and a translation of it was published by Perkins in the Journal of the American Oriental Society. The story is found in six Latin versions, at least three in Old French verse, four in Middle English verse, and one in Middle English prose. Of the four English redactions, the first was printed by Horstmann in Herrig's Archiv LII 35-8; the second by Morris in An Old English Miscellany, pp. 147-55, and in its Southern English form by Horstmann in Herrig's Archiv LXII 403-6; the third by Morris in An Old English Miscellany, and by Horstmann in Engl. Stud. I 293-99; the fourth by Morris in An Old English Miscellany. The Middle English prose version was published by Morris in Old English Homilies, First Series, and by Zupitza, in the Alt- und Mittelenglisches Uebungsbuch. Upon the fourth Latin redaction, printed in Brandes' article, pp. 44-7, repose the first, third and fourth of the English metrical versions; the second probably reposes on an Old French original, now lost. The legend deserves to be compared with the Inferno, both because of a certain similarity in the punishments inflicted, and because the office of guide is assumed by the archangel Michael in the Vision, as by Virgil in the Italian epic.

Under the head of Barewe, Bare, Bere, Ten Brink continues a polemic against Stratmann (cf. Engl. Stud. V 408; VI 150, 293), and hints in no obscure terms at the latter's ignorance of phonology. According to Ten Brink, M. E. *bare*, in the sense of Mod. E. *bier*, cannot possibly be derived from an O. E. *berewe*.

In an article on Beaumont, Fletcher and Massinger, R. Boyle has some trenchant remarks on the neglect of English at the two great English universities. For example, he asserts: "Very few of the Oxford and Cambridge students know anything at all of English literature. . . . It thus becomes possible for a German student, at a German university, with a comparatively imperfect knowledge of the language, to enter on the study of a particular branch of English literature better prepared than an Englishman after years of groping in the dark. The former knows, from the first, where to begin, in what direction to work, where his materials are to be found, and, best of all, where to apply for help when he comes to a difficulty. The latter must stumble on, comparatively in the dark, must work out a method for himself, and painfully grope his way from error to error, till the fire of his enthusiasm becomes, in most cases, quenched." The following is Boyle's classification of all the plays known under the names of Beaumont, Fletcher and Massinger: By Beaumont and another (not Fletcher), *The Woman Hater*. By Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Maid's Tragedy*, *Philaster*, *A King and No King*, *The Scornful Lady*, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, *Four Plays in One*. By Fletcher, Beaumont and a third author, *Cupid's Revenge*, *The Coxcomb*, *The Captain*, *The Honest Man's Fortune*, *The Knight of Malta*. By Fletcher alone, *The Faithful Shepherdess*, *The Humorous Lieutenant*, *The Mad Lover*, *The Loyal Subject*, *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*, *Valentinian*, *Monsieur Thomas*, *The Chances*, *The Wild-Goose Chase*, *A Wife for a Month*, *The Pilgrim*, *Bonduca*,

Women Pleased, Woman's Prize, The Island Princess, Wit without Money. By Fletcher and a second author, Wit at Several Weapons, The Maid in the Mill, Love's Pilgrimage, The Night-Walker, Nice Valour. By Fletcher, Massinger, and third and fourth authors, The Bloody Brother, Thierry and Theodore. By Fletcher and Massinger, The Two Noble Kinsmen, The Custom of the Country, The Elder Brother, The Sea Voyage, The Double Marriage, The Queen of Corinth, The Fair Maid of the Inn, Henry VIII (?), Sir John van Olden Barneveld, A Very Woman, The Beggar's Bush, The False One, The Prophetess, The Little French Lawyer, The Lover's Progress, The Spanish Curate, A New Way to Pay Old Debts. By Massinger and a second author, The Virgin Martyr, The Fatal Dowry, Love's Cure. By Massinger alone, The Unnatural Combat, The Duke of Milan, The Bondman, The Renegado, The Parliament of Love, The Roman Actor, The Great Duke of Florence, The Maid of Honour, The Picture, The Emperor of the East, The City Madam, The Guardian, The Bashful Lover, Believe as You List. The following, passing under the name of Beaumont and Fletcher, or of Massinger, Boyle would deny to them altogether—viz.: The Old Law, The Noble Gentleman, The Laws of Candy, The Faithful Friends. The first seven plays mentioned above are then commented upon, leaving the others for a continuation.

F. G. Fleay, Neglected Facts on Hamlet.

F. York Powell, Notes on "Death and Life."

E. Kölbing, in Minor Publications from the Auchinleck MS. prints Praise of Women, and A Peniworth of Witte. The former of these two poems had already been printed by Leyden, in The Complaynt of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1801, and by Laing, in A Penniworth of Witte. The latter is likewise published by Laing, and, in a somewhat different version, by Ritson, in his Pieces of Ancient Popular Poetry, London, 1833, both being reprinted here, with corrections and notes.

In the Book Notices there are reviews of Black's Folk Medicine, Bosworth-Toller's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, Lüdtke's The Erl of Tolous and the Emperes of Almayn, Koch's Ueber die Beziehungen der Englischen Litteratur zur Deutschen im Achtzehnten Jahrhundert, Wershofen's Smollett et Lesage, Horstmann's Osbern Bokenam's Legenden, Müller's Angelsächsische Grammatik, Bethge's Wirnt von Gravenberg, and the Jahresbericht über die Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der Germanischen Philologie. Heyne ends his criticism on the Anglo-Saxon Dictionary with the advice that Toller should postpone the completion of the work until he could add to his material, and that he should improve in the art of arrangement, for which purpose he would do well to consult the best German dictionaries.

Lehr- und Uebungsbücher für die Englische Sprache, pp. 153-76. In the Miscellanea, Kölbing describes four Romance MSS, the Auchinleck, that owned by the Duke of Sutherland, the Lincoln's Inn MS 150, and MS. 8009 of the Chetam Library, Manchester. Besides other papers, the Miscellanea have the University Lectures on English Philology, an obituary notice of Karl Körner, and the Zeitschriftenschau.

II.—Anton Schönbach makes Contributions to the Characterization of Nathaniel Hawthorne, occupying pp. 239–303. The article itself may be summarily characterized by two or three extracts: “I regard Nathaniel Hawthorne as the greatest poet yet produced by the United States. . . . Next to George Eliot, or along with her, Hawthorne is the first English prose writer of our century. . . . The book (*i. e.*, James’s Hawthorne) is an essay that has been rapidly written, and rests upon no studies whatever.”

C. Horstmann prints, from MS Vernon, the Middle English translation, with the Latin original, of *Informacio Alredi Abbatis Monasterij de Rieualle ad Sororem suam inclusam: Translata de Latino in Anglicum per Thomam M.* They occupy together pp. 304–44.

Kölbing continues his collations, V, of *Torrent of Portugal*; VI, of Lumby’s edition of *The Assumption of Our Lady*.

The Book Notices are unusually brief, commenting only upon Vetter’s *La légende de Tristan*, together with Röttiger’s *Der Tristan des Thomas*, and upon Kluge’s *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache*. There is a *Programmschau*, besides *Miscellanea*, the latter containing an appreciative obituary of Theodor Wissmann.

III.—Otto Kares concludes his Notes on Tom Brown’s Schooldays (*v. Am. Journ. Phil.* VI 513).

Studies upon Richard Rolle de Hampole is the title of a long, conscientiously written, and valuable paper by J. Ullmann.

In the Book Notices, Liebrecht continues his report on *The Folk Lore Journal*. Besides, Kluge reviews Napier’s *Wulfstan*, Kölbing some recent editions of *Beowulf*, and Groschopp’s *Kleines Angelsächsisches Wörterbuch*; Brenner, the *Altwestsächsische* and the *Kurzgefasste Altwestsächsische Grammatik* of Cosijn; and Klinghardt, Kühn’s *Zur Methode des Französischen Unterrichts*. *Lehr- und Uebungsbücher für die Englische Sprache* are noticed, and the volume ends with the gratifying announcement that Mr. Furnivall and Dr. Murray have been granted a pension by the English Government, in recognition of their services to English Philology.

VIII Band, 1885.

I.—R. Thum, Notes on Macaulay’s History, VI.

W. Sattler, Zur Englischen Grammatik, VI.

R. Boyle, continuing his article on Beaumont, Fletcher and Massinger, notices the following plays: Cupid’s Revenge, The Coxcomb, The Captain, The Honest Man’s Fortune, The Knight of Malta, and, passing over those written by Fletcher alone, Wit at Several Weapons, The Maid in the Mill, Love’s Pilgrimage, The Night-Walker, Nice Valour, The Bloody Brother, and Thierry and Theodoret.

F. Kluge prints a curious Old English letter, and, in fact, the only one known, if we except the dedicatory epistles prefixed by Aelfred and Aelfric to certain of their works.

Gregor Sarrazin, treating of Vowel Dissimilation in Middle English, points out the influence of *w* and palatal *g* upon a following vowel.

Sarrazin, in another contribution, On the Etymology of "Bad," confirms his derivation from *gebædæd*, by showing that the word probably occurs with a prefix in the Middle English period.

G. Kribel, in the second installment of Studies on Richard Rolle de Hampole, discusses the *Lamentatio St. Bernardi de Compassione Mariae*, contained in the Vernon MS of the Bodleian and in MS Dd I of the Cambridge University Library. In the Catalogue of the latter library the conjecture is hazarded that the poem was composed by Richard Rolle de Hampole. Kribel first investigates the MSS and the sources of the poem, then metre, dialect and author, and finally prints both texts. He concludes that Richard Rolle is not the author, but confesses himself unable to say more on this head.

E. Kölbing, in Minor Publications from the Auchinleck MS III, prints two fragments of King Richard hitherto unpublished.

In the Book Notices there are reviews, among others, of the Philological Society's English Dictionary, Vining's The Secret of Hamlet, Garnett's translation of Beowulf, the second edition of Grein's translation, and the second edition of Wright's Anglo-Saxon and Old English (*sic*) Vocabularies. The reviewer of Garnett's Beowulf notes that he preserves the alliteration but rarely, that he depends almost exclusively on Grein, though occasionally on Heyne, for readings and interpretation, that he is inconsistent with himself in the rendering of many words, that his version is inferior to Grein's, and that the Bibliography ignores Grimm almost entirely; nevertheless, the version is characterized as careful and exact. Wright's Vocabularies is reviewed by Sievers, and his notes deserve to be transferred as marginalia to the pages of the new edition.

Lehr- und Uebungsbücher für die Englische Sprache.

The Miscellanea contain the Schedule of University Lectures on English Philology, and, among other matter, an obituary notice of Ulrici, the Shakespeare scholar.

II.—Phonological Investigations of Osbern Bokenam's Legends is the title of an excellent paper by A. Hoofe. Employing Sweet's terminology and Sievers' accurate observations in his Angelsächsische Grammatik, Hoofe has produced a monograph which will be indispensable to any compiler of a Middle English Grammar.

C. Horstmann, in Communications from MS Vernon, publishes *La Estorie del Euangelie*, *A Dispition bitwene a God Man and þe Deuel*, and *þe Pope Trental*, three Middle English poems.

Horstmann next prints *Counsels respecting a Journey into the Orient*, from MS Cotton, Append. VIII.

Horstmann then follows with *Questiones bytwene the Maister of Oxenford and his Clerke*.

H. Klinghardt, in an article upon Phonetics in the School, writes clearly

regarding the aims and history of Phonetics or Vocal Physiology, the mode of utilizing it in the schools, and the comparative merits of various treatises on the science.

Book Notices and Miscellanea follow; the latter contain an obituary notice of F. H. Stratmann.

III.—The Minor Publications from the Auchinleck MS are here continued by Max Schwartz. The Assumptio Mariae in Tail Staves forms the subject of this dissertation, and is treated under four heads, exclusive of an appendix. These heads are: The Relation of the Version in Tail Staves to that in Rhyming Couplets, Form and Style of the Poem, The Dialect of the Poem, and The Text.

Julius Zupitza, On the Etymology of Modern English *Merry*, proves that O. E. *myrge* means pleasant, and is applied to things, never to persons. He then compares it with Gothic *gamuárgjan*, "shorten," and concludes that the evolution of meanings was: (1) "short"; (2) "tending to shorten or pass time, amusing, pleasant"; (3) the later meaning of "pleased, joyful, jolly." As illustrations he adduces the Shakespearian *abridgment* (M. N. D. 5, 1, 39), the Old Norse *skemta*, *skemtan*, and the Scottish verb *schorte*.

F. Kluge, On Old English Poems, prints, as illustrative of The Seafarer, a homiletical fragment from Cod. Tib. A III of the British Museum, and a portion of the interlinear version of Bede's Liber Scintillarum; then, turning to the Phoenix, he communicates two Late Old English accounts of the wondrous bird, one from MS Cotton Vespas. D. 14, and the other from MS CCCC 198.

Kluge, under English Etymologies, connects Scottish *swat*, "beer," with O. E. *swatan* (Wright-Wülcker, O. E. Vocab.), and O. E. *sol-* in *solmónað* with the *sol* of the Epinal Glossary (Sweet's ed., 21 A 11).

Book Notices and Miscellanea close this volume; in the latter there is an important paper by W. Fick, on Vowel Shortening in English Words of Germanic Origin, which is worthy of incorporation into a new edition of Sweet's History of English Sounds.

ALBERT S. COOK.

ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT, 1885.

I Heft.

M. J. de Goeje has a number of valuable detached observations on the Historical Geography of Babylon, in the form of remarks on Berliner's Beiträge zur Geographie und Ethnographie Babylonien's im Talmud und Midrasch, and Neubauer's Géographie du Talmud; and Stickel furnishes additions to his preceding works on The Numismatic of the Omeyyads.

J. H. Mordtmann discusses two Greek inscriptions in which occur the names of the Semitic deities Atargatis and Gad or Tyche. He adduces examples to show that Bel was worshipped in common with the goddess of fortune, which is not strange, seeing that Bel over a large part of the Semitic district was a general name for the supreme deity. The Latin translation of one of the

Greek inscriptions describes Belus as *Menis Magister*, and Mordtmann naturally brings this Meni into connection with the Mani of Isaiah lxv, 11, a deity traces of whose existence have with difficulty been elsewhere found ; nor, it must be confessed, does the inscription help us very much in the determination of the meaning of the name, beyond the fact that Meni stands alongside of Fortuna or Tyche.

Dr. Martin Schultze proposes an ingenious emendation in Ezra iv, 13. Instead of **אַדְנָה** or **אַדְנָה**, neither of which yields any satisfactory meaning, he proposes to read **אַדְןָה**, which presents no phonetic difficulty. He supposes this to be the word *apdan* in the Susa inscription of Artaxerxes Mnemon, from the preposition *apa* and the stem *da*, "to set," whence *apdan* would mean "treasure-house" or "arsenal"; the transition from *apdan* to *aptom* and *aptom* is not hard, and the resulting sense is not bad, though hardly convincing. A Semitic origin for the word is elsewhere sought by Friedrich Delitzsch, who compares Assyrian *appit-timma* "in future" or "at last" (the same signification in Gesenius). The form of the Assyrian word suits very well, but its meaning is not certain, and the signification given is not perfectly appropriate for the Ezra passage.

H. Oldenberg examines a number of the hymns in the Rigveda for traces of prosaic-poetic Akhyāna-hymns. In a number of cases he discovers what he believes to be the marks of the Akhyānas—namely, the absence of clear connection between the verses, and differences in metre. He remarks that, among others, Ludwig has observed the presence in the same hymn of various myths cited in a fragmentary way, without any visible close connection; and his own analysis seems to have established this fact beyond a reasonable doubt.

H. Hübschmann finds in a number of words the Indoiranic *śīl*, Indogermanic *I*-vowel.

R. Pischel examines the notices of the poet Pānini, and comes to the conclusion that in all probability the poet is identical with the grammarian of that name, and that he is no older than the sixth or, at earliest, the fifth century after Christ.

A. Führer quotes a number of Sanscrit riddles curiously like those of the present day. The first one reads: "Who moves in the air? who makes a noise when he sees a thief? who is the enemy of the lotuses? who is the abyss of anger?" The answer is: "Vi—çvā—mitra"; bird, dog, sun.

B. Lindner has a short notice of a manuscript of the First Book of the Maitrāyani-Samhitā, Wilson 505 of the Bodleian, dated 1566.

J. Wellhausen gives textual corrections to Kosegarten's Arabic text of the Hudailite poems.

H. Guthe has a favorable notice of Dr. Philipp Wolff's Arabischer Dragoon. The author has not escaped phonetic inconsistencies, which is quite intelligible in the attempt to represent a modern Semitic language, where it is often a question whether one shall give an exact transcription of the pronunciation of the people, or shall be guided wholly or in part by the written speech. Wolff's book follows, in general, the dialect of Southern Syria; but Guthe

notes various differences between the author's rendering and those which he himself heard in Jerusalem.

R. Pietschmann gives a somewhat caustic review of the "Egyptian History" of A. Wiedemann. This is the first volume of a series of *Handbücher der Alten Geschichte*, published by F. A. Perthes, Gotha, 1884. Only the first part of Wiedemann's work had appeared when this review was written. The reviewer finds that the author has gone into unnecessary and confusing detail in his enumeration of Egyptian monuments and inscriptions, and that he is not methodical in his transcription of Egyptian names. The most serious objection is made to the author's historical method. In the first place he follows Manetho's division of the history into three sections, a division which has no longer any significance for us. His anthropology and ethnography also are of a primitive type. He still speaks of a "Caucasian race," and depends largely for his ethnography on the table of nations in the tenth chapter of Genesis. For example, he occupies himself with an explanation of the fact that Kush is put alongside of Egypt, Put and Canaan in that table. Pietschmann points out very clearly the unscientific conception of the Kushites which has hitherto prevailed, and the way in which many scholars have forced the facts in order to bring the tenth chapter of Genesis into accordance with modern views. He makes further remarks, mostly not of a commentary sort, on the author's treatment of the Egyptian religion, art and history.

J. Barth, while recognizing the service that Wellhausen has performed in the publication of the last part of the Hudalite songs, points out that the editor has diminished the value of his work by a not sufficiently critical use of the Scholia, and by failing to publish the text of the Scholia. Apparently in response to this criticism, Wellhausen has published the Arabic texts of the Scholia in Heft III of the *Zeitschrift*.

The bibliography of 1884 on Arabia and Islam is begun by Fritz Hommel in this number, and finished in the third. Hommel explains that his numerous occupations have prevented his giving so full a list of books as he desired.

II Heft.

An important addition to the literature of the Samaritans, lately undertaken by Dr. M. Heidenheim, under the title *Bibliotheca Samaritana*, of which the first part, containing the Book of Genesis, has appeared, is sharply criticised by Dr. Samuel Kohn. The reviewer welcomes the work as a most important contribution to Samaritan science, but disapproves of the manner in which the editor has proceeded. The text offered is entirely different from that which has hitherto been accepted, and this new text, says Kohn, arises in great part out of the critical operations of the editor, who has enriched Samaritan grammar with new forms, has stricken not a few roots and vocables from the Samaritan Lexicon, and, on the other hand, has introduced a number of hitherto unknown Samaritan words. These positions Kohn endeavors to establish by a detailed examination of Heidenheim's text. It is quite true that the condition of the Samaritan text is far from being a good one, and the Samaritan phonetic is far from being assured. The use of manuscripts, and all other critical sources, should be a very cautious one, and the main utility of the new

edition will be to furnish material for a more accurate construction of the text. It might, indeed, have been better to begin with printing some one text accurately, in order that it might be the subject of study; after which other texts might be published and studied, and so the way paved for a more accurate treatment than is possible from a mere rapid comparison of the various existing text-readings.

The following are the titles of the other articles in this number: Neue himjarische Inschriften, by J. H. Mordtmann; Proben der syrischen Uebersetzung von Galenus' Schrift über die einfachen Heilmittel, by A. Merx; Strophen von Kālidāsa, by Theodor Aufrecht; Zu p. 95 ff. (on Pānini), by R. Pischel; Phönizische Inschrift aus Tyrus, by P. Schroeder; Tigrīna-Sprüchwörter, by Franz Praetorius; Prākritworte im Mahābhāshya, by F. Kielhorn; Die Verbawurzeln *ska* und *skau*, by O. Böhtlingk; Zu den Liedern der Hudhailiten, by W. Robertson Smith.

III Heft.

Theodor Nöldeke has a genial and instructive paper on Mommsen's Description of the Roman Dominion and Politics in the East (Vol. V of Mommsen's History of Rome). There are various features in the Oriental life which will present themselves differently to a professed Orientalist and to a general historian. For example, Nöldeke holds that Mommsen has pressed too far the supposed Hellenizing of Syria and other Oriental countries. The Aramean language maintained itself to a surprising extent. The fact that there are so few inscriptions in certain parts of Syria is to be explained from the course of events which naturally destroyed those monuments; in Palmyra, whose position kept it out of the current, we have preserved a very valuable set of inscriptions. And, in general, the Syrian life of that day is entitled to more respect, Nöldeke thinks, than Mommsen has shown it. It is remarkable that so careful a scholar as Mommsen should have adopted the story in the pseudo-Aristeas, now universally abandoned by Biblical scholars, that the Pentateuch was translated into Greek by the command of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Nöldeke's special acquaintance with Persian history has enabled him to fill out Mommsen's account of Parthians with many interesting particulars.

Some recent Palmyrene inscriptions, sent to Europe by Mr. Loytved, Danish Vice-Consul at Beirut, are published and commented on by P. Schroeder. Some of these have also been examined by Clermont-Ganneau. Both these scholars agree that, from the bad condition of the texts, it is difficult to make anything out of the inscriptions.

The following are the titles of the remaining articles of this number: Zur Geschichte der Seligungen von Kermān, by M. Th. Houtsma; Ein arabisches Document zur äthiopischen Geschichte, by F. Praetorius; Scholien zum Diwan Hudail No. 139-280, herausgegeben von J. Wellhausen; Bemerkungen zu Führer's Ausgabe und zu Bühler's Uebersetzung des Vāśishthadharmaśāstra, by O. Böhtlingk; Beiträge zur Erklärung der Asoka-Inschriften (continuation), with one table, by G. Bühler; Erzählungen der slowakischen Zigeuner, contributed by R. v. Sowa; Correction to p. 318 (Phoenician inscription), by P. C. H. Toy.

ROMANIA.

No. 49.

La Chanson de Doon de Nanteuil. Fragments inédits. By P. Meyer. An attempt to construct a theory with regard to the date of composition and the author of the poem. M.'s conclusions are that the original poem (not the fragments cited by Fauchet) dates from the second half of the XIIth century, and the author or "renouveau" probably Huon de Villeneuve.

Recueil d'exemples en ancien Italien. By J. Ulrich. These "examples" (moral stories) are taken from MS Add. 22,557 of the British Museum. The MS is of the XIVth century. They number 56, are in prose form, and fill 30 pages of the review. The grammatical forms are somewhat confused. The dialect seems to be North Italian, with a strong admixture of Tuscan.

Deux Légendes Surselvanes: Vie de Sainte Geneviève—Vie de St. Ulrich. Pub. by G. Decurtins. Taken from a Latin MS found some time ago at Andiast. The MS was made by Durisch Capaul d'Andiast, between the years 1748 and 1760, and was probably translated by him from the German. It is in the dialect of Surselva, as it was spoken on the southern borders of "Foppa" in the 18th century.

Mélanges. J. Cornu proposes a new etymology for *bravo*—viz.: *barbarus*, which passed through *brabarūs*, *brabrus* or *bravrus*, *bravo* (and for the secondary Italian form *brado*), *braro*, *brado*—*i. e.*, interchange of *r* and *d*. A rejoinder by Joret to J. Gilliéron's criticism of his book, *Les Caractères et l'extension du patois normand*, and G.'s reply to the same.

Comptes-Rendus. Review by G. Paris of Koschwitz's *Karls des Grossen Reise nach Jerusalem und Constantinople*. P. Meyer gives unfavorable criticism of H. Moris and E. Blanc's edition (*Première partie*) of the *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Lérins*, and likewise of the Abbé J. Fazy's ed. of *Le Mystère de Saint-André. Cantos españoles recogidos, ordenados e ilustrados por Francisco Rodriguez Marin (Tomos II-V)*, reviewed by Manuel Mila y Fontanals, and Jean Fleury's *Littérature orale de la Basse-Normandie* (*Hague et Val-de-Saire*), and J. B. Frédéric Ortoli's *Les Contes populaires de l'île de Corse*, by Stanislao Prato.

Nos. 50-51.

Étude sur la date, le caractère et l'origine de la chanson du pèlerinage de Charlemagne. By H. Morf. Koschwitz, in his new edition of the above poem, slightly modifies his views touching its date. His first title, *Ein altfranzösisches Gedicht des XI Jahrhunderts*, has now become *Ein altfranzösisches Heldengedicht*. After a careful re-study of the text, he comes to the conclusion that the language gives indications of being younger than the *Alexis*, about contemporary with the *Roland*, and appreciably anterior to the *Comput*. Its composition, therefore, is to be placed somewhere in the second half of the XIIth century or at the beginning of the XIIIth, the reader being left to settle upon either date according to the weight of the testimony. Morf's article, which is in the main a review of K.'s book, aims to show that a date not later than 1080 should be assigned to the *Pèlerinage*. Koschwitz, following Stengel, would see

in the poem a parody; Morf thinks that there is no justification for such a notion.

La Vie des Anciens Pères. By Edouard Schwan. This "Vie" is a collection of religious stories that were in great favor in the XIII and XIV centuries, as is evidenced by the numerous MSS extant, there being in all about thirty-one. These Lives were twice printed in the XV century (at Lyons in 1486, and at Paris in 1495). Several scholars of the present day have given some attention to them. Schwan here gives an enumeration of the MSS, describing such as have not been heretofore described, showing their relations to each other, and inquires into the authorship. The latter he does not succeed in establishing, but thinks there were likely two Lives, as well as two authors, one a Picardian, the other a Champagnese, and that the two collections were united into one at the end of the XIII century.

Nouvelles catalanes inédites. By P. Meyer. A fragment of a poem of 591 lines, taken from MS 111 of the Libri collection, now in the possession of Lord Ashburnham. It dates from the XIVth century, and will be very welcome to those who wish access to Catalan literature, little of which is to be had in this country. M. gives a somewhat free and abridged translation, which will enable any one acquainted with early Provençal to make out most of the text. The first six lines will serve as a specimen:

Sitot frances sa bel lengatge
Nom pac en re de son linatge,
Car son erguylos ses merce,
Ez erguyll ab mi nos cove,
Car entrels francs humils ay apres;
Per qu'eu no vull parlar frances.

From these lines we gain two interesting historical facts: first, that the French of those days were insufferably proud; and secondly, that it was fashionable for the Catalans to write their literary productions in French—facts which are, moreover, well authenticated elsewhere. (See Milá y Fontanals' *Les noves rimades, la codolada*, Montpellier, 1876, pp. 11, 15, 18, 20; and P. Meyer's translation of the *Chanson de la croisade albigeoise*, p. 351-2, note.) To be continued.

Mélanges Espagnols. I. Remarques sur les voyelles toniques. II. Observations étymologiques, by J. Cornu.

Le Tradizioni Cavalleresche popolari en Sicilia, by Giuseppe Pitrè. A long study of 73 pages, in six chapters, the headings of which are: I. Il teatro delle marionette. II. I contastorie. III. La poesia popolare. IV. Tradizioni varie. V. I contastorie in Italia. VI. Fonti delle tradizioni cavalleresche in Sicilia. Conchiusione.

Mélanges. G. Paris gazettes the finding of one of the lost poems of Chrétien de Troyes—viz.: *La muance de la hupe et de l'aronde et del rossignol*.

Comptes-Rendus. Christian von Troyes sämmtliche Werke. I. Cligès, zum erstenmale herausgegeben von Wendelin Foerster. Halle, Niemeyer, 1884 In-8, lxxvi-353. Favorably noticed by G. Paris. Francesco da Barberino et

la littérature provençale en Italie au moyen âge, par Antoine Thomas. Paris, Thorin, 1883. In-8, 200. Reviewed by P. Meyer.

Chronique. Notice is promised of the life and work of Prof. Manuel Milà y Fontanals, who died at Villafranca del Panadés July 16, 1884. The Abbé G. B. Giuliani, who died, in the 66th year of his age, at Florence (Jan. 11, 1884), had held since 1860, the chair for the exposition of the *Divina Commedia*. It may be said that he, like Witte, devoted his whole life to Dantesque studies, and did much for the propagation of these studies both at home and abroad. He only printed a small portion of his immense commentary on the D. C., but he published annotated editions of the *Vita nuova*, the *Canzoniere*, the *Convito*, and of his Latin works. His principle of interpretation was that of the collation of analogous passages from the texts of the same author, and he was said to be so familiar with the writings of Dante (especially the D. C.) that he could carry on a conversation for hours merely by quotations from them. Syllabus of the Lectures on Romance Philology, delivered in 1882-3, by G. Paris and J. Gilliéron, at the École des hautes Études.

No. 52.

Notice et extraits du MS 8336 de la bibliothèque de Sir Thomas Phillipps à Cheltenham. By P. Meyer. Certain parts of this manuscript have been printed and commented upon, but the major portion, containing the poems of Bozon and of Walter of Biblesworth, with some anonymous pieces, contains new material for the history of Anglo-Norman poetry, and is of sufficient interest to justify the study which M. here undertakes.

Phonétique lyonnaise au XIV^e siècle. By E. Philipon. This is an exceedingly interesting article, being a study of both the vowel and consonantal system, with a bibliographical appendix of the texts used and a glossary of such forms as would be likely to puzzle the reader. It would require too much space to give even a succinct statement of the results arrived at.

Comptes-Rendus. G. Paris gives a long review of Pio Rajna's *Le origini dell' epopea francese*. (Firenze, Sansoni, 1884.) The object of Rajna's book is to show the Germanic origin of the French epos, and his case is pretty clearly made out. Beginning with the advent of the Franks in Gaul, it received from them an impulse which kept it alive for nearly a thousand years. In fact, this was but one of the incidents, one of the phases, of the great phenomenon of the partial Germanization of the Gallo-Roman society. This re-nationalization, so to speak, reached its height towards the end of the 8th century, when a reaction sets in, the history of which may be said to be the history of the Middle Ages itself. Institutions, laws, morals, dress, from this time on, all begin to lose, little by little, the Germanic character originating in the conquest. The language itself, which, while remaining Romanic, had borrowed from the German a mass of words, loses quite a number of these, although still preserving many that attest, more than any exterior facts, the depth to which the influence of the conquerors penetrated. The Renaissance and the Revolution may be regarded as the two last phases of this reaction, unconscious, of course, which relegated more and more the Germanic element from French nationality. Paris speaks in the highest terms of Rajna's

performance, and it is to be hoped that some one will be found to undertake the task of translating it into English.

Chronique. Short biographical and obituary notices of Manuel Milá y Fontanals (died July 16, 1884), L. Lemcke (died Sept. 21, 1884), and K. Hillebrand (died Oct. 18, 1884). This ends the XIIIth volume of the Romania.

SAMUEL GARNER.

ARCHIV FÜR LATEINISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE UND GRAMMATIK. Zweiter Jahrgang.

Heft 3.

The first article in this number, entitled "Lexikalisch-Kritische Bemerkungen" (pp. 337-48), by Georg Goetz, discusses rare words, found chiefly in glossaries, about whose exact form and meaning there is still some doubt. Plaut. Bacch. V 929, *Non pedibus termento fuit praecut*, etc., is thus explained: "Die That der Atriden diente den Füssen nicht zur Abreibung; das will sagen, sie war so unbedeutend dass sie die Füsse gar nicht fühlten; es war eine Bagatelle." For the gloss *anzicia*: *meretrix*, the bold alteration *axicia*: *forfex* is proposed without the slightest MS support. The gloss *ageator*: *hortator* is well explained by a reference to Isid. Orig. XIX 2, 4, *ageae viae sunt vel loca in navi, per quae ad remiges hortator accedit*, etc. The attempt to substitute for *afannas*, in Apul. Met. p. 160, 28, and p. 188, 1, *aestimias*, on the ground of Paulus, p. 26, *aestimias pro aestimationibus*, and a gloss in Sangallensis 912, *aefunne*: *aestimationis*, is, to say the least, venturesome. In the Sangallensis the *f* in *aefunne* is a peculiar one, such as is found in the same MS in the transcription of Greek words—e. g., in *afrodis*, A 172, and *brefoirofum*, B 78. The gloss *hautne*: *nonne* is proved not to have come from Placidus, and the existence of *hautne* is, with good reason, doubted. For *egones* (*econes*, *econes*): *sacerdotes rustici*, the reading *buccones*: *cerdones*, *rustici* is proposed. Other words discussed are *abaso*, *discertare* and *atritas*. *Exomico*, which occurs in Hispanica Famina, is explained by A. Miodonski as a hybrid formation = *ξω* + *mico*. G. Helmreich points out an instance of *porcastrus* = *porcaster* in the Alexander Latinus II, Cap. 108.

Samuel Brandt, pp. 349-55, discusses the "Infinitivus futuri passivi auf *niri*." Attention had been called to this peculiar formation by Schömann. In this article numerous instances are cited from Lactantius and the Digests. The form *restituiiri*, which occurs five times in the Digests, seems to be a convenient abbreviation for *restitutum iri*. Other forms are *oppressuiri*, *perfectuiri*, *generatuiri*, *sublatuiri*. Lactantius, of course, would not have been guilty of such orthography, but as early as the fifth century the forms seem to have been current. The weak sound of the final *u* is responsible for them.

Brandes, p. 354, casts doubt upon the existence of an adjective *omniparus* and establishes *omniparous* = *omniparens*.

pp. 354-64, treats of "Die Verba desuperlativa." Desuperlativa in the conjugation were not formed in Latin, except where the superlative itself is irregular, and the superlative force has

been weakened. *Consummare* first makes its appearance in Livy. The next verbs of this sort do not appear until the second century, and then in African writers : *proximare* (*approximare*), *intimare*, *infimare*, of which *infimare* is the rarest, occurring first in Apul. Met. 1, 8, and then in Martianus Capella ; possibly also in Tertullian, who introduces *ultimare*, *postumare*, *extimare*. Other verbs of this sort are *pessimare*, *summare*, *extremare*, *minimare*, for all of which passages are given. The explanation of the word *mediastrini* as having reference to the age of the slaves so called is credited to Rodbertus-Jagetzow, but his derivation from *mediae aetatis* is evidently false.

Wölfflin, pp. 365-71, discusses "Genetiv mit Ellipse des regierenden Substantivs." Draeger treats this under three groups. 1, *templum* ; 2, *filius*, *filia*, *uxor* (*auditor servus*) ; 3, *liber*. Wölfflin considers especially the cases under 1. The first case found is Terence Ad. 582, as the ellipsis does not occur in Plautus, who uses *ad aedem Veneris venimus*, *ad Veneris fanum venio*, *ego in aedem Veneris eo*, *apud aedem Veneris*, etc., nor has it been discovered in the inscriptions of the republican period. *Aedes*, not *templum*, seems to be the word to be supplied. Cicero uses *ad Opis*, *ad Castoris*, *ad Iuturnae*, *ad Apollinis* ; Sallust *ad Iovis* ; Livy furnishes numerous examples. *In*, *ante* and *ab*, with this ellipsis, are all later than *ad*, and none of them are very common in classical writers. Cicero uses *in Telluris*, Ad Att. 16, 14, 1, but elsewhere has *in aede* or *in templo*. *Ante Castoris* is found Cic. Philipp. 6, 5, 12—another instance where the Philippiques deviate in usage from the other orations. *A Vestae* occurs in Cic. Epist. 14, 2, 3. With other prepositions than those above given, the ellipsis was not usual. As the ellipsis does not appear in Plautus, Wölfflin ventures the assumption that it is not, strictly speaking, vulgar, but a conversationalism introduced by the circle of the Scipios in imitation of the Greek.

Thielmann, pp. 372-423, examines the development of "habere mit dem Part. Perf. pass." This construction, which has given rise to the Romance perfect forms, is traced from the earliest period of Latinity. Plautus furnishes us with such examples as *exercitum habere*, *sollicitum habere*, where the emphasis is on the resulting condition, as in *miserum habere*. Cicero uses *angere atque sollicitam habere*. Tacitus, Ann. 2, 65, has *anxium habere*. A close relation and frequent interchange is shown to have existed between the expressions *est mihi aliquid* and *habeo aliquid*, just as corresponding to *est mihi dicere* we have *habeo dicere*. See Varro, R. R. 1, 16, 2 : *multi enim habent in praediis . . . importandum* ; *contra non pauci, quibus aliquid est exportandum*. From a mixture of *habeo aliquid curae* and *aliquid est mihi curae* has come *habeo aliquid mihi curae* ; cf. Caelius, Cic. fam. 8, 8, 10 ; Nepos, Att. 20, 4. The Romans exercised much ingenuity in supplying the wanting forms of *odi* : 1, *odio*, *odire*, confined to the vulgar idiom ; 2, *odio habeo*. 3, *invisum habeo aliquem*, Plautus and Cicero. 4, *exosum habeo aliquem*, which begins to be used in the fourth century. Similar is *spectum habere* and *iratum te habeo = mihi iratus es*. The opposite of *iratum habere* is *propitium habere*. This leads to the consideration of *carum*, *acceptum*, *vile* and *sacrum* with *habeo*. *Nihil pensi habeo* is used by Sallust and other writers. Valerius Maximus uses the genitive in negative sentences independent of *nihil*, and in this is followed by Tacitus. Symmachus, in his affectation of the archaic, uses *pensi habeo* in positive sentences. Attention is then

called to the numerous cases where a condition is expressed which is the result of a preceding action, as in *paratum habere, clausum habere*. *Paratum habeo* is, in effect, a logical perfect. Although often the participle is degraded to a simple adjective, *paratum habeo* continued to be used till the latest times, often being combined with words synonymous in meaning, like *instructum*. Sometimes for *paratum* a word of more special meaning is substituted, as *stratum, armatum, coctum*, etc. Often *habere* is used in this way where a command is expressed, and the words of an edict quoted by Cicero, Verr. 3, 36, *ut ante Kalendas Sextiles omnes decumas ad aquam deportatas haberent*, prove that this mode of expression was a part of legal phraseology, here too, probably, resting upon vulgar usage; so that we need not be surprised to find it in the receipts given by writers on agriculture, as Columella 13, 10, 4, *ablaqueatam habeto*. Corresponding to the Greek *κρίψας ἔχω* and *κρυπτὸν ἔχω* (Eurip. Bacch. 547 f.), we have in Latin with *habeo, abtrusum, occultum, abditum, conditum* and *reconditum*. Numerous other phrases with *habeo* are considered which cannot be quoted here. Particular cases are pointed out where the periphrasis seems to have very nearly the force of the perfect, as in Varro, vv. 3, 5, 5, *ibi cum cum numerum habet exclusum*, while in others *habeo* continues to be plainly felt, either in sense of keep, hold or possess. To the jurists are due many expressions like *emptum habeo, redemptum habeo, locatum habeo, scriptum habeo*. The conclusion of the article is reserved for the next number.

On pp. 424-43 Gröber continues his Vulgärlateinische Substrate romanische Wörter from *flagrare* to *gutta*, with many interesting hints as to the vulgar quantity of vowels before two consonants—e. g., *föntem*, not *föntem*, with Marx; *försit, fössa* (not *fösss*, Marx), *fröndem, fröntem, güstus* (Marx, *güstus*). Another specimen of the Thesaurus prepared by Hauler includes *Abbatia, Abbatiderit, Abbatissa, Abbatiderit, Abbländior, Abbreviare, Abbreviatio* and *Abdecet*. This last word is only attested by glossaries.

On pp. 454-67 a very exhaustive lexical article upon *abducere* and its compounds is given.

Pp. 468-69 contain Addenda lexicis latinis, chiefly from ecclesiastical writings, by J. N. Ott, from *Accrementum-Discernentia*.

Other addenda follow, pp. 470-72, from *Abinde* = *deinde-Donamen*.

The rest of the number is taken up with short miscellaneous articles and book-notices.

M. W.

BRIEF MENTION.

Professors W. W. SMITH and R. E. BLACKWELL have put forth a *Parallel Syntax Chart of Latin, Greek, French, English and German based on the Logical Analysis*. (Boston, Ginn & Co., 1885.) The notion is not novel, nor is the application of the logical analysis as valuable as the authors of the chart seem to think. Still, in the hands of experienced teachers, such as Messrs. Smith and Blackwell themselves are, such a chart may be made very useful for pointing out the divergencies of the languages represented. Parallel exhibitions of this sort have a fatal tendency to warp the linguistic consciousness,¹ and this should be counteracted by oral instruction in the opposite sense. For example, partial obliquity in Latin is not represented to any considerable extent by *ōri* and opt. in Greek, but by *ōs* and the participle; and yet *quod* with subj. is too much like *ōri* with opt. not to be forced to keep company with it. There are sundry misprints and other mistakes, which will doubtless disappear in subsequent editions. As to the illustrative quotations, it would have been safer to take one language as a standard, say Greek, and give the forms that would correspond idiomatically to the best usage in the other languages, instead of skipping about from language to language, which has sometimes led to bad results. So *frappes mais écoutes* is put into Greek such as a careful schoolmaster would have avoided: *tίχον ἀλλ' ἀκούσον*. It is an unlucky retroversion of Plutarch's *πάραξον μέν, ἀκούσον δέ* (*Vit. Them. c. 11*).

The late Professor C. D. Morris, who was well versed in Aristotle, had undertaken the task, for which he had high qualifications, of reviewing Dr. JOWETT'S translation of the *Politics of Aristotle*. (Oxford, Clarendon Press; New York, Macmillan & Co., 1885.) His lamented death has deprived the Journal of a paper which could not have failed to be of the deepest interest, and little more can be done at this time than to acknowledge the receipt of the book. Dr. Jowett's translations, by reason of his peculiar conception of his task, withdraw themselves from philological criticism, and belong rather to the domain of English literature, which they undoubtedly adorn. He recasts his author rather than renders him, and there is no effort to reproduce the stylistic effect in English. At the same time, every one who has to do with Plato or Thucydides will have frequent occasion to consult Dr. Jowett's translations, now for clear, sharp idiomatic equivalents, now for the elaborate introductions and notes that accompany his versions. For the *Politics of Aristotle* in its English dress, with the detailed abstract that precedes the rendering, the interesting parallels, the penetrating comments, many will be thankful who thought that the *Plato* was needlessly free; for while all men who can read

¹ See A. J. P. III 194 (note).

Plato at all delight in the leisurely grace of his style, which protests against short cuts as the essence of vulgarity, there are not many who desire to have the effect of Aristotle's diction reproduced. Dr. Jowett tells us that this translation is an outgrowth of his Platonic studies, and was commenced about fifteen years since, with the intention of illustrating the Laws of Plato. The first volume contains an elaborate introduction, with translation and index. The first part of the second volume comments on the most important passages. The second part of the second volume, completing the book, is to consist of a series of essays on Aristotelian themes, and when it appears, will give us an opportunity of returning to this important work.

Mr. NIXON's *Parallel Extracts*, a book which has met with much favor, is now followed by another of *Prose Extracts*, arranged for translation into English and Latin, with general and special prefaces on style and idiom. (Cambridge, Macmillan & Bowes, 1885.) The introductory general hints for translation and composition will be found very serviceable by those who aim at something more than a mechanical rendering of one language into the vocabulary and the grammar of another. Exercises are cut down more and more in the German schools, and stylistic drill may have seen its best days. Still, if Latin is to be studied with reference to its effect merely, and not to the reproduction of it, books like these will always be of use to those who desire to learn the secret of Roman speech. Less ambitious is Mr. MACKIE's collection of *Parallel Passages for Translation into Greek and English*. (London, Macmillan & Co., 1885.) There are no hints of any kind, no help beyond the suggestions afforded by the parallels.

Professor BERNHARD NIESE has issued the second volume of an important critical edition of the works of *Flavius Josephus*, containing from the sixth to the tenth book (incl.) of the Antiquities. (Berlin, Weidmann, 1885.) The first volume is yet to come, with the critical introduction. The preface only gives a list of the codices.

Karl Kuhn's admirable edition of Hesiod was noticed some time since in this journal (Vol. VI, p. 121), has undertaken to edit Homer's the Schenck Bibliothek, and the first part, containing Books I-XII, is in (Leipzig, H. G. Bohn). It contains, besides the text, a compact apparatus, an advanced critic, and does not consider the text the furthest goal, and vindicates the rights the language of Homer. The bound copies of the furnished at a small advance over the unbound, and

NECROLOGY.

CHARLES D'URBAN MORRIS.

Died, February 7th, 1886, CHARLES D'URBAN MORRIS, Collegiate Professor of Greek in the Johns Hopkins University, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

Mr. MORRIS was from the beginning a steady friend of this Journal, to which he contributed the reports of *Mnemosyne* and a number of articles and reviews, all marked by sound scholarship, eminent sagacity, luminous style. His favorite field of research was the History of Greece, and an examination of his manuscripts reveals the care with which he gathered up the results of recent investigation in this direction. The edition of Classen's Thucydides, the First Book only, which was nearly completed when he was called away, will be an abiding monument of his careful and thoughtful manner of work, both as a student of history and as a student of Greek. Ready as he was to accept, and to accept enthusiastically, new suggestions, when they commended themselves to his judgment, he never gave assent to a proposition unless he took in all its dimensions, and his circumspectness as well as his candor made his opinion of rare value. This circumspectness, added to his scholarly abhorrence of all that was eccentric in style, chastened the expression of his thought so much that his writings do not give any adequate notion of the strength and depth of his individuality, which made him a man of mark among his associates and gave him rare power over his pupils. His death called forth many expressions of sorrow, affection and admiration, and the following memoir and resolutions, reproduced from the Johns Hopkins University Circulars, bear emphatic witness to the noble qualities of a noble man, the noble deeds of a noble life.

Professor CHARLES D'URBAN MORRIS, Collegiate Professor of Latin and Greek in the Johns Hopkins University, died at his residence in Baltimore, February 7, 1886, after an illness of nearly ten days.

He was a son of Rear-Admiral Henry Gage Morris, of the British Navy, who came of a Yorkshire family, was born in New York in 1770, and married in 1807 a daughter of the Rev. F. Orpen, a clergyman of the English Church in the County of Cork. Professor Morris, who was one of a family of ten children, was born in Charmouth, Dorset, England, February 17, 1827. He received his collegiate training in the University of Oxford. As a student of Lincoln College he was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1849. His name appears in the first class of those who received honors *in literis humanioribus*. Three years later he became a Master of Arts and a Fellow of Oriel College. He came to this country in 1853, and was for a time Rector of Trinity School in the city of New York, and subsequently Master of a private school for boys at Lake Mohegan, near Peekskill. He was then made a Professor in the University of the City of New York, and from that position he was called in 1876 to the chair in the Johns Hopkins University which he held until his death.

He was the author of a Latin Grammar and Reader, and of an Attic Greek Grammar, in which some original views of the proper methods of teaching the elements of the Latin and Greek languages were carefully unfolded; and he wrote a number of articles on philological topics, most of them contributed to the American Journal of Philology and to the American Philological Association. At the time of his death he was nearly ready to publish an edition of the First Book of Thucydides, with notes, the final sheets of which will be carried through the press by his associates.

His powers, however, were chiefly devoted to the work of instruction, and he never appeared to greater advantage than when surrounded by his pupils in the class-room or in his parlor, or when he took part in the admission of undergraduate students and in the presentation of candidates for the baccalaureate degree. His enthusiasm, his sympathy, his honesty and his Christian faith were apparent under all circumstances; and there was a personal charm in that mixture of confidence and diffidence which he so often manifested—confidence in the domain with which he was familiar, diffidence with respect to duties which he was not accustomed to perform. The University will long lament his death.

The body of Mr. Morris was buried in St. Paul's Churchyard (corner of Fremont and German streets) on Wednesday, February 10. The funeral services, conducted by Rev. Dr. J. S. B. Hedges, the Rector, were held in St. Paul's Church. The officers and students of the University accompanied the family as mourners from the dwelling-house to the church.

On the day of the funeral the officers and students of the Johns Hopkins University assembled in Hopkins Hall, and, after a few introductory words from President Gilman, the following resolutions were presented by Professor Gildersleeve, in a brief address, and, after additional remarks by Professor Warren, by Messrs. R. W. Rogers and Allan C. Woods—two of Mr. Morris's recent pupils—were unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That we, as members of the Johns Hopkins University, herewith give public expression to our respect for the memory of the late Professor Morris and to our sorrow for the loss of one who occupied so important a position in our academic body as scholar, teacher and man.

As a scholar, to the best characteristics of the English school in which he was trained, to refined taste, sound sense, exemplary accuracy, Mr. Morris united the most cordial sympathy with the new philological life of our day, the most eager receptivity of fresh truth from every source, so that his work never lost the glow of recent acquisition, never lacked the balance of thoughtful criticism.

As a teacher, he carried into the class-room the strength and warmth of thorough conviction. Enthusiastic devotion to his subject, confidence in his methods, an ardent desire to impress and to impart, gave him a hold on his pupils that is given to few, and his instruction will ever be memorable to those who had the privilege of his inspiration and guidance.

As a man, Mr. Morris bore through life the stamp of a high and noble nature. frank, he was open alike in praise and blame. No man more the mean, none more generous in his appreciation of the good, his example made for all that is best and truest. Loving the society of young men, and sympathizing as few sympathize with

their struggles and their aspirations, he was not content with the good he could do in casual intercourse, but delighted to gather about him under his own roof the members of the University, who in their turn honored and loved him as a father, as an elder brother. In the discharge of all his duties Mr. Morris was under the dominion of a strong religious sense. He lived as seeing Him who is invisible, and under His eye gave himself with singleness of heart to the work which had been appointed him, and continued faithful in it even to the end.

Resolved, That the foregoing resolution be communicated to his widow and to the members of his family in England, and that the Trustees of the University be requested to enter the same upon their records.

The Matriculate Society of the University and the Hopkins "House of Commons" held special meetings, previous to the funeral of Professor Morris, and adopted resolutions which expressed the sorrow which they felt at his death, their great respect for his scholarship and character, and their attachment to him as a teacher and friend.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION,
MARCH 5, 1886.

Resolved, That while the various tributes of respect heretofore paid to the memory of Professor Morris have most fittingly held up to view his services to this University, to his colleagues at large, and to his students, we, as an association, owe him a peculiar debt, which it is our privilege to acknowledge.

Professor Charles D. Morris was intimately connected with the Philological Association of the Johns Hopkins University from its beginning. He was in entire sympathy with its aims, and for nearly ten years furthered them by the prompt performance of every duty, by his readiness in contributing his own generous share to our proceedings, and by sustained interest in all good work. To this he added a rare discrimination, which bestowed where possible a full measure of praise; while he did not abate a jot of his own firm judgment. He scarcely ever missed a meeting of this Association, and his influence on the proceedings was marked in many ways.

Even as a listener his presence was always felt. His brief and forcible remarks of discriminating criticism, of fruitful inquiry, or of approval, were always highly prized. He welcomed a good thing enthusiastically, from whatever quarter it came, in whatever subject it appeared. He was quick to discern interesting applications of theory or fact, and thus contributed towards making the speaker feel at his ease outside of his own subject.

Especially to be commemorated is the kindly sympathy he extended to younger men who appeared for the first time before the Association, and his appreciation of what was new and good in their articles. More than one young scholar owes his first feeling of confidence in his own independent work to the appreciation and encouragement received from Professor Morris.

His own contributions were models of clear thought, and of skilful presentation, in choice English. However far his theme might be from the studies of his listener, the latter was under the spell of his personality from the first, and his personality was an inspiration.

He made his associates love scholarship more, while loving science none the less; and he himself made scholarship lovely, so that others felt more proud of belonging to the guild of scholars because he adorned it.

Resolved, That this minute be entered on the records of this Association, and a copy of it be sent to Professor Morris's relatives.

HENRY WOOD,
MAURICE BLOOMFIELD,
MINTON WARREN, *Committee.*

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AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. VII, 2.

WHOLE NO. 26.

I.—SPEECH-MIXTURE IN FRENCH CANADA. EXTERNAL INFLUENCE.

In the introductory article,¹ a glance was given at the early history of the Province of Quebec, in order that something of the original dialect-elements of the present speech of French Canada might be understood, and that the general characteristics which mark the east and west zones of the Gallic idiom, as it exists in the Dominion, might be clearly kept in view for the investigation which is to follow. It would be not only interesting but fascinating to develop this sketch of the history of a people whose every struggle for national existence has been characterized by the noblest self-sacrifice, by the highest personal valor and, above all, by the profoundest sense of the importance to them of their religion and language. The motto *Notre Langue, Notre Religion et Nos Coutumes* has been ever present with them, and to it their hearts have been tuned when the power of the oppressor has threatened to crush them. It would be instructive, in the interest of the general subject of language, to discuss the sundry attempts made by their rulers to tear away from them this heritage, their strongest and safest bulwark as a distinct and separate people. The suppression of French schools, the prohibition of French in all governmental relations, the refusal of the dominant race to learn French, the contempt in which the proud sons of Gaul were held—all of these would form interesting and instructive chapters where might be portrayed the unswerving tenacity of purpose, the strong character and the bold disregard of danger on the part of the French in the most trying circumstances when religion and

¹ See Vol. VI, p. 135 seq. of this Journal.

language have been at stake. But such discussions would carry us too far from the special object of the present work, which is to treat the language as actually found in the Canadian provinces.

Could we stop at the broad lines of demarcation as indicated for the dialects in the preliminary study just referred to; could we take into account the few linguistic varieties only that constituted the original speech-compound, we should find it no very difficult task to trace the interlacing threads of these language-forms and to note their reciprocal influences in the production of existing types; but the problem here is conditioned by incomparably greater difficulties. The individual dialects that were brought to these shores by the earliest settlers serve simply as so many definite and well-determined *points d'appui*, as so many trusty landmarks in the labyrinth of a linguistic mixture that was the natural outgrowth of constant and promiscuous immigration for more than one hundred and fifty years. It is fortunate for the investigator that he has these fixed points in the field of his observation, otherwise much of his searching would be in vain, and much of what he might think to be real discovery would be only conjecture with reference to the great mass of his many-colored and perplexing material.

We find at work in Canada all those agencies which produce speech-mixture among languages where the types are more distinct and where the relations of these types have settled into that special mould that marks the separation of language from dialect. Of course, the more intimate the relation between any two forms of speech, the more easy is the passage of the one to the other, provided they both belong to the same generic stock; and it is this position, as we shall see further on, which the set of dialects of the Province of Quebec holds with reference to the varieties of speech that belong particularly to the maritime provinces; that is, instead of being distinctly individual languages, they must be regarded as different phases of one general speech, but possessing at the same time characteristics sufficiently marked to individualize them and make them represent, for all working purposes, two distinct forms of language. I shall consider, therefore, this subject of speech-mixture under the various headings that mark the natural mingling of linguistic forms, such as the influence of the purely external circumstances of life and the influence of divergent linguistic products upon one another. It may easily happen, in certain cases, that the second part of this classification is contained in or conditioned by the first; in truth, precisely here in Canada we shall

note how it is that peculiar circumstances of life have especially contributed to certain developments of speech that could never have existed had it not been for their concurrence at a given time in the political, social and religious experiences of the people. And nowhere else, perhaps, have these cardinal functions of organic growth in civilized society acted more powerfully toward the production of a composite language. It is here, if anywhere, that we must carefully consider the reflex of the feudal system in language-making; it is here that the social and religious life, bound together into an indissoluble whole, have left their indelible stamp upon the speech, from the humblest peasant who left France to act the part of pioneer of French civilization on the American continent, down to his peaceable, hard-working, frugal, self-sacrificing descendant of to-day, the *habitant*, who no longer rejoices in the *patois* of his ancestor, but who has risen, without effort and unsuspectingly, to a higher plane in the scale of linguistic development.

The mere circumstance of bringing together emigrants for the New World from several of the chief departments of France, in an age where the means of communication among the different linguistic centres were slow and laborious, and when, consequently, the varieties of idiom were much more marked than we now have them—this condition of things alone, I say, was sufficient to produce important changes in the language of inhabitants who, before this, had never come into any social relation with one another, and whose necessary contact and more or less intimate association after they had once planted foot upon American soil afforded an opportunity to take the initial steps in that Ausgleichung of grammar-forms and intermixture of phonetic elements which are found to-day in the Canadian language, common in all essential particulars to the provinces of the Dominion, wherever French is spoken.¹

¹ I shall not be anticipating here too much a special treatment of that phase of the Canadian French, generally known as the Acadian, which exists in the maritime provinces—Nova Scotia (including Cape Breton, Isle Madame), New Brunswick and Prince Edward—and the original sources of which were the Langue d'Oc dialects, if I state in this connection that the common notion held with reference to it is erroneous—namely, that it is a clearly defined dialect variety with so marked characteristics as to be easily distinguishable from its sister on the lower St. Lawrence. For the most part, it does not constitute to-day a dialect species so sharply separated from the current Canadian idiom as to entitle it to the dignity of being regarded as a separate and independent

Another feature, furthermore, of the mixed society must be borne in mind, as it will help to explain how the process of social amalgamation was carried forward with so universal success. I refer to the superior character of the earliest settlers. The originators of the emigration movement in France, and the later directors of the Canadian colonization projects, were men of integrity, of broad views, and of extended experience in foreign lands. They were property-holders themselves, and hence understood the advantages that would accrue to the new communities by having such only of their subjects to follow them as had the means to subsist, and as had sufficient intelligence to easily adapt themselves to the circumstances of their new life. The wise and proper selection of peasants, therefore, for the first ships that sailed from the Old World to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, was of paramount importance to the leaders of an enterprise fraught with so many dangers at that time. The "rank and file" of these pioneers were naturally chosen, then, from the more prosperous and thrifty class of the common folk, and thus, at the very start of the colonies, favorable conditions existed for the immediate growth of a form of language more homogeneous than that which existed in the mother country, where the social elements were more diverse and consequently less congenial. And that not only a strong tendency to uniformity of speech actually did develop among these colonists, but also that the results of it were surprising, is manifest from the testimony of sundry writers before the Conquest in 1760. In truth, some of them go so far as to maintain that better French was spoken on the banks of the St. Lawrence than in France itself, and account in part for this extraordinary state of things by the less mixed character of society and the large proportion of educated persons who had joined the expeditions to the American Continent.

The Récollet father Chrétien Leclercq, referring to this subject, says: "I could scarcely understand when a celebrated man [Father Germain Allard, afterward Bishop of Vence] said to me one day that I should be surprised to find in Canada so nice a people

order of linguistic growth. That fundamental differences did once exist between the two must be admitted, but the levelling process has been so widespread as to have done away with many of the originally distinctive marks of the South French of which it was formerly a part. In truth, as we shall see hereafter, we often find to our surprise, in these Acadian districts, that both the phonetics and morphology are nearer the model of the North French than the language of the Province of Quebec, where the *Langue d'Oil* dialects were the sources drawn on from the beginning for the speech-material.

[*d'honnêtes gens*]; that he did not know another province of the Kingdom where there was more intelligence, sagacity [*pénétration*] and politeness on the part of the people; and added that we should even find there a very polished language, with clear and distinct enunciation and a pronunciation without accent. But when I was on the spot, I recognized that they had not exaggerated anything to me, New France being in this respect more fortunate than the colonies established in other parts of the world."

The Mère de l'Incarnation (whose acquaintance we shall make a little further on), one of the most celebrated characters connected with the early history of Canada, also said what was repeated in substance by Charlevoix: "Nowhere else do they speak our language more purely: one cannot note here the least accent." The annalist, Bacqueville de la Poterie, bears testimony to the same fact. "Although," she says, "there is here a mixture from all the provinces of France, one cannot distinguish the speech of any one of them in particular among the Canadians."

Again, we call upon the Abbé D'Olivet. He writes: "One might send an opera to Canada and it could be sung at Quebec, note for note, just as in Paris; but you could not send a conventional phrase to Bordeaux or Montpellier and find that it would be pronounced syllable for syllable as at the Court."

In fact, under the Comte de Frontenac a certain Sieur de Mareuil gave theatrical representations at Quebec, and, according to Isidore Lebrun, Lescarbot had 'Le Triomphe de Neptune' played at Port-Royal, which is a very much greater source of astonishment, considering the districts of France whence were drawn the inhabitants of this city.

Sieur Franquet, Royal Commissary, in writing to France about the women of the Province, says: "They are generally very intelligent and speak a pure French without the slightest accent. Accomplished and gay, they converse in a very agreeable manner."

But it was not the people of their own race alone who found that the Canadians spoke good French. The learned Swedish traveller Kalm, speaking of how sensitive the women were about their language, makes the following remark: "The ladies and girls of Canada, and particularly those of Montreal, are disposed to laugh at the mistakes that foreigners make in speaking their language. Here French is rarely spoken except by the Gallic race, for there are very few foreigners, and the savages, naturally too proud to learn French, oblige the colonists to learn their language. It thus

happens, therefore, that the ladies of Canada cannot hear any peculiar or extraordinary mode of speech without laughing."¹

We shall note, further on, the special influence of the clergy and of their educational institutions on the language. What we want to understand first is that the character of the mass of the people in these colonies of the North originally differed very materially from that which we find in most other settlements of European colonization at that time. It was no penal colony; they were no set of political convicts or social misdemeanants² sent out to be gotten rid of by the home government, but were serious, hard-working, thrifty citizens, representing the cream of their society, just as their leaders, spiritual and temporal, represented the bluest blood that France had to offer in those days. That they found a better world on this side of the Atlantic is natural, all things being considered, since their relations to their masters were less exacting here and the chances for a more generous existence were at hand.

In truth, it may be asserted, I think, without fear of contradiction, that never in the history of the Canadian colonies were these people reduced to such a state of misery and ignorance as La Bruyère mentions in his *Les Charactères ou les Moeurs de ce Siècle*: "L'on voit certains animaux farouches, des mâles et des femelles, répandus par la campagne, noirs, livides et tout brûlés du soleil, attachés à la terre qu'ils fouillent et qu'ils remuent avec une opiniâtreté invincible; ils ont comme une voix articulée, et quand ils se lèvent sur leurs pieds, ils montrent une face humaine, et en effet ils sont des hommes. Ils se retirent la nuit dans les tanières, où ils vivent de pain noir, d'eau et de racines; ils épargnent aux autres hommes la peine de semer, de labourer et de recueillir pour

¹ For these items bearing specially upon the purity of the French as spoken by the early settlers of Canada, I am indebted to an interesting monograph (now out of print) furnished me by the author, M. Bibaud *filz*, of Montreal, entitled: *Le Mémorial des Vicissitudes et des Progrès de la Langue française en Canada*. Montréal, 1879.

² I am aware that the Marquis de la Roche is said to have ransacked the prisons of France, whence he collected a set of ruffians, robbers and cut-throats, who accompanied him to the New World. This, however, was among the earliest attempts to found a French settlement on these shores, and, besides being confined to the small Isle du Sable, off the coast of Nova Scotia, the company that landed consisted of only forty men, who, through privations and the rigors of the climate, finally perished, or went back home after a few years. The project, then, to start the colony with convicts miscarried. Cf. Francis Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World*, pp. 210-12.

vivre, et méritent ainsi de ne pas manquer de ce pain qu'ils ont semé."¹

Few, if any, of this class ever joined the wanderers across the ocean, even in the latter days of exclusive French rule, and to-day not a trace or reminiscence of such abject wretchedness is to be found with the *habitant* of Canada, whose Norman instincts manifest themselves in the acquisition of this world's goods. His neighbors, the Bretons, used to say of him that he did not pray for wealth, but only to be placed near somebody that had it.² I am borne out in the expression of the above opinion concerning the character of the early peasant in New France by no less authority also than the Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau, one of the most celebrated writers of Canada to-day, who was for eighteen years at the head of the Department of Public Instruction for Lower Canada and for the Province of Quebec. In his admirable work on public instruction in Canada,³ he says: "On aurait tort de croire que la population des campagnes a été, à n'importe quelle époque, dans cette ignorance absolue et abrutissante dont on est encore frappé chez les basses classes de quelques pays européens. Dès les premiers temps, un grand nombre de colons arrivaient au Canada tout instruits, et les vieux registres conservés à Québec et à Montréal établissent qu'une forte proportion d'entre eux savait écrire. Leur éducation domestique était, en général, excellente, et les traditions de la famille canadienne, entretenues et ravivées par l'enseignement religieux, suppléèrent assez longtemps au manque d'écoles. Bien des mères de famille, instruites par les Soeurs de la Congrégation, se firent les institutrices de leurs propres enfants, garçons aussi bien que filles."

Again: "En très-grand nombre, les premiers colons étaient instruits . . . Mais ils avaient mieux que cela, c'était une génération forte et formée aux traditions religieuses et sociales du pays, à cette époque le plus civilisé et le plus éclairé de l'Europe. L'éducation domestique, la première, la plus essentielle, celle à laquelle l'instruction, n'importe à quel degré, ne supplée que difficilement, ne supplée aucunement si elle n'est appuyée sur l'idée religieuse, l'éducation de ces premiers colons était excellente et c'est elle qui,

¹ Œuvres de La Bruyère. Nouvelle édition par M. G. Servois. De L'Homme, Vol. II, p. 61.

² Atlantic Monthly, XLVIII 773.

³ L'Instruction Publique au Canada. Précis historique et statistique par M. Chauveau, ancien ministre de l'instruction publique dans le Province de Québec. Québec, Coté et Cie., 1876, p. 56.

transmise d'âge en âge, a valu à leurs descendants le titre de peuple gentilhomme."¹

But there was no difficulty for the peasant in Canada to acquire a liberal means of subsistence after the colony had once taken a foothold there; his social status was greatly improved by his constant and intimate relations with those of his own class, and his language was bettered by the friendly and democratic conditions in which he lived with his lord.

The Intendant, Jacques Duchesneau, who received his commission in 1675, wrote four years later (November 10, 1679)—that is, after he had become thoroughly acquainted with the country in his official capacity—to the Minister Colbert: "As for such of the laboring class as apply themselves steadily to the cultivation of the soil, they not only live very well, but are incomparably better off than the better sort of peasants in France."² The Canadian seigneur belonged to the best stock in France; he was a kind master, and showed by his intercourse with the people that he appreciated their honesty and intrepidity as pioneers of a new colonization.

We have already seen³ how the land was parcelled out by the seigneurs and the consequent more or less friendly association between him and his tenants. The seigneurial tenure carried with it certain privileges and rights which must be noted here more particularly if we would understand this source of external influence on the language. In the very first conveyance of land to a colonist—father of the Hébert family, whose acquaintance we have already made—we find traces of the *Coutumes de Paris*, which was the law before the civil tribunals established at Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers. This was in 1626, and it was not till nearly four decades (1663⁴) later that the principle became established for the whole country by the first *concession en fief* made to Robert

¹ Discours sur l'Instruction Publique en Canada prononcé à la Convention canadienne de 1874.

² Francis Parkman, *The Old Régime in Canada*, p. 381.

³ American Journal of Philology, Vol. VI, p. 148.

⁴ At the beginning of this year, it will be remembered, the Company of the Hundred Associates (noticed below), in a resolution signed by fifteen of its members, "a arrêté que . . . serait fait une démission entre les mains de Sa Majesté, de la propriété et seigneurie du dit pays (la Nouvelle-France) appartenant à la dite Compagnie, pour en disposer par Sa Majesté comme il lui plaira, se rapportant à son équité et bonne justice, d'accorder un dédommagement proportionné aux dépenses que la dite Compagnie a faites pour le bien et l'avantage du dit pays."—*Édits et Ordonnances Royaux*, Vol. I, p. 30.

Giffard, Seigneur de Beauport. This period must be kept in mind, as in it the form of government in Canada began to shape itself definitely, and the feudal *régime* was saddled upon the colonist to the exclusion of all other species of political and social polity. The year following the first private land-grant (1627) a contract was signed between Richelieu and the Compagnie des Cents Associés (or de la Nouvelle-France) in virtue of which the latter were to enjoy the colony "à perpétuité, en toute propriété, justice et seigneurie."

This edict is of special interest for us, since in the very first article of agreement it is stipulated that this Company shall transport to Canada, beginning with the next year (1628), three hundred men of all professions, and shall increase this number to four thousand men and women in the succeeding fifteen years; and again, in Section IV of the same, in order to recompense the Company for its great expense in this enterprise, the extraordinary grant is mentioned, as just given, of "le fort et habitation de Québec avec tout le dit pays de la Nouvelle-France, dite Canada, tant le long des côtes depuis la Floride . . . jusqu'au cercle arctique," etc. Besides many other special rights and privileges, this all-powerful Association had for these fifteen years the exclusive control of the fur-trade (Article VII); all sorts of merchandise and products of industry coming from it were to be free of duty (Article XIV), and twelve *lettres de noblesse* were issued for such leading members and their families (to be continued to their descendants forever) as did not belong to this rank in the native country (Article XIV). Here we have, then, the supreme power of government vested in a corporation whose dissolution (1663) was the natural outcome of the greed and abuse of privilege that followed so unrestricted a control of the material interests of this immense territory. But another significant feature of this legal document must not be overlooked—namely, the preliminary statement that the King, wishing to perpetuate the memory and holy purpose of Henri-le-Grand, would strive, with divine assistance, to bring the inhabitants of New France to a knowledge of the true God by having them instructed and trained in the "religion catholique, apostolique et romaine"; and Monseigneur le Cardinal de Richelieu was of opinion that the only means of disposing these savages to the Christian faith was to people the country with Catholics, native of France. Thus was introduced into this scheme of colonization that distinct religious coloring which manifested

itself throughout the brief reign of the Company so decidedly as to stamp it with the characteristic appellation, "mission-period."

This was the charter, then, that established feudal tenure throughout Canada, and it was to cut short the abuses that had arisen under its exclusive and exceptional provisions that the Minister of Louis XIII annulled it and made the following new effort at colonization. On the breaking up of this old colonial "Committee of a Hundred," a Royal Council held sway for a year, composed of a Governor, the highest tributary ecclesiastic of the country, the Intendant and five Councillors. This Council was endued with the same power as that borne by the sovereign court of France, but it was yet too early to rule the colony exclusively by home-dictation, and there was consequently no time lost in supplanting it by an organization whose influence was drawn in great measure from its vested interests.

Almost exactly a year after the edict was issued (April, 1663) for the creation of the *conseil souverain*, came the establishment (May, 1664) of the Compagnie des Indes Occidentales, whose powers, privileges and immunities were even greater than those of its predecessor, the Compagnie du Canada. After reciting many breaches of trust, failures to comply with the stipulations of their charter, and other irregularities on the part of this corporation, it is stated to be the intention of His Majesty, in order properly to carry on the commerce of the West Indies, to establish a powerful company, to which he would concede these islands, "celles de Cayenne et de toute la terre ferme de l'Amérique . . . , le Canada, l'Acadie, Isle de Terreneuve et autres isles et terre ferme, depuis le nord du dit pays de Canada jusqu'à la Virginie et Floride, ensemble toute la côte de l'Afrique depuis le Cap Vert jusqu'au Cap de Bonne Espérance."¹ This company was to be composed especially of those possessing landed property in the regions indicated, and of others who were desirous to join in the development of home-commerce with these foreign parts; and the term of their grant was much more favorable than that of the former runners, the Hundred Associates, since they were to have the exclusive privilege of commerce and navigation in all the countries where the latter were shut off. One may well wonder how long the existence of this first royal company could be expected to last, in view of the same length of time of the former. But the answer is, not long.

But this new company did not long survive, and, apparently the

special outgrowth of a desire to foster commerce, was not to be confined to the promotion of material interests. A higher purpose is professed in the introductory stipulation, where the same strong religious motive for colonization of the New World is expressed in definite terms: "Comme nous regardons dans l'établissement des dites colonies principalement la gloire de Dieu en procurant le salut des Indiens et Sauvages, auxquels nous désirons faire connoître la vraie religion, la dite compagnie présentement établie sous le nom de 'Compagnie des Indes Occidentales' sera obligée de faire passer aux pays ci-dessus concédés le nombre d'ecclésiastiques nécessaire pour y prêcher le Saint Évangile et instruire ces peuples en la créance de la religion catholique, apostolique et romaine," etc.

In the mode of its organization, however, a striking contrast with that of its predecessor is evident at the first glance, and the pronounced tendency to centralized authority is manifest which soon after developed in France with reference to the government of her colonies and caused the overthrow of this company, to which so much power had originally been given. I allude to Section VIII of their charter, wherein it was specially stipulated that a Board of General Directors, consisting of nine persons, should be established at Paris, and these directors should name the commanding officers (Section XIII) and the clerks necessary for the service of the Company, both at home and abroad. But a still greater innovation on the system of preceding companies, and a feature that specially concerns us here, is the formal introduction (Section XXXIII) of the *Coutume de Paris*: "Seront . . . tenus . . . les officiers de suivre et se conformer à la Coutume de la prévôté et vicomté de Paris, suivant laquelle les habitans pourront contracter sans que l'on y puisse introduire aucune coutume pour éviter la diversité."

But scarcely a decade had passed after the cession of the enormous possessions mentioned above to the West India Company, before we find their charter suddenly revoked by royal edict, and from this time (1674) until the conquest (1760) the Royal Council held exclusive sway. Thus we see the various attempts of the home government to properly rule her colonies on the St. Lawrence were abortive until it assumed the control of them to the exclusion of all private claims to authority, whether by extensive and potent companies or by individuals. In this struggle on the part of the State finally to concentrate within herself the sole jurisdiction of her colonial possessions, instead of delegating it to a

corporation that managed these possessions for the advantage of the interested few, we have sundry forms of local legislation introduced, various social customs developed, and diverse relations established between lord and peasant that are of importance in consideration of the language of rulers and ruled. For while the main tenor of his life was feudalistic, the *habitants* of New France spurned certain duties that were regarded as essential prerogatives of his master in the Old World. Such, for example, was that important feature of feudalism during the heyday of its supremacy —namely, military service, and which was totally unknown in Canada. And just here it may be well to note more particularly a few points in which, through feudal custom, these two elements of society were brought into friendly contact.

The seigneur himself, though naturally upon a footing, with reference to his sovereign, more free in this foreign land than at home, yet had to give evidence every year of his subjection by rendering homage to the king's representative at Quebec, by repeating the oath of allegiance and performing certain other formalities that were required by his royal monarch. He was obliged to acknowledge the right of *quint*, by which a fifth part of the price for any land sold went to the king; but, besides these requirements—and what concerns us especially—he was bound by the *droit de banalité* to build grist-mills on his estate for the use of his tenants. We read in an edict of June 4, 1686, touching these *moulins banaux*.¹ "Le roi étant en son conseil, ayant été informé que la plupart des seigneurs qui possèdent des fiefs dans son pays de la Nouvelle-France négligent de bâtir des moulins banaux nécessaires pour la subsistence des habitans du dit pays, et voulant pourvoir à un défaut si préjudiciable à l'entretien de la colonie, Sa Majesté étant en son conseil, a ordonné et ordonne que tous les seigneurs qui possèdent des fiefs dans l'étendue du dit pays de la Nouvelle-France seront tenus d'y faire construire des moulins banaux dans le tems d'une année après la publication du présent arrêt, et le dit tems passé, faute par eux d'y avoir satisfait, permet Sa Majesté à tous particuliers, de quelque qualité et condition qu'ils soient, de bâtir les dits moulins, leur en attribuant à cette fin le droit de banalité, faisant défenses à toutes personnes de les y troubler."

Before this edict the *banalité* was purely conventional, as it was

¹ Édits, Ordonnances Royaux, Déclarations et Arrêts du Conseil D'État du Roi concernant le Canada, Vol. I, p. 255.

in France, where it did not fall under the cognizance of the common law. The *censitaire* (tenant), on the other hand, was compelled also to have his grinding done at the mill of his seigneur, paying him, as toll for it, the fourteenth part; he was required to bake his bread in the seigneurial oven, to work at least one day in the year for his lord, and to give him one fish in every eleven that he took in that part of the river flowing by his domain.

The seigneur in France, furthermore, was absolute master over his estate, and could rent it or not, as he wished; but not so in Canada. Here, according to a royal decree of June 4, 1675, concessions too large to be peopled and handled by their owners to the advantage of the country had to be given up to new colonists: "Le roi ayant été informé que tous ses sujets qui ont passé de l'ancienne en la Nouvelle-France, ont obtenu des concessions d'une très grande quantité de terre le long des rivières du dit pays, les-quelles ils n'ont pu défricher à cause de la trop grande étendue, ce qui incommode les autres habitants du dit pays, et même empêche que d'autres François n'y passent pour s'y habiter, ce qui étant entièrement contraire aux intentions de Sa Majesté pour le dit pays et à l'application qu'elle a bien voulu donner depuis huit ou dix années pour augmenter les colonies qui y sont établies, attendu qu'il ne se trouve qu'une partie des terres le long des rivières cultivées, le reste ne l'étant point et ne pouvant l'être à cause de la trop grand étendue des dites concessions et de la foiblesse des propriétaires d'icelles, à quoi étant nécessaire de pourvoir, Sa Majesté étant en son conseil a ordonné et ordonne que par le Sieur Duchesneau, conseiller en son conseil et intendant de la justice, police et finances au dit pays, il sera fait une déclaration précise et exacte de la qualité des terres concédées aux principaux habitans du dit pays, du nombre d'arpens ou autre mesure usitée du dit pays qu'elles contiennent sur le bord des rivières et au dedans des terres, du nombre de personnes et de bestiaux employés à la culture et au défrichement d'icelles; en conséquence de laquelle déclaration la moitié des terres qui avoient été concédées auparavant les dix dernières années, et qui ne se trouveront défrichées et cultivées en terres labourables ou en prés, sera retranchée des concessions et donnée aux particuliers qui se présenteront pour les cultiver et les défricher."¹

This condition, imposed on the seigneur to clear his land within a limited time on pain of forfeiting it, has been regarded as the

¹ *Édits et Ordonnances*, Vol. I, pp. 81, 82.

distinctive feature of Canadian feudalism. The same centralization of power, furthermore, which we have just seen in the hands of officers of the home government at the time of the dissolution of the West India Company, is clearly illustrated by the relation which the vassal proprietor held in New France to his rulers. The crown (contrary to feudal usages in France proper) maintained a strict control over not only his dealings with the State, but also his private contracts and enterprises. "A decree of the king, an edict of the council, or an ordinance of the intendant, might at any moment change old conditions, impose new ones, interfere between the lord of the manor and his grantees and modify or annul his bargains, past or present."¹ In a letter of the Marquis de Beauharnois, the Governor, to the Minister, in 1734, the bold doctrine is laid down that, "as His Majesty gives the land for nothing, he can make what conditions he pleases and change them when he pleases."² These interventions, it should be noted, were usually favorable to the *censitaire*.

And again, about half a century later (March 15, 1732), another act of the home authorities provides that those seigneuries which had remained uncleared and unoccupied should revert to the crown at the expiration of one year from the date of this Arrêt: "Le roi s'étant fait représenter en son conseil l'arrêt rendu en icelui le six juillet, mil sept cent onze, portant que les habitans de la Nouvelle-France, auxquels il auroit été accordé des terres 'en seigneuries, qui n'y auroient pas de domaines défrichés ni d'habitans établis, seroient tenus de les mettre en culture et d'y placer des habitans dans un an du jour de la publication du dit arrêt, passé lequel tems elles demeureroient réunies au domaine de Sa Majesté."³

The *censitaire* having once taken possession, his seigneur could not exact anything from him except the two sous per acre allowed by law for rent, unless the land changed owners, in which case the seigneur had his *lods et vents*, an impost of one-twelfth part of the value of the farm. These *lods et vents*, together with the *banalité* just noted, constituted the principal income of the lord; but it must not be supposed that he always led a life of ease or that his family lived in luxury. In truth, the domestic habits of his family during the above-named mission-period were extremely simple. We have the testimony of one of the king's agents, the intendant Denonville,

¹ Parkman, Old Régime, p. 248.

² *Ibid.* p. 251.

³ *Édits et Ordonnances*, Vol. I, p. 531.

who asserts, in a letter to the Minister bearing date Nov. 10, 1686, that he had seen "two young ladies, daughters of Monsieur de Saint-Ours, a gentleman of Dauphiny, reaping grain and at the plow-tail." The dowry of Magdeleine Boucher, sister of the Governor of Three Rivers, a seigneur, was set down by an author of the middle of the seventeenth century as follows: "Two hundred francs cash, four sheets, two table-cloths, six linen pieces, a mattress and coverlet, two dishes, six spoons and six pewter plates, a saucepan and a copper kettle, a table and two benches, a kneading-trough, a trunk with lock and key, a cow and two mated pigs." But we know that the Bouchers were a family of distinction, that the bride's dowry answered to her station; and in another case, the parents of the bride bind themselves to present the bridegroom with a barrel of bacon when the ships come in from France.¹

We have thus abundant proof that these young women of the *haute noblesse* helped freely in the domestic duties of the household, and also that the noble lord personally superintended his laborers in the field. The celebrated Swedish botanist already mentioned, Kalm, a man of keen observation, gives us some sketches from life of the manners and customs of the Canadians: "They [the women] are not averse to taking part in all the business of housekeeping, and I have with pleasure seen the daughters of the better sort of people, and of the Governor [of Montreal] himself, not too finely dressed and going into kitchens and cellars, to look that everything be done as it ought."²

Here we have, then, in the primary conditions of Canadian society, irrespective of the clergy, of educational institutions and of other organizations where an educated element predominated—namely, the charity foundations—causes all-powerful to produce a drift in one general direction—that is, toward a uniformity of language such as had not been known in the mother-country. In this calculation, it will be observed, we have left out of the account that special levelling agency which must exist in every new community cut off, as the Canadian settlements were, from all personal intercourse with the home-people. They felt the necessity of strong union and co-operation in battling with the savages about them, and hence were bound together with much stronger mutual

¹ Atlantic Monthly, Vol. XLVIII, p. 774. Contrat de Mariage, cited by Ferland, Notes, p. 73. Cf. also Parkman, The Old Régime in Canada, p. 382.

² Kalm, Travels in North America, translated into English by John Reinhold Forster (London, 1771); quoted by Parkman, The Old Régime, p. 390.

influences than they would have been in more propitious circumstances.

But all of these social conditions and peculiar political relations put together must have been of little moment in reforming and ameliorating the various speech-varieties of the Canadian folk compared with influences brought to bear upon them by the clergy, by the members, male and female, of those numerous Church establishments of the various religious corporations, organized by private munificence, devoted to the instruction of the young and to the spreading and strengthening of the Catholic faith.

We have already observed that the whole Canadian society rests upon a religious basis, that the priest has such a grasp upon the confidence of the common people that his spiritual authority is unquestioned and his dicta seldom go unheeded. He is not a mere figurehead behind which Society moves in devious routes and is shielded in its malpractices by the emblem of sanctimonious power, but a living presence whose force is always felt to be the most important, the most extensive and the most potent social factor in every community. To have so universal a hold on the sympathies of any people, these representatives of the Church must not only have proved themselves worthy of their calling by their devotion, self-sacrifice and godly life, but they must necessarily have controlled the early education of their people. And this brings us to a consideration of the last and most cogent force of a purely external nature that helped to abrade the dialect-irregularities and reduce to a homogeneous state the structure, forms and sound of the Canadian language.

Jacques Cartier took priests along with him on his first two voyages to the New World, but there is no evidence that they were able to impart instruction to the savages. The first evangelizer of New France, in fact, was M. Jessé Flèche, who baptized in 1610, at Port Royal, the family of an Indian chief. He was followed the next year by some Jesuits, who immediately began missions; but it was not till 1616 that the first veritable attempts at instruction were made, when the Récollet Fathers undertook to teach the elements of reading and writing to a few children of the natives. At the head of these was Frère Duplessis, who opened a school at Three Rivers, and who must be considered the forerunner of that great army of devoted and self-sacrificing men who have ever kept the fire burning on the altar of knowledge in Canada. The Récollets called the Jesuits to Quebec in 1625, but only four

years later they all returned to France when Quebec fell into the hands of the English. On the restoration of the country to the French in 1632, two Jesuit Fathers, Lejeune and Lalemant, followed De Caen across the seas, and while the former devoted himself to the instruction of the natives, the latter, for the first time in the history of the colony, gave regular formal instruction to the children of the whites. This effort must have met with immediate response on the part of the people, since only five years later we find them erecting a college which afterward became of great importance to the community, and consequently to this date (1637) must be assigned the serious beginning of public instruction in Canada. Two years later Mme. de la Peltrie and the celebrated Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, whom Bossuet calls the St. Theresa of the New World, established in the same town the Ursuline convent, which was the first school for girls in the whole of New France. To the former of these noble ladies were due the inception of the scheme, and the funds to carry it out, of educating the female children of the Indians; but to the latter must be mainly attributed the success of the enterprise. She united an almost ecstatic fervor to practical talents of the highest order. Incited and supported by supernatural dreams and visions, her indomitable energy overcame all discouragement. In the vision she had while praying before the Sacrament at Tours before she entered on her work, the whole land of Canada was shown her, rugged with primeval forest, and the memory of the heavenly voice which sent her on her mission supported her under all her trials.¹

Meanwhile, Maisonneuve, the founder and Governor of Montreal, began to look for the introduction of similar educational benefits into the Ville Marie colony, and a few years later brought there la Sœur Marguerite Bourgeois, organizer in the New World of the Congrégation de Notre Dame. The story of the founding of Montreal is fresh with all that spirit which permeated and ruled the whole civilization of French Canada, which placed the learned and the unlearned, the nobleman and plebeian, the priest and the people, upon the same footing of Christian fellowship, and made each individual community a centre of united and vigorous missionary effort.² Parkman has traced with characteristic coloring and graphic effect the landing of Maisonneuve and the taking possession of the wilderness: "Maisonneuve sprang ashore and fell

¹ Dawson, *Handbook for the Dominion of Canada*, p. 138.

² *The Jesuits in North America*, p. 208.

on his knees. His followers imitated his example, and all joined their voices in enthusiastic songs of thanksgiving. An altar was raised on a pleasant spot near at hand, and Mademoiselle Mance, with Madame de la Peltre, decorated it with a taste which was the admiration of the beholders. Now all the company gathered before the shrine. They knelt in reverent silence as the Host was raised aloft; and when the rite was over, the priest turned and addressed them: ' You are a grain of mustard-seed that shall rise and grow till its branches overshadow the earth. You are few, but your work is the work of God. His smile is on you, and your children shall fill the land.'

In 1653 Marguerite Bourgeois gave all her property to the poor and came out to Canada with Maisonneuve—his second voyage—expressly to establish an institution for the education of the female children of the French settlers and of the savage nations of Canada. She was not born of noble family, but she had in an eminent degree that nobility which no written parchments can bestow, flowing from a heart humble and yet brave, earnestly religious and yet with a quiet enthusiasm. "To this day," says Parkman, "in crowded schoolrooms of Montreal and Quebec, fit monuments of her unobtrusive virtue, her successors instruct the children of the poor and embalm the pleasant memory of Marguerite Bourgeois."¹ She first taught the children of the Governor's family; but she had been in the country only a few years when she established (1657) a school in a stable which she had turned into a sort of school-house; but from this humble beginning there soon followed most brilliant results, since we find, in less than a century, that the *religieuses* of this Order had a dozen educational institutions of more or less importance scattered throughout the principal parishes of the colony.²

Only a month after the title of the Hundred Associates was extinguished, Mgr. de Laval established at Quebec the Grand Séminaire, and four or five years later the Petit Séminaire, from which two institutions sprang up, in 1852, as an integral part of them, the celebrated Université Laval.

A decade and a half (1647) before Quebec was provided with these institutions of learning, the Sulpitians at Montreal founded their celebrated seminary, which exists to-day as one of the most

¹ Dawson, *Handbook*, p. 217.—Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America*, p. 202.

² Chauveau, *L'Instruction Publique au Canada*, p. 50 seq.—De Cazes, *Notes sur le Canada*, p. 130 seq.

important educational establishments of the city, and still keeps its original, double aim of carrying on theological training for priests and of teaching the secular youth. The story of the origin of this institution appropriately illustrates the character of all the early establishments of education in New France, and explains many of the characteristic peculiarities of the present public education in the Province of Quebec. It was the year following the death (1635) of Champlain, the founder of French nationality in Canada, which was also the date of starting the Three Rivers colony and of establishing the first college of Jesuits in New France, that the Abbé Olier, a zealous priest, while praying in the Church of St. Germain des Prés in Paris, thought he received a divine revelation to found upon the island of Montreal a society of priests for the propagation of the true faith in the New World. Led by various mystical guidings, he formed the acquaintance of Dauversière, a receiver of taxes in Anjou, whose mind had been prepared in a similar manner. These two men resolved to found upon the island three religious orders—one of priests, to preach the true faith; another of nuns, to nurse the sick; and a third, also of nuns, to educate the young. The dream of these enthusiasts is to-day realized in the Seminary of St. Sulpice, the Hospital of the Hôtel-Dieu, and the schools of the Congregation of Notre Dame. Through the aid of a member of the nobility they purchased in 1640 the seigniory of the island of Montreal, and then, finding a suitable leader in Maisonneuve, they sent out a colony to found the city in 1642; and just a decade and a half later the celebrated seminary was established under the direction of the Abbé de Quélus, who had come to Montreal to carry out Olier's views.¹ In the archives of the Province we find the concession of a great part of the island of Montreal to the "Gentlemen of the Seminary," as they are called, under date of Dec. 17, 1640, and on Feb. 13, 1644, the ratification of the same, signed "Louis."²

The origin and earliest history of these few institutions are quite sufficient to show what their character was, and they have not changed even to this day in their purpose and dominant tendencies. Just as the Récollet Fathers in 1615 and the Jesuits in 1625 threw themselves into the missionary work, encouraged by Champlain and other leaders, so in the dark period for the French in Canada when English sway bore upon them and threatened to tear away

¹ Dawson, *Handbook for the Dominion of Canada*, p. 210.

² *Édits, Ordonnances Royaux, etc.*, Vol. I, pp. 20-26.

from them their language and their religion and the public schools were closed because they were Catholic, the clergy again came to the rescue, and through their indomitable perseverance, their sympathy for the people, and their religious enthusiasm, raised them to a level of higher social life and united them in their efforts against the common enemy. It was in these trying circumstances, just after the conquest, when nearly all their temporal leaders had abandoned them and fled the country, that the people grouped themselves more closely than ever about their priests and bishops, loyal to the traditions of their race; and as they had learned from the press of outward circumstances to unite their forces against savage nations, now they held together about their spiritual leaders, learning from them many of their social ways, adopting their expressions, their grammar-usages and, in fine, their language. This assimilating process naturally went on in both directions, especially for the clergy who were sent out from the mother-country; that is, the clergy gave up some of their possessions and the people surrendered a part of theirs. It is particularly the phonology, the mode of pronunciation, that the people have clung to and perpetuated with a striking fidelity, while in the morphology of the language evidence is constantly at hand of the very strong influence of the clergy—that is, of the educated element of society. Their influence, through their schools, has so thoroughly penetrated the masses that one finds now an extraordinary uniformity of speech through this whole extent of French territory. The people have held their pronunciation everywhere, and the educated classes, with few exceptions, make use of it even among themselves. This is true not only of native Canadians, but also generally of the members of the clergy born and educated in France, many of whom find a home on the St. Lawrence. A few years only suffice for them to cast aside the Parisian accent and use with fluency the composite vocalization of the common folk about them.

A. M. ELLIOTT.

II.—THE CONSECUTIVE SENTENCE IN GREEK.

In the preface to the third volume of his *Kunstformen* (p. xxvi), Dr. J. H. H. Schmidt, after enlarging on the benefits to be derived from the study of rhythm and from the study of synonyms, and after anticipating a large accession to classical culture from these two sources, tells us that this culture will ignore the difference between *ωτε* with the inf. and *ωτε* with the finite verb—a distinction which is due simply to dexterous mental manipulation in the teeth of the facts. It will ignore many other rules of the grammar of the day, but it will have its roots in truth and in life.¹

Fifteen years have passed since then, and the problems of grammar still exercise the investigator as well as the hapless schoolboy. The practical end of such investigations should be to get rid of these grammatical troubles by sharp and simple formulae, whether positive or negative, in order to give time for the new life that has come, and that is to come, through the study of artistic form, through the study of the thesaurus of antique expression. Much has been done in this direction, much remains to be done; but, in any case, I am opposed to loading the memory of young students with a mass of minute syntactical rules. The formula of my own work for beginners has been for years: "Maximum of Forms, Minimum of Syntax, Early Contact with the Language in Mass." What the young student has to learn in syntax is the necessary differentiation of Latin and Greek from the native tongue. When the form carries the syntax, syntax is needless. When the two horses run side by side, the beginner should be content to ride behind them and not attempt to ride astride them. Thatfeat should be reserved for a later period of syntactical equestrianism. So, for instance, with the general freedom of participle in English and participle in Greek, the study of the latter belongs to style rather than to grammar proper, and, apart from the ascertainment of those principles that simplify the acquisition and the handling of the language, the great attraction of syntactical research in

¹ Diese Cultur wird nicht mehr den Unterschied des *ωτε* cum infinitivo und des *ωτε* cum verbo finito kennen, den man im grellen Widersprüche mit den Thatsachen herausgeklügelt hat, und so noch viele andere Regeln der heutigen Grammatik; aber sie wird in der Wahrheit und im Leben wurzeln.

Greek lies in the artistic beauty that it reveals. If syntax is not to be made available for the appreciation of form, we need much less of it than we have in our grammars; if it is, as I believe, a potent factor, and, which is more, a measurable factor in style, we know far too little of it; and while the gain from the close study of synonyms will, I grant, be incalculable, still, the results of syntactical research for a like delicate appreciation of idiom are sufficient to encourage the hope that I have more than once expressed—that all syntax may become a *syntaxis ornata*, and that the minute statistic by which we try to replace the effect of native contact with the language may be tributary to the artistic appreciation of the most artistic of literatures—a literature that has been fashioned by processes of which critics of modern written art are just becoming dimly conscious.¹

Dr. Schmidt's selection of *ωτε* as a specimen of the futility of the approved grammars made a deep impression on me at the time. Every teacher of Greek has to encounter the problem as a practical one. The boy must be taught that there is a difference between *ωτε* with the ind. and *ωτε* with the inf., or that there is no difference. If there is a difference, the rule has to be supplemented by the statement that the rule is sometimes asleep with a sleep that resembles death. If there is no difference, then we have to encounter a very marked divergency in the use of the negative—such divergency always recalling a fundamental difference of conception. The only practical solution discernible is to insist on the difference which our own language presents between 'so... a' and 'so... that,' and to maintain that 'so... that' for 'so... a' is not a translation of *ωτε* with the inf., but only an accommodation to more common usage. The English language coincides with the Greek to a certain extent; the differentiation is only one of

¹ See Grammar and Aesthetics, Princeton Review, May, 1883, p. 307. Theodore Watts says: "We believe that the time is not far distant when even such a subject as vowel-composition (the arrangement of one vowel-sound with regard to another) will have to be studied with the care which the Greeks evidently bestowed upon it" (Encyc. Brit., 9 ed., XIX 273). In a remarkable essay on Style in Literature, in the Contemporary Review for April, 1883, 548, Robert Louis Stevenson writes of the technic of composition as it were fresh from the school of Dionysios of Halikarnassos, though the author bears every mark of independent thought; and, as another illustration of the drift of my argument, see an article by E. R. Sill in the Atlantic Monthly for November, 1883. To those who are familiar with the treatises of the Greeks and of our modern aesthetic criticism seems elemental.

more and less. In German the state of things is different. In Latin the state of things is different. German has, so to speak, no *ώστε* with the infinitive. It uses 'so dass' for both Greek constructions. Latin has no strict equivalent for *ώστε* with indic., and uses its equivalent for *ώστε* with inf. (*ut* with subj.) for both Greek constructions. Hence, in these two languages, a certain expenditure of metaphysics, of what Dr. Schmidt calls 'herausklügeln'—an expenditure practically unnecessary in English.

But, of course, it will be said that translation is no proof, and, if it be a proof, that we simply substitute *y* for *x* by putting the so-called English infinitive in the place of the Greek infinitive. Doubtless the difficulties are great, and the student of Greek syntax will be disposed to welcome new light on the subject, whether it come from a closer and sharper consideration of the conditions, or a more methodical and complete array of facts. The most recent treatise that has reached me is the elaborate dissertation of Dr. Seume, which seems to deserve especial mention.¹ Beginning with a summary for my own use, and advancing to an abstract without criticism for the review department of the Journal, I have finally interwoven criticism and suggestion so freely that the article may, perhaps, claim of right the position which it occupies in these pages as a contribution to the discussion of the troublesome consecutive sentence.

The problem is one of those that elude, by their very nature, the grasp of the most determined Proteus-catcher.

The conception of consecution itself, the shifting function of the infinitive, the oscillation of the leading particle *ώστε*, are enough, single or combined, to perplex the student who tries either the analytical or the historical method, or both. The notion of finality, of will, is plainly set forth in language; the notion of causality lies outside of language, and is a mere inference. The notion of consequence arises in different ways in different languages. Juxtaposition suggests it. Comparison suggests it. Every one who has looked into a Hebrew grammar knows what a momentous part the consecutive relation plays there, and how slight, apparently, is the external indication. In Greek, finality begins it and comparison ends it, and two forms develop—one for tendency, the other for result—and yet, as it would seem, the inference of result is often so irresistible that the mind goes beyond the formal limit and

¹ De sententiis consecutivis Graecis. Scripsit HERMANNUS SEUME. Gottingae, MDCCCLXXXIII.

attaches the notion of result to an expression which commits itself to nothing more than tendency. The English 'so as to' is transmuted into 'so that'; the Latin *ut* with subj. outgoes its potential form, if it be a potential form; the Greek *ὥστε* with inf. produces, at least on some of our best grammarians, an impression hardly to be distinguished from that of *ὥστε* with indic. Thus we import into the combination what does not lie in the elements; but, as that is done everywhere in language, all that the investigator has to show is that our conception of the relation is also the Greek conception. That is all, but that all is a great deal. Between 'so as to' and 'so that' stands, as has been intimated, the warning negative. So long as *μή* continues to keep alive the true infinitive, so long must we recognize the difference between tendency and result—tendency being an outgrowth of finality, result lying at times implied in tendency, yet never coincident with it. If the infinitive is a dative, and a dative only, then the problem is somewhat simplified. Then the infinitive gives the end for which, the personal element which is necessary for final expression fades out, and adaptation is used as harmlessly as a Darwinian uses it, who has no teleology in all his thoughts, though in language, as in human nature, teleology is indefeasible. If, however, there is a local element in the inf., we have a similar trouble to that which arises with the supine in -*u*, which, so far as the form is concerned, may be explained on the theory of the pure dative, the locative, or the pure ablative.¹

¹ The explanation which refers the supine in -*u* to the dat. (see f. i., Schmalz, §90) has much in its favor, but what right have we to call the clear abl. in Cato and Plautus (§102 Anm. 1) an unsuccessful extension? Why may it not be a survival? Livy has (31, 38) *id DICTU quam RE facilis*. Concinnity would surely seem to require the same case throughout, although that is not to be insisted on. By the way, Schmalz's excellent treatise gives us no help as to the consecutive sentence in Latin. We read (§285): "Das Konsecutive *ut* wird immer mit dem Konj. verbunden; dies kommt daher weil nur durch den Konj. im Nebensatz ausgedrückt werden kann, dass der letztere die Handlung nach den sie begleitenden oder ihr folgenden Umständen bedingt." The subj. is necessary, then, because the subj. alone can show that the dependent clause conditions the action according to the circumstances that attend or follow the action. This is, to my mind, nothing but verbiage for 'contingency.' 'The subj. is necessary because the notion is that of contingency.' In other words, the consecutive sentence does not express fact, but eventuality. The limitations of *qui* with the subj. in a so-called final sense do point to the potential rather than to the final conception, and the potential subj. (= opt. + *av*) does explain the sequence of tenses after *ut* consecutive better than the final,

A still greater complication arises from the introduction of *ὅτε*. It comes in apparently as a reinforcement of the inf. at a time when the inf. is beginning to fade into an acc., just as 'for' in English is introduced to reinforce the fading dat. sense of our supine inf. *ὅτε* with inf. is post-Homeric, and does not belong to the original apparatus; but we should expect to find the germs of the use in Homer, and certainly we should look to Homer for the distinction between *ὡς* and *ὅτε*, on which so much turns. We should look to Homer for the explanation of the remarkable fact that *ὅτε* is normal and *ὡς* abnormal in the consecutive sentence. Unfortunately, the differentiating *τε* is by no means reducible to that homely test of comprehension, that first step to understanding, translation. When *τε* occurs in prose as a copulative particle we know what to do with it. Alone or in couples it is *-que*. 'As'—'so' or 'so (too)' will fairly provide for it. But the force eludes us in *ὅτε* and in *τε*, though *ὅτε* might be rendered 'whenas.' In Homer *τε* is a pervasive trouble. Is it a vocal gesture, a 'there,' a *da*? Does it serve to generalize, as many Homeric scholars maintain, and so set off the particularizing *διν*, which in its turn was to become a generalizer in prose? How far down is this generalizing force felt? Was *ὅτε* to Pindar, for example, anything but an old-fashioned *ὅς*? Let us take a familiar form of the problem. What is the difference between *οἷος* and *οἷός τε*? Is it really too elusive to be fixed? George Eliot's 'Theophrastus Such' was a puzzle to those—there are too many—who had not read Theophrastus himself. 'Such' is taken from Theophrastus. Each character of Theophrastus contains in the opening sentence *οἷος*—e.g., *οὐδὲ περίεργος τοιοῦτος τις οἷος ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι ἀναστὰς δὲ μὴ δυνήσεται*. Can we substitute for this *οἷός τε*? No. *οἷος* has to do with 'character,' *οἷός τε* with 'circumstance' rather; *οἷος* is 'disposition,' *οἷός τε* 'position' merely. A man may be capable of murder (*οἷος*), he may not be in a situation to commit the crime (*οἷός τε*). There are passages that seem to contradict this distinction, long since indicated by Harpokration, who says: *οἷος εἰ σημαίνει τὸ βούλει καὶ προΐηρησαι, τὸ δὲ οἷός τε εἰ τὸ δύνασαι*. But sometimes emendation is suggested, sometimes 'position' and 'disposition' coincide. If there is any virtue in it, however, it may help us to understand why *ὅτε* is preferred

to say nothing of the negative *non*. Still it is not necessary that *ut* and *qui* should have the same sphere any more than *ὡς* and *ὅς*. *ὡς* final has the subj., *ὅς* final the fut. indic. or the opt. with *διν*, and when we look at the teleology that lies in *natus ad, accommodatus, aptus ad*, we may well pause.

to $\omega\tau\epsilon$. It may show that $\omega\tau\epsilon$ is really used to reduce finality to consecution, the adaptation which lies in character being more distinctly final than that which lies in circumstances. But it is high time to turn from the statement of the problem to the summary of Dr. Seume's dissertation. First he surveys the various theories as to $\omega\tau\epsilon$: Gayler's $\omega\tau\epsilon = itaque, et ita$, which he dismisses with contempt as utterly impotent to explain the inf.; Hand's *gleichwie*, which was afterwards modified so as to make $\tau\epsilon = da$, in which latter view he has been followed by Wentzel. Hartung makes $\tau\epsilon = ro$ and $\omega\tau\epsilon = so dass$. Klotz identifies $\tau\epsilon$ with ro , $\omega\tau\epsilon$ being $= ut$, $\omega\tau\epsilon = ut quodam modo$. Years before, G. Hermann had translated $-te$ in $\omega\tau\epsilon$ and the like by *ferme*, *fere*, *nimirum*, although he acknowledges an over-translation, Ger. ja, $\omega\tau\epsilon$ is *qui omnino*, *qui quoquo modo rem spectas*. Kvičala makes $\omega\tau\epsilon$ *der irgend*, *welcher irgend*, which gradually becomes exaggerated into *qui-cunque*, *wer auch immer*, or flattened into an equivalence with the simple $\omega\tau\delta$ s. A similar bifurcation is to be expected for $\omega\tau\epsilon$; but while Seume considers the indefinite nature of $-te$ to have been made out, he is not disposed to accept the stronger *wie nur immer* signification for the consecutive $\omega\tau\epsilon$, which is, as every one knows, post-Homeric, the only two passages in Homer being Il. 9, 42; Od. 17, 21. By the time $\omega\tau\epsilon$ had got into use as a consecutive particle, the feeling for the $-te$ had perished—as it had perished in $\omega\tau\delta$, $\tau\epsilon\omega\tau\delta$ and the like—and $\omega\tau\delta$ and $\omega\tau\epsilon$ were equivalents. A common-sense conclusion; and yet who will say that $\omega\tau\epsilon$ might not have been felt as 'whenas'? who will say that there is no difference whatever between $\omega\tau\delta$ s and $\omega\tau\epsilon$ s? who will explain away the prevalence of $\omega\tau\epsilon$ over its equivalent $\omega\tau\delta$? Strange are the tenacities of language! As for the explanation which despatches $\omega\tau\delta$ $\tau\epsilon$ as equivalent to *et is*, *atque is*, I must frankly say that it ignores the difficulties that arise from the large use of $\tau\epsilon$ in other connections, of which a list can be seen in any Homeric lexicon. To call $\tau\epsilon$ a copulative conjunction only postpones the explanation. Delbrück, who, in his Synt. Forsch. I 51, declines to consider the source of its copulative meaning, in IV 145 leans decidedly to the view that the copulative force is due originally to the correlative use $\tau\epsilon . . . \tau\epsilon$, and it is certainly remarkable that the double $\tau\epsilon$ and $\tau\epsilon kai$ have held their ground better than the single $\tau\epsilon$, which had not developed its transitional force in Homeric Greek (Monro, §331). It would carry us too far to inquire into the nexus between demonstrative, relative, inter-

rogative, on the one hand, and indefinite on the other. It is enough to point out that there is no real difficulty in getting the indefinite out of any one of the three, and whether the copulative be traced with Hartung to *ta*, a position now generally abandoned, or to *ca*, a position now generally accepted, there is no difficulty about the indefinite or generic sense.

That *ωτε* is a comparative particle there can be no doubt. Of course other relative and comparative particles are found in the same general consecutive sense. So *δε*, *οτις* with the finite verb, *οιος* with the inf. Still *ωτε* seems to possess a peculiar consecutive force, which it does not share freely with *ως*. *ως* in the sense of *ωτε* is found in Aischylos, in Sophokles, but only once in Euripides (Cycl. 647). Examples enough occur in Herodotos and Xenophon, two 'vagrom men' who are often found straying outside of Attic syntax; but elsewhere in prose we find only sporadic instances (Thuk. 7, 34 and Plat. Menon, 71 A) where it is safer to write *ωτε*. There is no example in Aristophanes, none in the Attic orators, that has not been corrected. In fine, the standard language has settled on *ωτε* as its consecutive, though, according to Seume, there was no difference felt between *ως* and *ωτε*. This survival of one especial form is sufficiently familiar, as is also the restriction of a particle to one especial use. Why is *ως* temporal used only with the indic. ? Clearly on account of its final coloring with subj. and opt. Why has *δηως* with the opt. in the sense of 'whenever' so narrow a scope? Why do *ινα* and *ως* go up and down like two buckets in different authors? When *ινα* is 'where,' *ως* is 'in order that,' as in Pindar; and so, as I have been informed, in Arrian,¹ who uses *ινα* as 'where,' *ως* comes again to the front as

¹ I append Dr. H. A. Short's statistic of the use of *ως*, *ινα* and *δηως* in Arrian, the *ως* sentences including tendency as well as purpose:

EMPLOYMENT OF *ως*, *ινα* AND *δηως* BY ARRIAN IN CONSECUTIVE AND FINAL CLAUSES, INCLUDING TENDENCY AND AIM.

ως after Primary Tenses.

Subjunctive. Present. Anab. 7, 9, 9. Abicht edits optative, *ἐχούτε*.—Tact. 37, 3.

Optative. Present. Cyn. 12, 5 *μή*.

Optative. Aorist. Anab. 7, 27, 3 *ώς μὴ δέξαιμι*.

Optative. Interchange of pres. and aorist. C. Alan. 23.

ως after Secondary Tenses.

Optative. Present. Anab. 1, 5, 3; 3, 25, 2 (after historical present); 4, 27, 7 (*μή*); 6, 5, 6 (*ώς ἐμπιπτοւεν*); 7, 14, 9 (*μή*); 7, 20, 9; 7, 27, 3.—Per. 17, 3.

final. Of course this limitation to *ώστε* applies only to the standard language. Incidentally Seume remarks that *ώστε* = *ἐφ' ὃ τε* is a false parallel, and that while *ea condicione ut* may give the sense fairly, the only Greek conception is *so . . . wie*, or *so . . . dass*, but surely *ἐφ' ὃ τε* (*ἐφ' ὅ*) rests on the same basis, comparative or relative, on which *οὐτως . . . ώστε* is built. The conditional element

Optative. Aorist. Anab. (1) cum μή 1, 4, 4; 1, 5, 10; 1, 8, 2; 1, 19, 8; 2, 8, 4; 2, 22, 3; 3, 23, 3; 5, 12, 4; 7, 12, 6; 7, 14, 10. (2) sine μή 3, 23, 9; 5, 24, 8; 7, 26, 1.—Succ. Al. 43.

Subjunctive. Present. Anab. 4, 2, 2; 4, 5, 6 (interchanging with pres. inf.); 6, 5, 6.

Subjunctive. Aorist. Anab. 4, 16, 1 μή (interchanging with pres. inf.).

ώς after both Primary and Secondary Tenses.

Infinitive. Present. Anab. 1, 5, 6; 1, 6, 6; 1, 25, 9 μή; 2, 10, 3; 2, 1, 2 μή; 2, 2, 4; 2, 18, 6 μήτε; 2, 21, 3; 2, 21, 6; 2, 23, 3; 3, 12, 1; 3, 18, 1; 3, 18, 2; 4, 5, 6 μή; 4, 6, 2; 4, 16, 1; 4, 21, 2; 4, 21, 3; 4, 21, 5; 4, 21, 6; 5, 7, 5; 5, 9, 2; 5, 9, 3; 5, 15, 4; 5, 15, 5; 5, 16, 1; 5, 22, 5; 5, 23, 6; 5, 25, 3; 6, 3, 2 μή; 6, 11, 8 μή; 6, 13, 1; 6, 21, 3; 6, 24, 3; 6, 25, 6 μή; 6, 27, 4; 6, 28, 6; 7, 9, 2; 7, 17, 5; 7, 29, 4 μή; 7, 29, 4.—Ind. 2, 4; 9, 2; 13, 12; 32, 9 μή.—Succ. Al. 46; 46 μή.—C. Alan. 14, 19; 21, 28 (interchanging with the aorist); 29.—Tact. 2, 3; 5, 1; 9, 1; 12, 11.—Cyn. 5, 3; 13, 2 μή; 13, 3.

Infinitive. Aorist. Anab. 1, 20, 9; 1, 24, 3; 2, 2, 5; 2, 4, 3; 2, 8, 1; 2, 10, 3; 2, 13, 3 μή; 2, 19, 1; 2, 19, 6; 2, 20, 8 μή; 3, 9 2; 3, 15, 4; 3, 18, 4; 3, 30, 4; 4, 15, 3; 5, 15, 5; 5, 16, 1 μή; 5, 16, 4; 5, 22, 5 μή; 6, 6, 4 μή; 6, 19, 3; 6, 20, 2; 6, 21, 3; 6, 29, 11; 7, 9, 1; 7, 12, 4 μή; 7, 17, 4 μή.—Ind. 9, 4; 20, 3; 42, 1; 43, 8.—Parth. 2.—C. Alan. 28, 29 μή.—Tact. 17, 4; 25, 8; 26, 4.—Cyn. 10, 2 μή, 21, 2; 25, 2 μή.

ώς with Future Participle. Anab. 1, 3, 5; 1, 5, 7; 1, 13, 2; 1, 14, 5; 1, 19, 2; 1, 21, 11; 2, 1, 1; 2, 13, 6; 2, 19, 6; 3, 3, 2; 3, 13, 5; 3, 15, 5; 3, 25, 5; 3, 26, 8; 4, 3, 6; 4, 7, 1; 4, 7, 3; 4, 9, 7; 4, 17, 7; 4, 25, 5; 6, 8, 4; 6, 22, 1; 6, 24, 3; 7, 5, 1; 7, 18, 3.—Succ. Al. 44.

ίνα is used by Arrian in a local signification (cf. *ἰναπέρ*). The following cases only of *ίνα* final were met with:

Subjunctive. Present. Anab. 5, 24, 1.

Subjunctive. Aorist. Succ. Al. 40 μή.

Optative. Aorist. Anab. 3, 17, 2; 5, 2, 3.—Ind. 15, 5.

Optative. Interchange of pres. opt. and aor. subjunctive. Anab. 1, 14, 7.—Succ. Al. 27 μή.

διπώς Subjunctive. Present. Anab. 2, 14, 6; 6, 4, 3.

διπώς Optative. Present. Anab. 2, 24, 3; 5, 21, 4; 6, 20, 4; 6, 21, 4; 6, 22, 3.

διπώς Optative. Aorist. Anab. 1, 2, 5; 2, 8, 5; 2, 8, 10.

διπώς àν Pres. Subj. Cyn. 21, 1.

ώστε cum pres. inf. to denote purpose. Cyn. 13, 1.

that we often find in *ώστε* and 'εφ' φ carries with it the original finality. Rehdantz, Index, s. v. *ώστε*, puts the relation in yet another way: 'ώστε als Folge hinstellend was eigentlich Bedingung (εφ φ τε) ist.' In my judgment we have to come back to the final in the end. The conditional (restrictive) *ita . . . ut* in Latin has not only *ut non*, but also *ne* (L. G. 556, R. 5, Roby 1650, 1704). The condition is intended to bring about the result. So we often find conditional participle and conditional *ώστε* with inf. meeting, but we miss in the participle the clear intimation of purpose, which has to be gathered from the context. Hence we cannot substitute, as has been proposed, e. g. by Mr. Ridgeway, *ώστε μή οὐ* with the inf. for *ώστε μή οὐ* for the participle, although it must be confessed that the equivalence is close.¹

Summary.

<i>ώς</i>	Pres. Inf.	.	.	.	.	.	.	59
	Aor. Inf.	.	.	.	.	.	.	40
	Aor. Opt.	.	.	.	.	.	.	15
	Pres. Opt.	.	.	.	.	.	.	9
	Pres. Subj.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5
	Aor. Subj.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
	Interchange of pres. and aor. subj.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
<i>ίτα</i>	Aor. Opt.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3
	Interchange of pres. opt. and aor. subj.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2
	Pres. Subj.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
	Aor. Subj.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
<i>δπως</i>	Pres. Opt.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5
	Aor. Opt.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3
	Pres. Subj.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2
<i>δπως δν</i>	Pres. Subj.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1

¹ See Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society, Vol. III, Pt. 1 (p. 40), where, after denying that *μή* in *μή οὐ* with the participle is hypothetical, Mr. Ridgeway goes on to say that it is consecutive; the same use of *μή* or *μή οὐ* as with a consecutive infinitive. Inf. = part. is at any time a dangerous equation. Combinations are sometimes equivalent, the processes are different. As a Greek says *αἰσχύνομαι ἐπαιτεῖν* (*ἐπαιτεῖν αἰσχύνομαι*, Luke 16, 3), but *οὐκ εἰς ἐπαίτεων* for evident reasons. That is the natural attitude in the positive, normal attitude in the negative. 'I am ashamed to beg' = 'Shame keeps me from begging.' 'I am not ashamed while I am begging' = 'I beg without shame.' The propositions in the form of an ideal condition, the difference between *ώστε* and participle vanishes, but that is not due to any equivalence between *ώστε* and participle. It is due to the ideal condition, Xen. Comm. 2, *νοίμην δν ἀντιλέγων* (= *εἰ ἀντιλέγουμε* = *ἀντιλέγειν*). See Hertlein on 3, 2, 16, who cites also 3, 35; 8, 2, 13; Hell. 6, 5, 44; Plat. Protag. 1; the same on Kyr. 5, 1, 21. But *μή οὐ* with inf. and with partic.

Seume next goes through the various views as to the origin of the consecutive sentence. Schmalfeld's mass of verbiage he gives textually. The only thing worth noticing about this cloud of words is, that with the inf. there is no statement of particular fact, but only of general condition. Kvičala, with his usual acumen, has picked out the final sense of the infinitive as the point to start from, but he makes the 'strong' sense of ὥστε the leading sense, and Seume cannot accept this nor yet the final element, although he agrees with Kvičala that we must start with the simple inf. and not with ὥστε. Viehoff, on the other hand, starts with οὗτως . . . ὥστε, which is patterned after τοιοῦτος . . . οἷος. But Seume objects that while τοιοῦτος does take the inf. (Od. 7, 309), there is no οὗτως with the inf., and that there is no example of the construction of an adverb with the infinitive.

The fact is, the inf. has vitality enough of its own to express finality, adaptation, tendency, and it is found not only with adj. such as δυνατός, ἔτοιμος, ἰκανός, ἐπιτήδειος and the like, but even with colorless εἰμί, as in the well-known Homeric passages Il. 9, 688; 13, 312; 24, 489; Od. 22, 106. Sometimes the article is added, but the addition of the article rather changes than shows the conception of the inf., as in So. El. 1079, τό τε μὴ βλέπειν ἔτοιμα; Ant. 78, τὸ δὲ | βίᾳ πολιτῶν δρᾶν ἔφυν ἀμήχανος. The inf. is still dative enough for such constructions, although it is rapidly turning to an acc., the last end of the deorganized. If you add the acc. article, you at once rouse by

cannot be despatched in a foot-note, and I would only add here that Mr. Ridgeway ought not to have dismissed so cavalierly the suggestion that 'μὴ οὐ refers to a case which is immediately present.' In the original draught of my article on μὴ οὐ for Liddell and Scott, I used the following language, which I have not repented of: 'In these constructions (*uij* οὐ with inf. and partic.) the original subj. or ind., while fused with the inf. or partic., asserts, as it were, a separate life. Cf. Lat. *quin*, which is only half dependent. Hence μὴ οὐ generally shows the undesirable or questionable character of the negative result; and in the absence of personal reference there is a difference from μή, there is a

difference of tone, of personal reference. Still it is necessary to admit the phraseological value of μὴ οὐ in the sense of μή οὐ λαβεῖν, I remark that the personal reference is only in intimating the personal action, not in the verb itself, which had been used, but as Dareios warmly desired the gift, the verb μή οὐ λαβεῖν is only a hypothetical formula has been done to indicate the desire of a phase of the will-μή, and reverent respect when emotion is involved. Still we find the same condition in Philemon, fr. 83 (4, 30)

τητα φρομένος, | οὐποτ' ἀν σώσειν αἰτὸν

τητα δίνει³ ἀν ἀσφαλῶς ζῆν τὸν βίον. And

the condition is practical.

the contrast the latent dative of the pure inf. and make the difference conscious.

ωτε was for a long time, and still is to some extent, a favorite particle with commentators for bringing to the consciousness the less usual combinations of the inf. Oddly enough, this very particle is found where, even to our conception, it seems entirely unnecessary, and where the Greek might have dispensed with it. This is the superfluous *ωτε* of which the manuals are full—just as we might speak of a superfluous ‘to’ after ‘dare,’ a superfluous ‘for’ with the ‘to’ of our inf. Of course, ‘dare die’ and ‘dare to die,’ and ‘ye went out to see’ and ‘ye went out for to see,’ do not produce the same impression, but it would be hard to formulate. In like manner we find the comparative with *ἢ ωτε* and the inf.,¹ or with *ἢ* alone.

Thus far we have seen *ωτε* associated with words which could dispense with it. Now, in the form *οὐτως . . . ωτε* it extends its sphere, and follows the pattern of *τοιούτος . . . οἷος*. Only, in order to save his consistency as against Viehoff, Seume emphasizes the difference that in the case of *τοιούτος . . . οἷος* the inf. depends directly on the adjective, in the case of *οὐτως . . . ωτε* it depends on the quality imparted to verb or adjective. Of course, like all relatives, *ωτε* carries its correlative in its bosom, so that we can easily understand why *ωτε* is often used alone, though the pair make famous *points d'appui* for the construction of a long period, as every reader of Isokrates knows. Of course the other demonstratives may be used as well as *ωτε*.

We now pass from the inf. to the indicative form of the consecutive sentence—from the sentence of tendency to the sentence of result—from the implicit to the explicit. It is really an outgrowth from the *ωτε* with inf. form, due to the desire to make the fact more prominent. In making the fact more prominent, the nexus becomes looser and, in the absence of *οὐτως*, *ωτε* really produces the effect of *itaque*. The indicative, thus introduced into the consecutive sentence, is followed by every form of the finite verb—by optative and *ἄν*, by imperative, by imperative subjunctive, by optative in *oratio obliqua*. In *oratio obliqua* it is sometimes hard to tell whether the inf. is an original inf. or an original indic. According to well established principles *ἄν* with inf. always represents a finite

¹ Pindar uses *ωτε* with the inf. very little; see Introd. Ess. cviii. The comp. with *ἢ ὡς* occurs for the first time O 13, 113, a passage vexed by conjectures. Christ has recently proposed *διέμεν*.

verb with ἀν, but as I have shown elsewhere, the article with the inf. and ἀν gives us an abstract form of *oratio obliqua* (Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc. 1878, p. 10; cf. A. J. P. III, p. 197), and so when we find ὥστε μή ἀν with inf. we have a cross between the tendency form and the result form. The participle after ὥστε occurs after verbs of perception in the leading clause, as Dem. 10, 40: ὁρῶ . . . οἴδ' οὐτῶς ἀγνώμονα οἴδ' ἀπόπον τῶν δητῶν οὐδένα, ὥστε . . . οὐ φάσκοντα; really no more difficult than if there had been an inf. after a verb of thinking. So after ὁρᾶν, Dem. 3, 1; 61, 3; γιγνώσκειν, Xen. Kyr. 7, 5, 46; ἐννοεῖν, Plat. Rpb. 519 A; φαίνεσθαι, Isokr. 4, 64; ἐπιδεικνύναι, Isai. 9, 16 (cf. Isokr. 4, 21). A few instances occur outside of a verb of perception, as Andok. 4, 20; Dem. 45, 83, so that Klotz, who is followed by Seume, seems to have some justification in making the participle after ὥστε an attraction to the participle before ὥστε, according to a general law of concinnity. Still it should have been noted that the participle after ὥστε is rare, except where we can feel the dependence on the leading verb, so that we do not really need the law of concinnity.

When we come to the next section of Seume's dissertation, 'the rules concerning infinitive and indicative,' we come to the practical difficulty of framing a code for expressions that are naturally shifting. Our English gets between us and the Greek. Our natural *oratio obliqua* form is 'that' and the indic., not the inf., hence the o. o. inf. gets a false connotation. We translate the articular inf. very often by 'the fact that' = *τοῦτο ὅτι*, which begs the question. The adaptation of ὥστε with inf. is expressed by 'so as to,' but in the interest of easy construction 'so that' with indic. is often preferred, and 'so that' with indic. gives no greater stretch to our linguistic conscience than our translation of o. o. inf. In fact, before most people get to Greek their linguistic conscience is seared by Lat. *ut* with subj. All that we can do under this head is to keep, as far as possible, the first coarse renderings apart, to use verbal nouns as much as possible with ὥστε and the inf., and to watch the combinations in which ὥστε with inf. is preferred, so as to acquire a sensitiveness which the prevalent usage of our own tongue makes it hard to gain. Of the inf. in *oratio obliqua* mention has been made already. Here, whatever the original conception was, the ὥστε clause must have the inf., exceptions being rare, as Eur. Tro. 971; Ar. Nub. 1342; Plat. Legg. 3, 692 D.

The inf. is preferred for failure to meet the conditions antecedent. Isokr. 5, 124: οὐδεὶς τοσούτον πεφρόνηκεν ὥστ' ἐπιχειρῆσαι τῆς Ἀσίας ἡμᾶς ποιῆσαι κυρίους, but the indic. can be used, as, after all, the

failure is a fact, and the indic. in the sentence given would only be equiv. to *οὐδεὶς ἔπειρησεν*. ‘Breathes there the man with soul so dead, who never to himself hath said,’ is a natural English and not an unnatural Greek form, as we can see by many examples both in prose and poetry. In negative statements, then, in questions that expect a negative answer, in conditions, we must look for a prevalence of the inf.; but there is no mechanical rule. In certain phrases, such as *εἰς τὸντο (τοσοῦτον) ηκεί* and the like, the indic., with its emphasis of fact, is prevalent, but it is not universal, and it is, of course, subject to the disturbances already indicated, *oratio obliqua*, failure of condition and the like.

As to the tenses of the inf., it is to be expected that the pres. and the aor. will occur in their usual force. The perf. is rare, as the perf. is rare in all inf. constructions outside of *oratio obliqua*. It is rare after verbs of creation, in which it is parallel with the perf. imperative, it is rare in the articular form, and it is rare after *πρίν*, which is often equivalent to *ἄστε μή*. Seume counts about thirty examples of *ἄστε* with the perf. inf., some of which, however, are virtual presents and ought not to be included. *ἄστε* with fut. inf. occurs only in *oratio obliqua*, as is shown by the neg. *οὐ*, when a neg. is used. Elsewhere we must look out for corruption. Hdt. 4, 136 we must read *στρατεύσασθαι*, and not, with Madvig, *στρατεύσεσθαι*; 8, 57 we must read, with Krüger, *μένειν*, not *μενίειν*. In Xen. Kyr. 5, 5, 30, as there is no *oratio obliqua*, Seume approves of *ποιήσειν* in assimilation to the opt. of *εἰ θεραπεύσειεν*, which is borne out by Oik. 1, 13, the *ἄστε* clause containing the main thought in both instances. Compare also Isokr. 6, 84, where Bekker, Dindorf and the Zurich editors have *ιπομεῖναι*. Benseler and Blass follow the Urbinas in reading *ιπομείναιμεν*. As to the notorious I. A. 417: *ἄστε τερφθεῖνς λόγων*, the critics have mumbled it much. *ἄστε τι τερφθεῖης*, Hermann's emendation, gives us one difficulty instead of another, and perhaps the opt. in an imperative (*= ἄστε δεῖ σε τερφθῆναι*) would be easier than the unlikely use after *ἄστε* final, or the use of the opt. as opt. with *λόγων*.

The use of the finite tenses is free, as we have said. So *ἄστε* in f.t. ind. is common enough, though it is naturally brought into competition with the inf. of the other tenses, from which it differ so much as do the other indicatives. Before the . editors often punctuate so as to make *ἄστε itaque*.

In negatives, *οὐ* is the regular negative with the indic., *μή* with imper. and subj. take *μή* according to the rule. *μή* occurs in indic. Dem. 19, 218 and 54, 15, where the indic. is really

part of a conditional protasis, as Seume sees. So also in Ps. Dem. Ep. 3, p. 1478, cited by Aken. Isokr. 12, 155 has given some trouble. The passage runs: οὗτος οἶμαι σαφῶς ἐπιδείξει ὅστε μήτε τοὺς ἀνοήτως λακωνίζοντας ἀντεπεῖν δυνήσεσθαι τοῖς ἥρθείσι κτέ. Seume thinks that we should have ὅστε μήτε δυνήσονται in *oratio recta*, after the analogy of the fut. indic. after relatives—e. g. Dem. 25, 92: τοσοῦτον ἀναθείναι τίμημα χρημάτων δύον μὴ δυνήσεται φέρειν. Hardly. The negative seems to be due to the leading verb οἶμαι, which occasionally reverts to the μή type. In Soph. Trach. 575, τοῦτο . . . ὅστε does seem to be used as τοῦτο . . . φί, but Sophokles often deviates into μή on slight excuse.¹

οὐ with inf. is due in nearly all instances to *oratio obliqua*,² and it is not often necessary to take refuge in adhaerescent οὐ, on which too much stress was once laid. Examples of *oratio obliqua* ὅστε were given in a recent number of the Journal.³ Adhaerescent οὐ is

¹ See A. J. P. I 49.

² ἔσται φρενός σοι τούτῳ κῆλητήριον | τῆς Ἡρακλείας, ὅστε μή τιν' εἰσιδόν | στέρξει γυναικα κείνος ἀπί τοι πλέον.

³ Professor Dyer has demurred to the criticism (A. J. P. VI 523) of his note on Plato's *Apology* 26 D, where he follows Goodwin's Moods and Tenses 65, 3 in assuming a mixture of two constructions, and has promised to defend his position. Meantime it may be as well to present the evidence as collected by Seume and myself, while silently correcting some of Seume's blunders, as in respect to Lys. 27, 13 and Plat. *Gorg.* 458 E. It would be a waste of room to cite the examples in full, and I must content myself with the references and the indications of *oratio obliqua*. Hdt. 1, 189 (ἐπηπεῖλησο), 3, 105 (λέγεται). Thuk. 5, 40, 2 (ώντο), 8, 76, 6 (long o. o). Lys. 10, 15 (ήγουμαι), 18, 6 (ένομιζε), 21, 18 (ήγουμαι). Isokr. 12, 255 (φύει). Isai. 3, 39 (δοκεῖ), 11, 27 (προσπασείται). Aischin. 1, 174 (κατεπαγγέλλεται). Dem. 18, 283 (ήγει), 19, 152 (ήγουμπτ), 308 (ἔδημηγρει). Xen. Hell. 6, 2, 6 (ἔφασαν). Plat. *Apol.* 26 D (οίει). Alkib. II 143 D (δοκεῖ). Phileb. 44 C (νενομικότων). Gorg. 458 E (φύει). Euthyd. 305 C (οιονται). Legg. 7, 806 A (φῶμεν), 9, 859 D (ξννομολογοῦμεν). Adhaerescence might be assumed Xen. Hell. 6, 2, 6, where we have οὐκ ἔθέλειν, and in Plat. *Apol.* 26 D, where we have οὐκ εἰδέναι, but it is unnecessary. In Xen. Mem. 4, 8, 1 it is better to assume a shift from a verb of reflection to a verb of thinking—a very easy shift—than to resort to adhaerescence (*οὐκ ἀν πολλῷ = ὀλίγῳ ἀν*), which is spoiled by the interposition of ἀν, whereas it is natural in Isokr. 8, 107 (οὐ πολλοῖς = ὀλίγοις), Isai. 9, 17 (οὐ πολλαῖς). There is a passage in Lykurgus 3 which it is better to abandon than to defend. The orator has shifted from a conceived *δοκεῖ* to *δοκεῖ*, and fervor has done the rest. In Isokr. 5, 4 (οὐδαμῶς ἀν παύσασθαι) the neg. is caused by a preceding *νομίζεται*, and so in 11, 25 (οὐ διαλήσειν) by a preceding *οἰεθεῖ*, although the infinitive complex would suggest the negative μή. Could there be any more striking evidence of the potency of the *oratio obliqua* element? In fine, Madvig's rule seems to hold thus far, and the few exceptions do not weigh.

to be recognized occasionally, as in Isokr. 8, 107, *οὐ πολλοῖς* (= δλίγοις) *τέτεσται*. Euripid. Phoen. 1357 is explained in this way by Seume, but it will not work, and Lys. 27, 13, which he cites, is not inf., but indic.; and in Plat. Legg. 2, 669 C *οὐδὲν αὐτὸν* belongs not to *ωστε*, but to the leading verb, which must be mentally repeated with its clause. In Plato, Theait. 157 A : *ωστε ἐξ ἀπάντων τούτων, σπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀλέγομεν, οὐδὲν εἶναι ἐν αὐτῷ καθ' αὐτό*, we have an illustration of the way in which an intercalated clause switches off a construction, *οὐδέν* following *ἀλέγομεν* (cf. Plat. Symp. 183 D). Dem. 40, 22, Seume reads with Baiter and Sauppe, *ἐκτέτισται*, and so effaces the anomaly.

There remains a very small group of passages that have thus far defied the analogist. Dem. 9, 48 it is not necessary to resort to the mechanical expedient of inserting *ηθελον* after *οὐδέν*, or of changing *εἰχον* into *ἔχειν*. The inf. after *ωστε* is still under the domination of *ἀκοίνω* in the preceding clause. Dem 53, 1 : *οὐδὲν αὐτὸς ἡν αἴφιλος ωστ' οὐκ ἀνέφερεν τὸν ἀπογράψαντα*, the imperf. *ἡν* might fairly be held to be the imperfect of impression ('I seemed to myself'), and so in the antithesis we have *ηγησάμενος*.

Eur. Phoen. 1357, already cited, Eur. Hel. 107, and Soph. El. 780, are less manageable. The adhaerescent *οὐ* fails with the first, as we have seen, and anakoluthia's artless aid will hardly help us with any of them. Anakoluthia requires length or strength, length of sentence or strength of passion. Emendation has thus far been tried with only mediocre success. But what are these two or three aberrations in comparison with the consensus of the language?

οὐ μή with the finite verb occurs occasionally after *ωστε*; *ωστε μή οὐ* with inf. more frequently. To say that it follows the laws of *μή οὐ* may seem a mockery in view of the discussion that is still kept up about this combination, but that is all for which space can be spared. Professor Schanz and his syntactical society will doubtless ere long give us an exhaustive treatise on *ωστε*. Meantime this abstract of Seume's dissertation, with the comments, may be of service to those who desire something more than can be found in the school grammars or even in some larger works.

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

III.—SIR ORFEO.

Dating from the end of the thirteenth century, when imitation, not originality, was the rule in English writing, the Romance or Lay of Sir Orfeo is not more remarkable for its grace and beauty than for the freedom with which it handles the classic mythology. The ultimate source of the poem is evidently the story of Orpheus and Eurydice as told by Virgil and Ovid, but so different is the romance from any known version of this story that, if the English minstrel had not called his hero and heroine Orfeo and Heurodys, his indebtedness to the ancients would be hard to prove. The present discussion aims to show the direct antecedents of the Orfeo, and to throw some light on the causes that have led the story so far away from its original shape.¹

In the first place, the poem professes to be a Breton lay. This claim is made not only in the opening lines—which, as almost identical with the beginning of the English Lay le Fresne, and possibly borrowed from that poem, may be left out of account²—but also very distinctly in the closing verses :

Harpours in Bretaine afterþan
Herd hou þis mervaille bigan,
And made herof a lay of gode likeing
And nempned it after the king :
Dat lay Orfeo is yhote,
Gode is þe lay, swete is þe note.
þus com Sir Orfeo out of his care.
God graunt ous alle wele to fare. (vv. 595 ff. Zielke.)

¹ I have used the excellent edition of Dr. Oscar Zielke: Sir Orfeo, ein englisches Feenmärchen aus dem Mittelalter. Breslau, 1880. Dr. Zielke was obliged to print his book with a less detailed account of the literary history of the poem than he had intended to give. His untimely death has probably robbed us of all chance of seeing his ideas in any fuller form. If he left any notes behind him, it is to be hoped they will soon be published.

² These lines are found in the Harleian MS and the Bodleian MS. The Auchinleck MS lacks them, but the omission is satisfactorily explained by the mutilated condition of that famous quarto. There is no *a priori* reason why the verses should be regarded as borrowed by the Orfeo rather than by Le Fresne. They fit the former quite as well as the latter, and there is nothing in the French original of the Lay le Fresne from which they can be derived. The English Lay le Fresne is preserved only in the Auchinleck MS, which also contains the oldest copy of Sir Orfeo.

If these lines are to be taken seriously, and not as a literary artifice, they prove that the *Orfeo* is translated from some French poem¹ purporting—like any one of Marie's collection—to give the substance of a Breton lay. Only through the French could a Breton lay get into English; from none but a French poem could verses like these be derived. If, however, the lines are a mere flourish on the part of the English minstrel, intended to gain respect for his piece, of course they prove nothing.² Comparison may help decide the question.

Besides the *Orfeo* there are six Middle English poems that profess to be Breton lays. These are: (1) *Lay le Fresne*, (2) *Sir Launfal*, (3) *Sir Gowther*, (4) *Emare*, (5) Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale*, and (6) the *Erl of Tolous*. Of these the *Fresne* and *Launfal* are free translations from *Marie de France*. The others are more doubtful.³

Sir Gowther has long been recognized as an offshoot of the story of *Robert the Devil*. The anonymous author twice declares it to be a lay of Britain:

A lai of Breyten long y soȝht
And owt þerof a tale have broȝht,
þat lufly is to tell. (vv. 28-30, p. 6, ed. Breul.)⁴

¹ F. Lindner (*Englische Studien*, V 166 ff.) argues vigorously against a French, and for an Italian origin for *Sir Orfeo*. Most of his reasoning seems to me to have very little in it. He certainly does not prove that it is even possible that the *Orfeo* had other than an immediate French source. His only real argument for an Italian derivation is based on the form *Orfeo*. It is doubly unnecessary to discuss Lindner's article at length, as it has been already satisfactorily answered by Einenkel (*Anglia, Anzeiger*, V 13 ff.). Einenkel refers *Sir Orfeo* to a "verlorengegangenes franz. lay, dessen inhalt dem ersten englischen Erzähler oder Absfasser der Dichtung nur noch schwach erinnerlich war" (p. 17). Zielke (p. 136) refuses to decide whether the interweaving of the classical mythology with the fairy belief "das werk unsers Dichters resp. seines französischen Gewährsmannes gewesen ist, oder bereits zuvor bestanden hat."

² The verses are found in two MSS, the Bodleian and the Auchinleck; they are wanting in the Harleian. According to Zielke's genealogy of the MSS (p. 25), anything found in the Auchinleck, and at the same time in either of the other two MSS, must belong to the poem in its oldest English state.

³ Wolf, *Ueber die Lais*, p. 216, says that the Cokwold's *Daunce* is "nachweisbar auf ein bretonisches Lai gegründet." He seems to regard it as a parody on the *Lai du Corn* (p. 177). Wright's text of this piece, which calls itself not a lay, but a boord, may be found in Karadjan's *Frühlingsgabe*.

⁴ I have used Breul's text (1883), but have not seen his prolegomena.

Þis is wretton in parchemyn,
A story hope gud and fyn,
Owt off a lai of Breyteyn. (vv. 751-3, p. 38.)

The French original of Sir Gowther is unknown, but was doubtless a free translation of some Breton lay. Normandy and Brittany were closely associated. It is chiefly through the Normans that the lays of Brittany have come down to us.¹ The Breton Lay of the Two Lovers, preserved in Marie's version, is founded on a Norman popular tale.² Robert the Devil, then, being a Norman story, was within easy reach of any Armorican harper. When the Gowther varies from the Robert, it often approaches Celtic tradition. Robert is devoted to the devil before his birth,³ but Gowther is actually the son of a demon who has deceived the Duchess of Estryke as Uther cheated Igerne,⁴ by putting on the semblance of her husband. The scene in the orchard and the joy of the duke when he finds himself likely to become a father, may be compared with the Lay de Tydorel.⁵ There is nothing like them in any version of Robert. Robert repents when he finds himself dreaded and avoided by all. This is after he has murdered the nuns (or hermits). Gowther is brought to his senses rather differently—by a taunt from an old monk, who declares that so wicked a man cannot be of human origin. In like manner Tydorel, the son of a queen and a fairy knight, is set thinking by a young man who has been impressed to tell him stories at night. Tydorel never sleeps, and the young man flings at him the proverb, "Qui ne dort n'est pas d'ome" (vv. 329-30). In all three poems, Gowther,

¹ Cf. Aubertin, *Hist. de la Langue et Litt. franç.* I 203-4. At the beginning of the eleventh century, the Norman historian Dudon de Saint-Quentin, "pour que la gloire du duc Richard I^{er} se répandît dans le monde, conjurait les harpeurs armoricains de venir en aide aux clercs de Normandie."—P. Paris, *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*, I 7.

² See R. Köhler's n. in Warnke's ed. of the *Lais*, pp. lxxxv-viii. G. Paris (*Rom.* VIII 34) says that the story is not yet forgotten in Normandy.

³ *Romans de R. le Diable* (thirteenth century), ed. Trebutien, 1837, sig. A ii; *Miracle de Nostre Dame de R. le Dyable*, ed. Fournier, p. 36; ed. Paris and Robert, *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, No. 33, VI 27-8; *Robert the Deuyll*, Thoms, *Early Prose Romances*, 2d ed., I 7; *Roberte the Deuyll* (Eng. poem), ed. Herbert, 1798, p. 6.

⁴ *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, viii 19, p. 117 Schulz; Eng. prose *Merlin*, Ch. iv, pp. 76-7, ed. Wheatley; Girald. Cambr., *Itin. Kamb.* I 12, *Opera*, ed. Dimock, VI 96; *Eulogium Historiarum*, ed. Haydon, II 305.

⁵ An undoubted Armorican lay, first printed by G. Paris, *Rom.* VIII 67-72.

Tydorel, and the romance of Robert,¹ the son, when once his suspicions are excited, rushes into his mother's chamber with drawn sword and forces her to confess. These considerations perhaps justify us in regarding Sir Gowther as really founded on a Breton lay.²

Emare ends with the usual prayer, before which come these lines :

Thys ys on of Brytayne layes,
That was used by olde dayes,
Men callys playn the garye. (vv. 1030-2.)³

The story of Emare is very much like the Tale of the Man of Lawe, from which it differs chiefly in having a disagreeable beginning. Chaucer's tale comes directly from Trivet's Life of Constance,⁴ but other versions were current in the Middle Ages,⁵ and one of them may easily have come to the ears of a Breton harper. The title of the lay is perhaps preserved in a French form in the verse "Men callys playn the garye," which I take to mean that the lay is called "La Garie"—"the saved or preserved one"—an appropriate name.⁶ The direct original of the English poem was doubtless a French version of this lay.

The Franklin's Tale, if we may take the franklin's word for it, is founded on one of the "layes" which "these olde, gentil Britons" made "of diverse aventures" (C. T. 11,021 ff.). No such lay, however, is extant, and it is not impossible that Chaucer simply took the story from Boccaccio,⁷ changed the setting, and referred

¹ Ed. Trebutien, sig. A ivii; Tydorel, 339 ff. In the Miracle (ed. Paris and Robert, pp. 24-5), the Eng. poem (pp. 22-3), and the Eng. prose version (Thoms, I 20), Robert does not threaten, but beseech, and there are other differences.

² Cf. F. Wolf, *Ueber die Lais*, p. 219.

³ Ritson, *Anc. Eng. Metr. Romancées*, II 247; cited by De la Rue, *Recherches sur les ouvrages des bardes de la Bretagne armoricaine*, 1815, p. 9, who remarks that the original Breton and the French appear to be lost. De la Rue also cites the Franklin's Tale.

⁴ Edited by Brock for Chaucer Society, *Originals and Analogues*.

⁵ Merelaus the Emperor, in the Eng. *Gesta Romanorum, Herritage*, p. 311; Matthew Paris, *Vita Offiae Primi*, ed. Wats, 1684, pp. 965-8, etc. Cf. Skeat's Introduction to the *Man of Law's Tale*, and Van der Hagen, *Gesammtabentheuer*, I c-civ, 135 ff.

⁶ Ritson quite misunderstands the passage. His explanation of it is even absurd (III 333). I know of no attempt made to interpret it since his day. Cf. with the title "Lai la Garie," the "Lai del Désiré" (Michel, *Lais inédits*, 1836, p. 1).

⁷ Decam. x 5; Filocopo, lib. v, qu. 4.

the adventure to "Armorik, that called is Britayne." For Chaucer handled his material with conscious literary art, and is much more likely to have treated a tale in this fashion than the obscure translator who has left us Emare. Against this it may be urged that the Franklin's Tale has some Breton proper names, and that, in general, the plot would have been attractive to the Armorican minstrels. The story came from the East, and may have reached Chaucer through a lay of Brittany.¹

The Erl of Tolous speaks for itself thus :

Yn Rome thyss gest cronyculyd ys,
A lay of Bretayn callyd ywys
And evyr more schall be.

(vv. 1219-21, p. 279 Lüdtke.)

Gustav Lüdtke, who has studied this story with wonderful industry and acuteness, has no misgivings in referring the English poem to a lost French Comte de Toulouse, and that, in turn, back to a Breton lay. These English and French versions, he thinks, followed their respective originals with fidelity.²

For all six of the poems we have examined, a Breton source may reasonably be claimed. It appears, then, that Middle English authors, however recklessly they appealed to "the book," or "the history," or "the romance," did not call their poems Breton lays unless they meant what they said. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, we may infer that the author of Sir Orfeo was equally in earnest—that is, that the French piece from which he translated, professed to be a rendering of a Breton lay.

That such a lay once existed is shown by two well-known passages. The first is from the Lai de l'Espine, mistakenly ascribed by De la Rue to Guillaume le Normand³ and by Roquesfort to Marie de France.⁴ The king of "Bretaigne" and his knights listen to music after hunting :

¹ See Landau, Die Quellen des Decamerone, 2d ed., 1884, pp. 94, 95, 100, 248.

² Erl of Tolous, pp. 131, 163. Lüdtke thinks the Breton lay was founded directly on Aquitanian tradition. Wolf, who derives the story differently, has no doubt that the English romance is from an Armorican lay (Ueber die Lais, p. 217). On the story and its connections, see Child, Eng. and Scottish Popular Ballads, II 33 ff., who calls attention to a point of similarity between the Erl and the Lai du Corn (p. 43, n. ‡).

³ G. Paris, Rom. VIII 35.

⁴ Mall, De Aetate Rebusque Mariae Francicae, p. 56.

Le Lais escoutent d'Aielis,
 Que uns irois sone en sa rote;
 Mout doucement le chante et note.
 Apriès celi d'autre commenche,
 Nus d'iaus ni noise ne ni tenche;
 Le Lai lor sonne d'Orphéy. (vv. 180-5.)¹

The second is from the first version of *Floire et Blanceflor*. Among the wonders shown by the magician to entertain Floire is an image of gold:

. . . grant com un vilains:
 Une harpe tint en ses mains,
 Et harpe le lai d'Orphéy:
 Onques nus hom plus n'en oy
 Et le montée et l'avalée. (Ed. Du Méril, p. 231.)²

These two passages show that the *Lai d'Orphéy* was well known and popular. They show also that it was a genuine lay of Brittany, and not a French poem merely pretending to give the story of a lay which, after all, did not exist; for the French versions—genuine or counterfeit—of Breton lays were probably not sung or accompanied by the harp or *rote*.³ They simply gave the plot of the real or pretended lay in rhymed couplets, with no attempt to preserve its rhythmical structure, and, if it were possible to sing them at all, could have been set only to a monotonous strain quite different from the tune here indicated.

It is impossible not to identify this Breton lay with the original of our *Sir Orfeo*. The existence of a French intermediary cannot be directly proved—for the three or four other places in which

¹ Roquefort, *Poésies de Marie de France*, I 556. I have given vv. 181-2 as they stand in the MS of the Bibl. Nat. (nouv. acq., fonds franç. 1104) according to G. Paris, Rom. VIII 36. Roquefort reads "Que uns Yrois doucement note, Mout le sonne ens sa rote."

² Bekker, vv. 861 ff., in Philol. u. hist. Abhandl. der Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin, 1844. The whole episode of the magician is relegated to an appendix by Du Méril as being spurious.

³ G. Paris, Rom. VIII 33.

⁴ Fétis, *Hist. générale de la Musique*, V 46-7.

⁵ The passages cited from the *Lai de l'Espinhe* and *Floire* and *Bl.*, together with the *Sept Sages* ("et bien aues oi conter, Com Alpheus ala harper En infier por sa femme traire. Apolins fu si deboinaire K'il li rendi par tel conuent S'ele ne s'aloit regardant. Femme est tous iors plainne d'envie, Regarda soi par mesprosie," vv. 27-34, p. 2 Keller), are commonly said (as by Zielke, p. 131) to prove the existence of a French poetical *Orpheus* in the twelfth century. Though I have no doubt of the conclusion, I do not think it

the story of Orpheus is mentioned in Old French literature have no necessary connection with the lay¹—but must certainly be inferred as our only means of connecting the English poem with the lay of Brittany.

At this point it may reasonably be asked: Have we any other examples of Breton lays composed on classical themes? This question must be answered in the negative; for the various poems that have been at one time or another cited as such examples—Aristotle,² Pyramus and Thisbe,³ Narcissus,⁴ etc.—have nothing

follows from the premises. In the *Sept Sages* the writer seems to refer simply to the classical story, with a mischievous perversion by which the blame of the catastrophe is thrown on Eurydice. In the *Espine* the minstrel does not sing in French. In *Fl.* and *Bl.* the image does not sing at all. The tunes of the Breton lays were known all over France before the words came to be translated (cf. G. Paris, Rom. VII 1). To infer from these two places that a twelfth-century French *Lai d'Orphéy* existed, is to confuse the Breton original with a French translation.

¹ There are two versions of the classical story in Old French, one, a fragment, pub. by Ritter in the *Bulletin de la Soc. des Anc. Textes Franç.* 1877, pp. 99 ff.; the other, part of the *Confort d'amis* of Guillaume de Machaut, as contained in the Bern MS, printed in part by Zielke, pp. 132-3. The episode is not contained in the Paris MS from which Tarbé published the *Confort*. The Bern MS is the same (No. 218) from which Sinner (*Extraits de quelques Poésies du XII, XIII et XIV Siècle*, 1759, p. 35) cites: "Le Poète assure d'avoir très souvent vu la chanson qu'Orphée recita devant Pluton. Cela est positif."

Jai son lay maintesfois vu
Et l'ai de chief en chief leu."

The lay of Orpheus here mentioned is simply his song in Hades, reported in full by Ovid, and not to be confounded with anything Armorican. On Guillaume de Machaut see Wolf, pp. 141, 168. He was an industrious writer of lays, probably here used the word in that sense. These lyrical poems were not included in the narrative lays. A Descent of Orpheus to Hell is in the Bern MS, and is perhaps identical with Guillaume's. See Zielke, pp. 238-40; Du Méril, *Floire et Blanceflor*, Introd., p. 130; Zielke, pp. 130-33.

² Barbois, III 96; Montaigne and Raynaud, *Recueil général des fabliaux*, II 10. The title given is *Le Lai d'Aristote*; the colophon, *Explicit* (the word *lai*, or *Breton*, does not occur in the piece). The story begins; see Von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, I 21-35 (Aristote), and the Introduction, pp. lxv ff., and compare Zingerle in *Archiv für deutsche Philologie*, XVII 306-9. That the poem has nothing to do with the story was remarked in 1814 by De la Rue, *Recherches*, p. 26. It was among the poems collected, under the general title of "*Les Lais*" in the *Mémoires* which Gaston Paris published *Lais inédits* (pp. 29 ff.), but this was merely that the compiler of that collection

to do with Brittany. This, however, should not damage the credit of Sir Orfeo. The Aristotle, etc., do not profess to be anything but *contes* or *dits*. The word *lay* does not occur in any of them. They tell neither for nor against the alleged source of the English poem. The question must be decided without their aid.

The Breton lays, now generally agreed to be of Armorican origin, attained their greatest popularity in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Most of them naturally were on Celtic subjects, and laid their scenes in Celtic countries—Great and Little Britain, Ireland and Scotland. But the Armorican minstrels did not confine themselves to Celtic themes. Their music was famous throughout France. "Le Moyen-Age," says Joly, "est un grand enfant qui, comme tous les enfants, demande sans cesse qu'on lui conte des nouvelles histoires. Ses fournisseurs habituels vont puiser à toutes les sources."¹ Among these purveyors were the Bretons :

Mult unt esté noble barun
cil de Bretaigne, li Bretun.
Jadis suelient par pruësc,
par curteisie e par noblesce
des aventures que oeient,
ki a plusurs genz aveneient,

could not distinguish a true lay from a false. The MS is not earlier than the end of the thirteenth century—later by more than a hundred years than the time when Marie began her work of translation. P. Meyer (Rom. I 192) notes that Henri d'Andeli, the author of the poem, calls his work a *dit* (v. 38), and that the title *Lais* comes from MS 837 (old 7218), whereas the other MSS of the same version have simply *Explicit Aristotes*. Henri was canon of Rouen in 1207.

³ Barbazon-Méon, IV 326–54. Cf. Hist. Litt. XIX 765. The poem is a stupid working over of Ovid, M. v 10 ff. For a comparison, see Bartsch, Ovid im Mittelalter, pp. lx ff. Bartsch, who gives ample evidence of the popularity of the story in the Middle Ages, properly calls this piece a fabliau, but Paulin Paris speaks of the *Lai de Pirame et Thisbé* as a genuine Breton production in the same breath with Garin, Graelent, Igaure, etc. (Les Romans de la Table Ronde, I 23). Wolf, p. 54, mentions a "Lai de la courtoise Thisbé."

⁴ Barbazon-Méon, IV 143–75. Cf. Bartsch, Ovid im Mittelalter, pp. lvii ff. The author has handled his original (Ov. M. iii 339–510) rather freely, and has touched on popular superstition (especially vv. 454, 650, 655). "Les Bretons prirent quelquefois leurs sujets dans la Mythologie, comme le *Lai de Narcisse*," says De la Rue, Recherches, p. 28; but this poem is not a lay, even in its title, which is *De Narcisus*. Wolf conjectures that the piece, as we have it, is an adaptation of the Cantilena de Narciso mentioned by Peter Cantor, Verbum Abbreviatum, cap. 27, in the first half of the twelfth century (Ueber die *Lais*, p. 51). Cf. Hist. Litt. XIX 761, where the matter is confused.

¹ A. Joly, Benoit de Sainte-More et le Roman de Troie, I 7.

faire les lais pur remembrance,
qu'um nes meist en ubliance. (*Lai d'Equitan*, vv. 1-8.)¹

So in Sir Orfeo :

When pey (sr. Brytouns) myght owher heryn
Of aventures þat þer weryn,
þey toke her harpys wiþ game,
Maden layes and þaf it name. (vv. 17-20 Zielke.)²

We have already seen Breton jongleurs appropriating the Norman stories of Robert the Devil and the Two Lovers, as well as the Aquitanian tradition of the Earl of Toulouse. In the *Lai d'Havelok*, an Anglo-Danish local legend is in like manner made the subject of a Breton lay.³ In a word, the Armorican minstrels picked up good stories wherever they could find them,⁴ and nothing is more likely than that, in their wanderings, they heard somebody tell the tale of Orpheus and Eurydice.

This might have happened either in England or in the South of France, where Ovid and Virgil were well known,⁵ and where the

¹ Warnke, Die *Lais der Marie de France*, 1885, p. 41. The source of this very lay is by no means evident. R. Köhler (n. to Warnke, p. lxi) can cite only *Die drl münche von Kolmære*, V. d. Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, No. 62, III 163, as in some respects parallel.

² So, almost word for word, in the English *Lay le Fresne*, vv. 15 ff., as published by Varnhagen, *Anglia*, III 415.

³ See Wolf, *Ueber die Lais*, pp. 68, 217; Ten Brink, *Gesch. der. engl. Litt.*, I 227. It will not do to be too positive, however, that the *Havelok* ever passed through Breton hands. The question is difficult and has never been adequately discussed. Madden, in his elaborate introduction, pp. v-vi, dismisses it with scant notice. Wright merely remarks that the term "Breton lay" had become almost proverbial, and adds that it is not at all likely that *Havelok* ever existed in a Breton version (*Chron. de Geoffrey Gaimar*, ed. for Caxton Soc., App., p. 3). As to the English *Havelok*, it cannot be directly derived from the French, though most scholars seem to think so. Storm, for instance, remarks (*Englische Studien*, III 533): "The English lay, on the whole, corresponds to the French; only some details and names are different." On the contrary, the two poems differ in almost every particular. The English version is about three times as long as the French, and ought not to be called a lay—as even Skeat has named it—but a *gest*, as it styles itself. Storm's suggestion that the Lay "is come to the Norman poet from the Welsh" deserves examination.

⁴ On the miscellaneous stock-in-trade of a Breton jongleur, see Paulin Paris, *Rom. de la Table Ronde*, I 15, though some of the classical traits he finds in the Arthurian romances may more probably be credited to Chrestien and his like than to the Celts. Ovid is mentioned once in *Marie's Lais*, Guigemar, 239.

⁵ Cf. Bartsch, *Ov. im Mittelalter*, pp. i, xi.

Breton harpers were also no strangers.¹ However it came about, there is nothing remarkable in their hearing the story. It was a subject for popular poetry—or, at least, for the lightest style of monkish verse—as early as the tenth century, when the monk Froumont wrote to the Abbot of Tegernsee :

Si . . . Dulcifer aut fabulas possem componere mendas,
Orpheus ut cantans Eurydicen revocat,²

and it may have reached Breton ears in some cantilena similar to that De Narcisso mentioned by Peter Cantor in the twelfth century as performed by a strolling musician.³

Our Breton harper, however, probably got the story by word of mouth and in no very accurate shape; and, in making it over into a lay, he must inevitably have changed the story still further to make it square with his own beliefs and traditions and those of his auditors. In this process, such parts of the classic myth as were within his circle of ideas were retained with least alteration; such things as he could not understand, were cast aside or forgotten; many points were misunderstood and unwittingly misrepresented. In short, the Ovidian story became a Breton lay in every sense—short, romantic, Celtic. This the French translator must have rendered without much change, his aim being to tell the tale of a favorite lay, not to restore an antique. And from this French version came our English *Orfeo*, freely handled, no doubt, but with no essential variation.

The French element in the *Orfeo* is rather pervasive than striking. The English element is seen in the parliament which is to appoint a new king if *Orfeo* does not come back (vv. 214–16), and perhaps in the steward, though that personage reminds one of

¹ Wolf, *Ueber die Lais*, p. 10. G. Paris suggests (*Rom.* XII 362; cf. VIII 364) that the source of the lost Provençal romance from which were derived the biography of Guilhem de Cabestaing and Boccaccio's novel of *Guardastagno* (Dec. iv 9) was the Breton Lay of *Guiron* (*Gurun*, *Gorhon*, *Goron*). Cf. Wolf, pp. 236–8, as to this lay.

² Wolf, pp. 238–9. Froumont's poem (not seen by me) is in *Pezii Thesaur. Anecd.* II i, 184. In the *Carmina Burana* (from a MS of the thirteenth century, and mentioning events from 1175 to 1208) we read of "Narcissus floriger, Orpheusque plectiger, Faunus quoque corniger," p. 117 (cited by Bartsch, p. civ).

³ Cited above, p. 183, n. 4: *Hi similes sunt cantantibus fabulas et gesta, qui videntes cantilenam de Landrico non placere auditoribus, statim incipiunt de Narcisso cantare: quod si nec placuerit, cantant de alio* (*Fauriel, Hist. de la Poësie prov.*, III 489).

the seneschal so often met with in old French poems. The Celtic element has never been discussed, and, if it can be shown to exist in any considerable degree, will serve not merely to clinch what has so far been said as to the origin and transmission of our poem, but also as independent and sufficient proof that the *Orfeo* is what it professes to be—a Breton lay. If our genesis is correct, we shall find the *Orfeo* preserving or rejecting the incidents of the classic story according as they agree or disagree with Celtic ideas and traditions.

On this principle, we should expect the harping of Orpheus to be made much of in *Sir Orfeo*. The respect felt by all Celtic nations for their harpers is famous. Every baron should have three things, said the Welsh laws—his harp, his cloak, and his chessboard.¹ In the time of Richard II the Irish kings still treated their minstrels with a consideration that shocked the English ambassador.² In this respect the *Orfeo* meets our expectation. *Orfeo* is not only the best of harpers, he is a king. The Celts were fond of putting the harp into the hands of kings and princes. Every one will think of *Tristram* and *Yseut* and *Mark*.³ *Glasgerion* was a king's son and a Briton.⁴ No less than three of the Welsh bards were royal.⁵ Above all, the British king *Blegabres*⁶ must not be forgotten. He knew “de tos estrumens maistrie, et de diverse canterie; et mult sot de lais et de note. . . .”

Porce qu'il ert de si bon sens
Disoient li gent, à son tens,
Que il ert Dex des jogléors,
Et Dex de tos les chantéors.”

(Roman de Brut., vv. 3763-5, 3773-6; Le Roux de Lincy, I 178-9.)

With this royal patron and god of music may be compared the crowned figure seated on a throne and playing on that eminently Celtic instrument, the crwt, found in a manuscript in the French National Library.⁷

¹ Wotton and Williams, *Leges Walliae*, p. 301; quoted by Féétis.

² Walker, *Irish Bards*, I 180.

³ Michel, *Tristan*, II 106; Gottfried v. Strassburg, 8058-71. (Wolf, p. 53.)

⁴ Cf. Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, II 137.

⁵ Price, *Literary Remains*, I 133, 325-6.

⁶ This was *Blegywyrd ab Seisylt*, 56th supreme king of Great Britain, according to E. Jones (*Welsh Bards*, 3d ed., 1808, I 1), who cites *Tyssilio's Welsh Chron.*, etc.

⁷ The figure is playing, with a bow held in the left hand, on a three-stringed instrument. A copy is given by Bottée de Toulmon, *Mémoires de la Soc.*

The power exercised by the harp of Orpheus over the beasts of the wood is carefully preserved in the lay ; for, though this trait occurs oftener in Norse than in Celtic, it cannot be claimed as the exclusive property of any people, and would doubtless have been retained by any mediaeval minstrel who had undertaken to work over the classic tale.¹ The Celts were no strangers to marvellous feats of minstrelsy. The Irish had a wild tale of the three sons of Uathne, who harped at the court of Ailill one day till twelve men died of weeping;² and another of the three tunes played on a magic harp by Dagde in the hall of his foes : " He played them the Golraighe until their women cried tears. He played them the Gentraighe until their women and youths burst into laughter. He played them the Suanraighe until the entire host fell asleep."³ Nearer the Orfeo is the harping of Glasgerion, who, if not Glas Keraint, is a Briton at least.⁴ And curiously parallel is the power with which Tyolet, the hero of a Breton lay, had been endowed by a fairy—the power of attracting wild beasts, when he wished, by whistling.⁵

In the lay, as in the myth, Orpheus wins back his wife by his music ; and this is a trait that we should have expected a Breton to preserve. At the same time, almost every feature of the picture has been retouched. In Ovid, Orpheus frankly avows his errand, and his song is an appeal to Pluto and Proserpine to restore Eurydice. In the lay he appears as a wandering minstrel, charms

royale des Antiquaires, 2^e Série, VII 154, and by Fétis, Hist. gén. de la Musique, IV 345.

¹ For many examples of the power of the harp see Child, II 137. Add Kalevala, Schiefner's transl., Rune 41, pp. 240 ff. Professor Child mentions Orpheus, and notes that in the Scandinavian ballad Harpans Kraft (Grundtvig, II 65-8, etc.), "the harper is a bridegroom seeking (successfully) to recover his bride, who has been carried down to the depths of the water by a merman." It is not impossible that we have here another offshoot of the classic story, developed under Scandinavian, as the Orfeo under Celtic influence. The Shetland ballad given by Child (I 217) with the title King Orfeo is apparently from the English romance.

² Tain Bo Fraich (The Cow-Spoil of Fraech), in the Book of Leinster, a MS of the twelfth century; O'Curry, Manners and Customs of the Anc. Irish, III 220; H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, Cours de Litt. celtique, I 58, Essai d'un Catalogue, pp. 217-18.

³ Cath Malge Tured na Fomorach (Battle of Mag Tured against the Fomorians), in O'Curry, Manners and Customs, III 214. Cf. Arbois de Jubainville, Cours, II 191; Essai d'un Catalogue, pp. 80-1.

⁴ See Child, II 137; cf. Price, Lit. Remains, I 151-2.

⁵ Lay de Tyolet, vv. 42-8, published by G. Paris, Rom. VIII 67.

the court of the fairy king with his playing, and, on being promised whatever boon he may ask, demands the lady asleep under the tree yonder. In these changes a strong resemblance may be noticed to the peculiarly Celtic romance of Tristram. An Irish harper presents himself at the court of King Mark, but refuses to play till he is promised a gift. Mark assures him he shall have whatever he may choose; whereupon the minstrel, after a tune or two, claims the queen. Mark is in despair, but must keep his word or give up all title to royalty, for no liar can be king.¹ The parallel is very close. In both cases we have the same reluctance to keep faith, and the same warning that it is a foul thing to hear a lie from a king's mouth.

Another point in which the *Orfeo* is reasonably close to Ovid is the despair of the bard and his solitary life in the woods.² In this the lay, which is much more circumstantial than the Latin, may be compared with the romance of *Iwain* and with the story of *Merlin Silvestris*.³

The great difference between our poem and its original—the central variation which in a manner conditions all the rest—consists in the change of scene from Hades to fairyland, and the substitution of the King of Fairies for Pluto. If this change is not in the direction of Celtic tradition, nothing can establish the claim of the *Orfeo* to be a Breton production. Fortunately, the question admits of no doubt. The fairies in the English poem have nothing Teutonic about them. They are not gnomes, or trolls, or kobolds, or brownies, or nixies. They are not the mischievous diminutive creatures that abound in German popular tales. They are precisely those mysterious, reverend beings, of human size and more than mortal power and beauty, in which Celtic imagination delighted. Two or three minor points in which the fairies of the *Orfeo* resemble Celtic tradition may be mentioned before we come to the main question.

¹ Michel, *Tristan*, II 126; Sir *Tristrem*, ii 63–6 Scott, 165–8, II 50–1 Kölbing; *Tristrams Saga og Ísöndar*, 49–50, I 61 Kölbing, pp. 105–6 Brynjúlfsson; Gottfried v. Strassburg, 13,108 ff., II 99 ff. Bechstein. The details, of course, differ somewhat.

² Cf. Met. x 72 ff.

³ In the Latin poetical *Vita Merlini* (formerly ascribed to Geoffrey of Monmouth), vv. 73 ff. Cf. the Welsh poem *Avallenau* (*The Apple Trees*), st. 15 (x8). Both these are printed by A. Schulz, *Die Sagen von Merlin*, pp. 275, 75; the latter also by Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*, 2d ed., pp. 212–22. Cf. Girald. Cambr., *Descriptio Cambriae*, ii 8, *Opera*, ed. Dimock, V 133, cited by Schulz.

In the woods Orfeo often saw hosts of fairy knights with flying banners and gleaming arms, "ac never he nist whider þai wold" (vv. 287-94). Similar apparitions were common in Little Britain in the twelfth century and earlier. "In Britannia minore visae sunt praedae nocturnae militesque ducentes eas cum silentio semper transeuntes."¹ The Irish fairy chiefs had always soldiers under their command and engaged in murderous combats with each other.² The knights and ladies, a hundred each, on snow-white steeds, that accompany the fairy king in Sir Orfeo, may be compared with the fourscore damsels, each with her *ami*, that Lorois (in the *Lai du Trot*) saw, in a sort of fairy vision, riding out of the wood. Too much stress must not, however, be laid on these minor matters.

The scene in which Sir Orfeo departs farthest from its classic source is that of the carrying off of Eurydice. The queen had gone to sleep in her orchard under an ympe-tree. Her sleep was long and heavy, but her maidens dared not wake her. When it passed, she was out of her wits, and tore her hair and scratched her cheeks. She was conveyed to her chamber, where the king immediately visited her. To him she revealed that while she was under the tree a gentle knight had summoned her to come and speak with his king; that on her refusal he had called his lord, who came with a score of knights and ladies and put her on a steed by his side; that this king had then carried her to a fair palace, the magnificence of which he showed her, and had at last brought her back to the ympe-tree, where he left her with the words :

Loke, dame, to morwe þatow be
Rijt here under þis ympetre,
And þan þou schalt wiþ ous go
And live wiþ ous ever mo.
And ȝif þou makest ous ylet,
Whar þou be, þou worst yfet,
And totore pine limes al
þat noþing help þe no schal;

¹ Ex quibus Britones frequenter excusserunt equos et animalia, et eis usi sunt, quidam sibi ad mortem, quidam indemniter (Walter Mapes, *De Nugis Curialium*, iv 13, p. 180 Wright). It does not appear that the knights seen by Orfeo had any booty with them; perhaps he did not see them on their return!

² As in the *Serglige Conculainn*, A. de Jubainville, *Cours*, II 354-5; cf. p. 361. Compare the procession of fairy knights in the ballad of Tam Lin (Child, No. 29, A 27, 29, 41; B 25, 27, 39; I 342 ff.).

³ vv. 76 ff., Monmerqué and Michel, *Lai d'Ignaurès*, etc., p. 74. As to the fondness of fairies for white horses, cf. Child, I 339.

¹ See also "Spartan women annihilated in Greece dangerous
to their men and at home, as reported once to be taken by the nereids
of Poseidon." H. Kretschmer, *Die Nereiden*, p. 119. "Is not this
the same as the Hebrew expression *maqabba* (LXX Psalm. xcii 6), as to
which H. Kretschmer (*Die hebräischen Heiligthümer*, pp. 62 ff., 67 ff., and
pp. 141 ff.) says?"

He had to go to sleep under a fairy-hill.
And I wanted him to sleep under a tree, and
the boy went, supposing in Thomas' Theatre's *Launder*
or *Wanderer*, or *Laide Lanval*.

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remaindez: Sachiez ja mes joie n'avrez" (vv. 67-8). This knight is altogether supernatural, and his influence over the queen mysterious.¹ His home is under the waters of a neighboring lake.

I wish especially to call attention, however, to the correspondence between this scene in Sir Orfeo and a similar scene in the Irish epic tale of the Wooing of Etain (Tochmarc Etaine).

Etain was the wife of Eochaid Airem, supreme king of Ireland, and Midir, a fairy chief, was deeply in love with her. One fine day in summer Eochaid saw approaching his palace a bright-eyed, yellow-haired warrior, clad in purple and armed with a five-pointed lance and a buckler adorned with gold. The stranger gave his name as Midir, and proposed a game of chess. The king, secure in his reputation as the best chess-player in Ireland, promised Midir whatever he wished if he could win the game. Midir was successful and demanded Etain, but was, with difficulty, put off for a year, and, at the year's end, for a month. At the close of this month the king held high court at Tara. As night came on, he shut himself up in his palace with his queen. The doors were barred; the courtyard was manned by a line of vigilant guards, with strict orders to let no one pass; in the great hall of audience sat the king and queen, surrounded by the chief lords and choice warriors of the realm, each resolved to prevent the fairy chief from taking away his prize by force. The hour of midnight approached. Suddenly Eochaid was horrified to see Midir in the midst of the hall. No one had seen him enter, nor had the doors been unfastened. The unwelcome visitant advanced to the queen, whom he addressed in a song of invitation: "O, fair woman, will you come with me to my beautiful country, where all are beautiful, where none is sad or silent, where teeth are white and eyebrows black, where the hue of the foxglove is on every cheek? Beautiful are the plains of Inisfail, but they are as nothing to our great plains. Intoxicating is the beer of Inisfail, more intoxicating is the beer of the Great Country. There rivers run with wine. There old age is unknown. There love is unforbidden. O, fair woman, will you

¹ He abandons the queen when their amour is discovered, not for fear of an *éclaircissement*—for the witness dies at once—but in accordance with his fairy nature, which cannot bear that his union with a mortal should be known. Compare the conduct of Lanval's mistress, of Graelent's (in the *Lai de Graelent*, 503 ff.; Roquefort, *Poésies de Marie de France*, I 522), of Lion-bruno's in the Italian tale (Crane's *Ital. Pop. Tales*, p. 141).

come with me?"¹ Etain refused to go without her husband's consent. Midir demanded permission to put his arm around the queen's waist. To this demand the king was obliged to accede. Immediately the fairy chieftain shifted his spear to his left hand, and, encircling Etain with his right arm, rose aloft and disappeared with her through the smoke-hole in the roof. Nobody could touch him or hinder his flight. Rushing out of the palace, the warriors saw two swans floating in the air, their long white tails united by a golden yoke. The birds were too far off to be followed, and soon disappeared altogether.² According to O'Curry's synopsis of the story, Midir was visible only to the king and queen, and the former was "so overcome by some supernatural influence that he was not only powerless to oppose him, but even unable to apprise the company of what was going on."

The resemblances of this scene to Sir Orfeo need no emphasizing. The beautiful fairy warrior Midir corresponds to the fairy king; the song describing the delights of the Great Country to the tempting sight of fairyland granted Heuropes in her vision. Both Eochaid and Orfeo surround themselves with guards on the fatal day. In both lay and story the ravisher comes suddenly and

¹ This song is translated (1) by O'Curry, *Manners and Customs*, II. 192-3; (2) more literally, by Sullivan, *Id.*, III 191 n.; (3) by A. de Jubainville, *Cours*, II 317-18. I have followed O'Curry in inserting it here. De Jubainville is not clear on this point. Apparently he makes Midir sing the song on one of his clandestine visits to Etain. He remarks that the poem does not belong to the story. This is very probably true; but it was part of the story in 1100 (the approximate date of the Book of the Dun Cow) or earlier, and for our present purpose we need not go farther back than that.

² Swans, whether they properly belong to this story or not, are not unknown in Breton lays. In the *Lay de Doon*, v. 140 (*Rom.* VIII 62), the knight is required to ride as fast as a swan can fly. In Marie's *Lai de Milun* the hero and his love, in South Wales, send letters to and fro by a tame swan for twenty years.

³ In this story I have generally followed the analysis of A. de Jubainville (*Cours*, II 312-22), which is fuller and probably more trustworthy than that of O'Curry (*Manners and Customs*, II 192-4). In some cases, however, where O'Curry is evidently following copy closely, I have preferred his version, noting, however, any essential variation from De Jubainville. The Irish text has been edited from the *Leabhar na hUidhre* by Windisch, *Irische Texte*, pp. 117-30, but this book has been beyond my reach in more senses than one. See further Ed. Müller, *Revue Celtique*, III 350 ff.; O'Grady, *Hist. of Ireland*, I 88-93. The *Leabhar na hUidhre* version is fragmentary and lacks the account of the recovery of Etain. The chess-scene is translated by O'Donovan, *Book of Rights*, *Introd.*, pp. lxi-lxii.

mysteriously ; in both, the warriors, if they see the fairy prince, have no power to resist his occult influence ; in both the queen is carried off, nobody knows whither. In all the particulars, then, of the loss of Eurydice, Sir Orfeo is utterly at variance with Ovid and strikingly similar to a famous Celtic tale.

Heurodys is not taken to Hades, but to fairyland. We left the lay at the same point at which we now leave the Irish story. The queen had been stolen away "with fairy." Her husband and his court were at their wit's end. Orfeo immediately abandoned his realm, leaving his steward in charge, and plunged into the woods, harp in hand. After ten years of wild life (already noticed) he recognized his wife one day among a troop of ladies in the wood. Though the recognition was mutual, neither spoke,¹ and Heurodys was soon hurried off by her companions, resolutely pursued by Orfeo. The ladies rode "in at a rock," which was the entrance to fairyland. Three miles the king followed them into the hillside, when he came to "a fair country, as bright as sun on summer's day, smooth and plain and all green." In the midst was a splendid castle, the walls of which shone like crystal. Within were spacious dwellings of precious stones; the worst pillar was of gold. The land was never dark, for the rich stones gave light in the night-time. In the castle, under a "pavilion," sat a king and queen whose raiment shone so brightly that Orfeo could not look upon it. A hundred knights waited on the king. Among other stolen mortals, Orfeo saw his wife, asleep under an imp-tree.² He gained her freedom,³ as we have already seen, and returned with her in

¹ Zielke (p. 137) thinks this may be a reminiscence of the condition of not looking back imposed on Orpheus in Ov. M. x 51; Virg. Georg. iv 487-91. If there is anything more than meets the view in this passage of the romance, I should rather compare the widespread superstition that it is dangerous to speak to witches, ghosts, and fairies. "They are fairies; he that speaks to them shall die" (Merry Wives, v 5). Cf. Child, I 322, to whose citations may be added Waldron, Isle of Man, Manx Soc. ed., p. 67.

² The passage describing the stolen mortals seen by Orfeo in fairyland (vv. 385-406) is very remarkable. Zielke (p. 137) sees classic elements in it, and perhaps he is right. All sorts of fairies—Celtic and other—are prone to carry away people.

³ "Bedb was a fairy potentate who, with his daughters, lived under Sidh-ar-Femhin, a hill or fairy mansion on the plain of Cashel. To this subterranean residence a famous old harper named Cliach is said to have obtained access by playing his harp near the spot until the ground opened and admitted him into the fairy realm" (O'Hanlon, Irish Folk-Lore, Gentleman's Magazine, 1865, Pt. II; Gentl. Mag. Library, ed. Gomme, IV (Eng. Tradit. Lore) 22). Orfeo

safety to his kingdom, where, concealing his identity, he tested the fidelity of the steward. The steward was faithful, and the king revealed himself. A new coronation followed, and Orfeo and Heurodys lived happily till the end of their days.

Zielke oddly remarks that a subterranean situation for fairyland is peculiar to the *Orfeo*—"diese Oertlichkeit des Feenlandes ist unserm Gedichte eigenthümlich, da wir dasselbe sonst auf eine Insel im Ocean oder in dichte Wildnisse verlegt finden" (p. 135). He is thinking evidently of the Isle of Avalon¹ and the Forest of Brecelian.² But we do find fairyland underground often enough, and under Celtic ground, too. Thus, not long before the time of Giraldus Cambrensis, a Welsh youngster, one Elidurus, who was playing truant and hiding "in concava fluvii cujusdam ripa," was led through subterranean passages "usque in terram pulcherri-mam, fluvii et pratis, silvis et planis distinctissimam" which was ruled over by a king.³ This is no doubt the same realm in which Herla, a king, "antiquissimorum Britonum," passed three centuries as three days. To reach it Herla had to enter "cavernam altissimae rupis" and travel some distance,⁴ precisely as in *Orfeo*. So in Shropshire a cavern called the Ogo Hole is still pointed out as the entrance to fairlyland,⁵ and a cave in North Wales has a like uncanny reputation.⁶ To these may be added the Peak Cavern in Derbyshire, at the bottom of which a swineherd, who had descended in search of a lost sow, found a land where men were reaping, though it was cold weather in the world above.⁷ His sow was restored to him by the "praepositus" of that land. Add

recognizes his wife "by her clothes" (v. 406). The modern Irish "fairy doctress" is said by O'Hanlon (p. 13) to tell some token or peculiarity of dress by which the rescuer may distinguish his lost friend amidst the fairy troop as it sweeps past on Hallowe'en.

¹ See R. Köhler's n. in Warnke's ed. of Marie's *Lais*, p. lxxxiii, n.

² Cf. Brun de la Montaigne, 562-7, ed. P. Meyer, p. 20, and *Préface*, p. xii.

³ Girald. Cambri., Itin. Kambriae, i 8, Opera, ed. Dimock, VI 75, cited by Wright, St. Patrick's *Purgatory*, p. 83. Cf. Peter Roberts, *Cambrian Pop. Antiquities*, 1815, pp. 195-201.

⁴ Gault. Mapes, *De Nugis Curial*, i 11, p. 16 Wright. In this case, as in the story of Elidurus, the fairies are called pygmæi.

⁵ Welsh *ogof*, a cavern. Burne and Jackson, *Shropshire Folk-Lore*, 1883, p. 57.

⁶ Wirt Sikes, *British Goblins*, p. 99.

⁷ Gerv. Tilb., *Otia Imperialia*, p. 975 (iii 45, p. 24 Liebrecht, whose n., pp. 117 ff., should be compared), cited by Sir Walter Scott, *On the Fairies of Popular Superstition*.

the Wolf Pits in Suffolk, out of which ascended the famous green children, who inhabited (so one of them said) a beautiful country sacred to St. Martin.¹ And Eldon Hill, in the Romance of Thomas of Erceldoune, into which the queen of fairy led True Thomas,

Vndir-nethe a derne lee
Whare it was dirke als mydnyght myrke,
And euer þe water till his knee
The montenans of dayes three,

before they came in sight of the fairy castle.² Similarly the young Tam Lin was caught away by the fairies "in yon green hill to dwell."³

I am aware that most of the cases so far cited may be challenged as either not pure Celtic or not quite to the point. But in carrying out our comparison between Sir Orfeo and the Wooing of Etain, we shall find an underground fairyland in virgin Celtic soil.

We left Midir flying through the air with his prize. As soon as King Eochaid came to himself, he sent out his chief Druid, Dalan, with orders not to return without Etain. After a year of fruitless toil, Dalan discovered, "through his keys of science and his ogam," that the queen was concealed in Midir's palace in the hill of Bri Leith. The king mustered an army and proceeded to dig into the hill. As the miners approached the precincts of the fairy palace, the wily Midir displayed upon the hillside fifty beautiful women all exactly like Etain in dress and person, so that Eochaid could not distinguish his wife among them till she made herself known. Then he carried her back to Tara with him in safety. He had recovered his wife from the underground fairy mansion no less effectually than Orfeo, though in a different way.

I have called Midir a fairy chief, but he deserves a more careful definition. By the year 1100 two or three lines of heathen belief and tradition had become almost inextricably tangled in the superstition and the literature of Ireland. In common with all Celtic peoples, the ancient Irish believed in a beautiful country beyond

¹ Guil. Neubrig., *Rer. Angl.* i 27, ed. Hearne, I 90-93; Radulph. de Cogges-hale, *Chron. Angl.*, ed. Stephenson, pp. 118-20. The accounts differ slightly. Ralph does not mention St. Martin. I owe the references to Wright, *St. Patric k's Purgatory*, p. 84. The date is some time in the reign of Henry II.

² Sts. 30-31, Murray, p. 10, vv. 169-73.

³ Child, No. 39, A 23, I 342. Cf. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1832, Pt. 2, p. 223; *Gentleman's Mag. Library*, ed. Gomme, IV 52: "In Scotland the fairies dwell under the little green hills."

the sea, inhabited by gods and sometimes visited by heroes. This Elysium, related to the Avalon of Arthurian romance and the Terra Repromissionis Sanctorum of the legends, was called the Land of Promise (*Tír Tairngire*), the Land of the Living (*Tír na mBeo*), the Land of the Youthful (*Tír na nÓg*), the Pleasant Plain (*Mag Mell*), etc.¹ The Irish also believed in certain divinities who lived underground and were called *Aes Sídhe*, and in other divinities, called *Tuatha Dé Danann*, who, if not originally identical with the *Aes Sídhe*, were in time confounded with them.² Properly the blissful land beyond the sea had nothing to do with the *Aes Sídhe*; but, by the beginning of the twelfth century, the Irish had long been Christians, their deities had been either euhemerized into mortals or degraded into demons and fairy chiefs, and they found it no easier to carry two sets of fairies and two fairylands in the mind without confusion, than the Greeks found it to keep their Chthonian and their Uranian gods always sharply distinguished. Hence they located the *Aes Sídhe* sometimes in the interior of pleasant green hills, sometimes in *Tír Tairngire*;³ and *Tír Tairngire*—now fairyland—was sometimes regarded as underground, or as having a fairy-hill for its vestibule, or, perhaps, as dotted with green hills, in which its people dwelt. Thus, in the Adventures of Condla the Fair, the fée (Windisch's word) invites Condla to the Land of the Living and the Pleasant Plain, but adds that the inhabitants are called *Aes Sidhe*, "for they have their dwellings in large, pleasant green hills." Condla finally departs with her in a crystal canoe.⁴

We can now understand Midir better. Originally a god, one of the *Aes Sídhe*, he is thought of in the Wooing of Etain as a fairy in the Celtic sense—a being of human stature, wonderful beauty,

¹ See particularly E. Beauvois, *Rev. de l'Hist. des Régions*, VII (1883) 288 ff. Cf. Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, pp. 405, 410; Kuno Meyer, *Cath Finntrágá*, Oxf., 1885, *Introd.*, p. xiii.

² A. de Jubainville, *Cours*, II 140 ff.; O'Curry, *MS Materials*, pp. 503-5; Joyce, pp. 401-2; Kuno Meyer, p. xi.

³ Meyer, pp. xii-xiii.

⁴ *Echtra Condla Chaim in the Leabhar na hUidhre*. Windisch, *Rev. Celtique*, V 389-90; A. de Jubainville, *Cours*, II 192-3; Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, pp. 106-11; Beauvois, *Revue de l'Hist. des Régions*, VII (1883) 288-90. De Jubainville regards this fairy maiden as the Celtic death-messenger. His brochure, *Le Dieu de la Mort*, Troyes, 1879, I have not seen. Beauvois (p. 290, n. 1) declares that "cette opinion n'est confirmée ni par la présente légende ni par les suivantes." Whatever she was originally, to the Irish of the eleventh and twelfth centuries she was merely, as Windisch calls her, a fée.

and extraordinary powers. He resides in a sidh or fairy-hill, whence he can come forth among men, visibly or invisibly, as he may prefer.¹ He describes his abode in a song intended originally, no doubt, as a description of the Land of the Living, but in this the twelfth century saw no contradiction. As soon as the Irish imagination entered the hill of Bri Leith, it lost itself and saw there all the wonders that former times had appropriated to the country beyond the sea. We may compare other Irish descriptions of fairyland. In the Sickness of Cuchlann, also in the Book of the Dun Cow, the abode of the goddess Fand is called Hill of the Fairies (Dintsid), Powerful Plain of Trogaigi, and Mag Mell.² It is a country "bright and noble, in which is not spoken falsehood or guile"; it is a flowery plain; there are champions with gleaming arms and shining raiment; there are lovely women feasting. There sits King Labraid in his palace, surrounded by thousands of warriors. His hair is yellow as gold and fastened with a golden apple.³ We see plainly the fusion of different elements into a more or less harmonious whole. This fusion had been fully accomplished by the year 1100—and we are here concerned with no earlier state of these stories.

Enough has probably been said to show that it is reasonable to regard the Orfeo in the light in which it puts itself—that is, as a Breton lay. Coincidences with Celtic story are too many to admit of any other conclusion. The conspicuous place which Irish literature has occupied in our investigation prompts a further question: Did the Breton Orfeo come into direct contact with Irish tradition? That is, are the striking resemblances we have noticed due (1) to the fact that the story of Midir represents views common to all Celts—the property as well of a Breton harper as of an Irish bard—or (2) to the fact that the Breton author of our

¹ De Jubainville, *Revue Archéol.*, 1878, I 390–91; *Cours*, II 143–4.

² Beauvois, *Rev. de l'Hist. des Régions*, VII 291.

³ Serglige Conculainn in the *Leabhar na hUidhre*. Original in Windisch's *Irische Texte*, pp. 205–27. I have used the translation given by Gilbert, *Fac-similes of the National MSS of Ireland*, Pt. II (1878), Appendix IV F. Two parallels may be noted—first, the bright raiment, cf. Sir Orfeo, vv. 413–14; second, the means of light, cf. with Sir Orfeo, vv. 367–70, the words of the Irish piece: "The noble candle which is there is the brilliant precious stone." Not much emphasis can be laid on this, however. Carbuncles are a commonplace in mediaeval literature. See Bartsch, *Herzog Ernst*, pp. clxi ff.

⁴ In favor of this might be cited the Welsh fairyland, Annwn, with its king Arawn, the description of whose castle, and wife, and courtiers, in the tale of

lay had heard from some Irishman the story of Midir or the like, and had consciously or unconsciously mixed it with the classic myth? Since either of these hypotheses accounts for the phenomena, neither can with certainty be proved. Still many features of Sir Orfeo agree more closely with Irish tradition than with anything demonstrably Breton or common Celtic, and it is easy to show that a Breton harper may have heard the Wooing of Etain much as we have it.

There is no difficulty about dates. The *Leabhar na hUidhre*, which contains the Irish story, is a MS written before 1106. If it were necessary (as it is not) to suppose any earlier date than this for the Breton *Orfeo*, there would still be no difficulty, for the contents of the *Leabhar* are of unknown antiquity, and, even in their present form, must antedate the MS considerably.

Nor need there be any hesitation as to means of transmission. Intercourse between Ireland and Wales on the one hand, and Wales and Brittany on the other, was brisk and not unfruitful in a literary way.¹ Several of the *Mabinogion* are thought to betray an Irish source.² When Lord Rhys held, in 1177, a great feast in South Wales, "he instituted two species of contests—one between

Pwyll, Prince of Dyved (*Mabinogion*, tr. by Lady Charlotte Guest, Pt. V, pp. 41-2), is not unlike the similar place in *Orfeo*. Gwyn ap Nudd is also called lord of Annwn and of the Tylwyth Teg, who are fairies of human size, as well as of the elves. See the tale of Kilhwch and Olwen (*Mabinogion*, IV 259, 305, and cf. Lady Guest's n., pp. 323-6). But both these *Mabinogion* are thought to be full of Irish elements (Sullivan, *Celtic Lit., Encycl. Brit.*, 9th ed., V 321-2). Cf., as to Gwyn and his subjects, Keightley, *Fairy Mythol.*, II 196 ff., Price, *Lit. Remains*, I 146-7, 285-7; Stephens, *Lit. of the Kymry*, pp. 183 ff. It should be noted that Gwyn is said to have stolen Creiddylad (Cordelia), the daughter of Lludd Llaw Ereint (Lear), from her betrothed husband Gwythyr; but Arthur restored the maiden to her father, stipulating that the two suitors "should fight for her every first of May, from thenceforth until the day of doom" (*Mabinog.* IV 305). Here may be mentioned the romance or ballad of Burd Ellen, an outline of which Jamieson (*Illustrations of Northern Antiquities*, pp. 398-403) gives from his recollection of the shape in which it was told him in his youth by a country tailor. The story has several correspondences with Sir *Orfeo*. Warluck Merlin appears in it as advising Child Rowland.

¹ Note the importance of Ireland in Arthurian romance. Compare, too, the *Lai de Melion* (Monmerqué and Michel, *Lai d'Ignaurès*, etc., pp. 43-67), in which the scene is partly laid in Ireland, though Marie's Bisclavret, of which *Melion* is a variant, is intensely Breton. The werewolf superstition is still alive in Brittany. See Baring-Gould, *Book of Werewolves*, Ch. I.

² Sullivan, *Celtic Literature, Encycl. Britannica*, 9th ed., V 321-2.

the bards and poets, and another between the harpers, pipers, and those who played upon the crwth . . . , and this feast was announced a full year before it took place, in Wales, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and many other countries."¹ Gruffydd ab Kynan, who had taken refuge in Ireland, brought back with him on his return divers cunning musicians, who are said to have reformed the music of Wales.² Similarly it was no uncommon thing for a Welsh prince to spend some time in Armorica. A famous example is Rhys ab Tewdwr, who, on his return from Brittany to take the crown of South Wales in 1077, "brought with him," it is said, "the system of the Round Table, which at home had become quite forgotten, and restored it as it was with regard to minstrels and bards."³ Thus closely associated with both countries, Wales might well have served as an intermediary in the transmission of Irish stories to Brittany.⁴

But we are not driven to this expedient. The fame of the Irish harpers was not confined to their native island. Early celebrated in Great Britain,⁵ their renown was at its height there in the twelfth century, from which dates the enthusiastic testimony of Giraldus;⁶

¹ Caradoc's Chron., in the Myvyrian Archaiology, II 574, as quoted by Stephens, Lit. of the Kymry, pp. 324-5.

² Powell (Hist. of Cambria, ed. 1584, p. 191, not seen by me) says they "devised in a manner all the instrumental music that is now there used" (Walker, Irish Bards, 2d ed., I 143); but Thomas Stephens, who discusses the subject at some length (Lit. of the Kymry, 2d ed., pp. 56-65), is inclined to think that the chief innovation was the use of the bagpipes.

³ Stephens, Lit. of the Kymry, p. 322, quoting Iolo MSS, p. 630.

⁴ Cornubia vero, et Armorica Britannia lingua utuntur fere persimili, Kambris tamen, propter originalem conventiam, in multis adhuc et fere cunctis intelligibili (Girald. Cambr., Itin. Cambriae, i 6, Dimock, VI 177). It is often asserted now-a-days that a Welshman can make himself understood in Brittany, but this Price denies (Literary Remains, I 35, 108).

⁵ An Irish king in the sixth century is said to have sent a joculator to the Welsh court for political purposes. The minstrel delighted the king and nobles by his harping and singing (D'Alton, Social and Polit. State of People of Ireland, Trans. R. I. A. XVI (1830) 225). Ethodius of Scotland, cum, de more procerum Scotorum, fidicinem ex Hibernia in cubiculo suo pernoctantem haberet, ab eo noctu occisus fuit (Buchanan, Rer. Scottic. Hist. IV 25, cited by Walker, I 98). The passage may be found in Ruddiman's ed., 1725, I 118. On the popularity of these harpers in later times, see D'Alton, pp. 162, 225, 226, 338-9; Walker, I 177.

⁶ Top. Hib. iii 11, Dimock, V 153. Cited by Sir James Ware, Antiq. of Ireland, p. 184 (in Vol. I of his Whole Works Concerning Ireland, translated by Walter Harris, Dublin, 1764).

and there is evidence that, by his time, they had visited the Continent in considerable numbers. From the eighth to the fourteenth century they "appear to have wandered about the north of Europe,"¹ and it is even thought they got as far south as Italy. Vincentio Galilei declares without hesitation that the harp was introduced—or reintroduced—into that country from Ireland²—an opinion which has won some assent.³ Of course these harpers carried their national stories with them, and nothing is more likely than that they imparted some of them to their Celtic brethren in Brittany, with whom they would naturally affiliate. To such intercourse, perhaps, more than to Welsh agency, we owe what seem to be Irish elements in the beautiful Breton Lay de Guigamor.⁴ There is even said to have been a lay on an out-and-out Irish subject—which had, however, become cosmopolitan through

¹ Sullivan, *Introd. to O'Curry, Manners and Customs*, I dxix.

² As this passage has been oftener cited than seen, I may be pardoned for giving it at some length: "Fra gli strumenti adunque di corde che sono hoggi in uso in Italia, ci è primamente l'Harpa, la quale non è altro che vn' antica Cithara di molte corde; se bene di forma in alcuna cosa differente. . . . Fu portata d'Irlanda à noi questo antichissimo strumento (commemorato da Dante) dove si lauorano in excellenza & copiosamente: gli habitatori della quale isola si esercitano molti & molti secoli sono in esse, oltre all' essere impresa particolare del regno; la quale dispingano & sculpiscono negli edifizj pubblici & nelle monete loro" (*Dialogo di Vincentio Galilei Nobile Fiorentino della Musica Antica, et della Moderna*. In Fiorenza, MDLXXXI, p. 143). The author then describes the Irish harp. In spite of the plain meaning of Vincentio, both D'Alton (*Social and Polit. State of People of Ireland*, Royal Irish Acad. Trans. XVI (1830) 339), and Sullivan (*Introd. to O'Curry's Manners and Customs*, I dxix) quote him as authority for the statement that Dante says the harp was introduced into Italy from Ireland. The mistranslation appears to be due to E. Jones (*Mus. and Poet. Relicks of the Welsh Bards*, 3d ed., 1808, I 95). Of course the passage means simply that Dante has mentioned the harp (*Paradiso* xiv 118).

³ Sullivan, p. dxx, who cites "Doni, Lyra barberina, etc., Flor., 1763, I 20," which I have not seen.

⁴ Published by G. Paris, Rom. VIII 51 ff. Compare with this lay, besides the citations of the editor, the ancient Irish tale of Loegaire (A. de Jubainville, *Cours*, II 356 ff.); the seventeenth-century Oisín in Tirnanoge (Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, pp. 395-9; Windisch, *Verhandlungen der 33sten Versammlg. deutscher Philologen*, p. 26), and the story of the ancient British king Herla (Mapes, *De Nugis Curial*. i 11, pp. 14-17 Wright). The resemblance consists in the disastrous effect of eating earthly food or touching the ground on returning to this earth from fairyland. De Jubainville (II 363) compares the fate of Crimthann, but the similarity is doubtful.

the Latin version—the *Voyage of St. Brandan*.¹ In the *Roman de Renart*, the fox, masquerading as an Anglo-Norman jongleur, declares :

Ge fot savoir bon lai Breton
Et de Merlin et de Noton,
Del roi Artu et de Tristan,
Del chevrefoil, de saint Brandan.
(i 2389-92, I 67 Martin ; 12,149-52, II 95-6 Méon.)

More than all this, we have, in an undoubted Breton lay, clear proof that Irish harpers not only played their national melodies, but that they excelled in the performance of genuine lays of Brittany. Curiously enough, the passage that shows this gives the *Lai d'Orphéy* as one of the pieces thus performed. The quotation has already been made for another purpose :

Le lais escoutent d'Aielis,
Que uns irois sone en sa rote ;
Mout doucement le chante et note.
Apriès celi d'autre commenche,
Nus d'yaus ni noise ne ni tenche ;
Le Lai lor sone d'Orphéy. (*Lai de l'Espine*, vv. 180 ff.)

Here an Irish harper plays two lays before the King of Bretaigne. M. Gaston Paris draws this inference : "La conclusion à tirer . . . semble être que les lais étaient connus en Irlande et executés parfois par des Irlandais." With the first of these propositions we need not concern ourselves ; the second is certainly borne out by the evidence. That these wandering minstrels knew the story of Etain goes without saying. It was their business to know stories and to tell them. In this way, then, the tale of Midir and Etain may have reached Breton ears.

The results of our investigation appear then to be : (1) that Sir Orfeo is translated from a French version of a Breton lay ; (2) that this lay varied from the classical story in the direction of Celtic tradition, and that these variations are in general preserved in the English poem. Further, that these variations, since they coincide in part with Irish tales, and since Irish harpers were known

¹ The Latin Life of St. Brandan is perhaps as old as the ninth century. See, on the whole matter, A. Graf, *La Leggenda del Paradiso Terrestre*, pp. 33-6, 90 ff.; E. Beauvois, *L'Éden occidental*, *Revue de l'Hist. des Régions*, VII (1893) 693, n. 4. As to the alleged Breton lay, the evidence of Reynard is not altogether conclusive, though it is accepted by Wolf, p. 59, and by Schröder, *Sanct Brandan*, Introd., p. vi. Basse-Bretagne had its own adventurous *voyagers*, the monks of Saint-Mathieu (Beauvois, pp. 680-84).

in Brittany, may probably have been made under the influence of stories picked up by some Armorican jongleur from an Irish brother. And, finally, that it is not absurd to conjecture that in the Wooing of Etain we have the very tale which, mixed with the imperfectly understood myth of Orpheus, produced the Breton lay of which the English poem is the sole surviving version.

GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE.

IV.—PSEUDO-IONISM IN THE SECOND CENTURY A. D.

The following paper on the use of the Ionic dialect in the second century A. D. was prepared in 1880 in connection with some studies in Lucian. As nothing has appeared since then in connection with the three Ionic pieces discussed, I publish it as written. I have added some notes from Karsten's dissertation, *De Titulorum Ioni-corum Dial. Commentatio* (1882).

It seems probable that the Ionic, together with the other dialects, had ceased to be used for literary purposes, except in a most artificial manner, before the second century A. D. (cf. Bernhardy Griech. Lit. I, §§11 and 85).

Indeed an examination of the examples left to us and the references to them (cf. Lobeck's *Aglaoph.* II, pp. 997 and 998, and *Lucian, Tauch. ed. XIV* 13–15; XXI 1; XXV 16) leads us to question what degree of purity existed even in the spoken dialects. The persistence, however, of language must not be underrated, and *Lucian* (XXXIX 15), in speaking of a woman from Smyrna, uses the expression *καθαρῶς Ἰωνικῶν* in describing her speech.

I have made a comparison of the two Ionic pieces which are included among *Lucian's* writings—*De Syria Dea* and *De Astrologia*—and of *Arrian's* *Historia Indica*, in order to determine how far they severally agree with *Herodotus* in the matter of form.

For the text of *Herodotus* Stein's last edition (1877) has been assumed as the best provisional authority; for *Arrian*, Hercher's (*Teub.*) text and Dübner's (*Didot*) with v. r.; for *Lucian*, Reitz (1743) with v. r.; Jacobitz (1836 and *Teub.* 1851); Dindorf's *Tauch. ed.* (1858), the *Didot* edition, and also his *Commentatio de Dial. Herod.* in the *Didot* edition of *Herodotus*. This latter contains a synopsis of his emendations or corrections of the Ionism of the *De Syria Dea* and *De Astrologia*.

For these two pieces I have given below those deviations only (except for illustration of *Arrian*) from *Herodotean* form which Dindorf either incorrectly noticed or else did not notice at all.

Whatever may be thought of the implication contained in the introduction to Jacobitz's *ed.* (1851)—“in Parisina illa Luciani editione, recensionis nomine falso insignita, cui adornandae Gu. Dindorius prospexit”—it can scarcely be asking too much of an

editor to require him to give in his critical text not what the author ought to have written, but, as nearly as may be discovered, what he did write. This is Dübner's method in his edition of Arrian. He confines himself almost exclusively to emending such forms, etc., as are inconsistent with Arrian's own uniform usage in this same piece. He claims, however, that the imitators of Herodotus and Hippocrates did not express the full Ionism of these writers, but conceded something to their own times. Again, the editor of the Teubner text, Rudolph Hercher, taking Dübner's text as a basis, has directed his emendations chiefly to what he considered un-Arrianic; only occasionally has he inserted in his text or noticed the variations from Herodotean form.

Amongst others the following books have been frequently referred to:

1. Merzdorf's two articles: *Curtius Studien*, Vol. VIII, *De Dialecto Herodotea*, and Vol. IX, *Vocalverkürzung und Metathesis im Ionischen*.

2. Renner: *Studien I, Quaest. de Dial. Antiquioris Graec. Poesis Elegiacae et Iambicae*.

3. Erman: *Studien V, De Titulorum Ionicorum Dialecto*.

4. Veitch: *Irregular and Defective Greek Verbs*.

5. The introductions and Uebersicht des Dialekts to the editions both of Abicht and Stein.

6. Bredow: *Quaest. Crit. de Dial. Herod.* (*Lipsiae, 1846*) when not too antiquated for use.

In a work of this kind only an approximate degree of certainty can be attained. There are four more or less unknown factors in the problem: 1. What is truly Herodotean usage? 2. Did a given author intend rigidly and uniformly to imitate the dialect of Herodotus and of him only? 3. If so, how much is to be attributed to carelessness and how much to ignorance on the part of the author himself? 4. How far are the deviations or coincidences due to otherwise scribes?

In spite of all this uncertainty, many points may be considered settled by investigations already made.

Merzdorf (*Studien VIII, p. 207*) is no doubt justified in believing that but little additional light can be thrown upon the text of Herodotus from the pseudo-Ionists of the second century; but we are in the dark in regard to many of the most fundamental questions concerning the Ionic dialects, and the following collation of facts, interesting in itself as showing the character and extent of

this pseudo-Jonism, may prove useful in some subsequent investigation.

No full examination of Arrian's Ionism has heretofore, as far as I know, been published, and the following notes will show that the collection of variations in the two Lucianic pieces, given in the introduction to the Didot edition of Herod., is in part superficial and in part at variance with more recently discovered facts.

Of the three pieces under consideration the Historia Indica presents the fewest difficulties.

As it is transmitted as genuine, the investigation is not complicated by the question of authorship.

Arrian's Ionism also more closely resembles the usage of Herodotus. He has some divergencies which are not found in the Lucianic pieces, but there are fewer in proportion to the bulk, which is about twice that of the other two combined. The question remains: Did he intend a thorough imitation of Herodotus? It may be assumed provisionally that he did.

As was to be expected in so close an imitator of Xenophon, there are to be found also in this piece reminiscences of that author: e. g., §2, *τὰ δὲ . . . πρὸς ἔω*. For, apart from the un-Herodotean form of the word itself, Herodotus seems to have generally used the article in this combination; cf. II 8 and V 49, *πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ*, but II 32, *πρὸς ἡῶ*. In Xen. Hell. 5, 4, 49 is found precisely this combination *τὰ πρὸς ἔω*.

ἀπόμαχος, §1, is a Xenophontean word. So *ναυσίπορος*, §4, is the Xenophontean form (see below). These and other expressions occur, but there is unmistakable evidence that Arrian strove, in addition to the forms, to give his diction an Herodotean flavor. Thus 3, 10, *δοκέειν* (v. r. *δοκέει*) *δὲ ἔμοιγε*; cf. Herod. I 131 (with *ώς*) and often without *ώς*; I 172; II 4, 42, etc. Again, compare 4, 7, *ἐνθαπερ αὐτὸς ἑωτοῦ στεινότατος, εἰς ἐκατὸν σταδίους*, and 10, 6, *μακροτάτη ἑωτῆς . . . εἰς ὄγδοήκοντα σταδίους*, with Herod. IV 85, *τῇ εὐρύτατος αὐτὸς ἑωτοῦ, στάδιοι τριηκόσιοι*, etc.; cf. also I 203; II 8.

Often there is evident an effort to imitate Herodotus' manner in order of words; cf., e.g., 5, 10-13 and, especially for matter, 13, with Herod. II 42-45. But the imitation of matter is more successful than that of the manner; cf. H. I. 6-9 with Herod. II 13-25. *ὑεται δὲ ἡ Ἰνδῶν γῆ τοῦ Θύρεος* H. I. 6, 4 (and sqq.) with Herod. II 13, *ώς ὑεται πᾶσα ἡ χώρη τῶν Ἑλλήνων*; also Herod. I 193; II 13, 22, 25; III 10; IV 50, 198. H. I. 6, 7 the allusions are to Herod. II 20 and 22, who combats there these reasons for the overflow of the

Nile, etc. The careful distinguishing between personal and indirect knowledge, familiar to the reader of Herodotus, becomes sometimes ludicrous, as in 15, 1, *τίγριος δὲ δορῆν μὲν ιδεῖν λέγει Νέαρχος, αὐτὸν δὲ τίγριν οὐκ ιδεῖν*; cf. d. d. S. §1 and §45.

For ἀμφὶ c. dat. (H. I. 18, 4) = περὶ c. gen. cf. Kuhn II, p. 424, and add to his examples Herod. V 52; VI 131.

Some other coincidences in vocabulary may be mentioned. Thus λίμνης ἵχθυάδος (§41, 1) recalls λίμνη ἵχθυάδης, Herod. VII 109, and in §29, after telling his story in the preceding sentences much as Herod. does, he uses (14) the expression ἀλες δὲ αὐτόματοι γίνονται: with this in particular cf. Herod. IV 53 ἀλες τε ἐπὶ τῷ στύματι αὐτοῦ αὐτόματοι πήγυννται ἀπλεγον. Compare the passage in general.

The *motif*, then, however superficially carried out, was a desire to revive the style, selection of matter, and treatment of Herodotus, as well as his dialect. In addition to the points cited above, the digressions (e. g., §6, etc.), after the manner of Herod., and the speeches introduced §§20, 34 and 36, bear witness to this.

The authorship of the d. d. S. and the De Astrologia has been much discussed, and the conclusion has been pretty general that they are not by Lucian. Before accepting this conclusion, however, it may be asked: 1. Are they necessarily by the same hand? 2. If not, does one more than the other recall Lucianic peculiarities of style, diction or treatment? 3. What reason can be assigned for the production of either one or the other?

Dindorf classes both pieces together, and in a sufficiently sweeping style declares (Com. de Dial. Herod. §22): "Exceptis paucorum quorundam vocabulorum formis, *totae* sunt ad imitationem Herodoti compositae." But it would seem that little except mere external dialectic peculiarities can be urged by way of imitation of Herodotus in the De Astrologia. Nor is it necessary to assume that Lucian was the author either of both, or else of neither of the two. An examination shows that they are different both in manner and in matter. It may be noted that the d. d. S. is wanting in Codex T (Vaticanus No. 87), but this Codex is "fine mutilus."

In the d. d. S. the hand of Lucian is suggested for the following reasons: 1. There is suppressed satire running through the piece. 2. The imitation of Herodotus is in many places decided enough to imply an author as familiar with Herodotus as we know Lucian to have been.

First, as to this point, we must assume that the description is written either by some superstitious author or else as a covert

satire upon persons of that character. To see Lucian in this latter rôle, cf. Alexander, Philopseudes, and Peregrinus. E. g., §13, the grave statement of the wonder in comic imitation of Herod. So in §25, a plain reminiscence of Herod. III 84 and 118, it is like Lucian to find the original account outdone by changing ἡν μὴ γυναικι το οὐδ' ἡν γυναικί.

It is like Lucian to relish his satire, and (§29 *ad fin.*) it is like him to find: "For my part, I think the fear of falling also contributes a good deal to their wakefulness." Again, §30 *ad fin.* seems like Lucianic mockery; cf. too §32. §37 reminds us of the lies which he tells the credulous mob about the death of Peregrinus. In §40 note the half-casual addition of ἵτι γυναικας. In §45 καὶ εἰχε τὸ ποίημα might be either Lucian's fun or the credulity of a dupe, but in the next section the solemn explanation, by conjecture, of the jugglery would be admirable by way of imitation of Herod. §§53 and 54 seem to contain hits at Jewish observances (cf. *De Morte Peregrini*).

Finally, just as in §1 he said: "γράφω δὲ Ἀσσύριος εἶδος," so at the end, to justify more fully his claim to knowledge, "αὐτοψίῃ," he claims to have been subjected when a boy to the ceremony he describes.

The *De Astrologia*, on the other hand, does not bear the marks of an author who, however great his faults, rarely descended to the level of uniform dullness presented by this piece without the suspicion of satire to enliven it. At most we should have to assume that it was a late production of Lucian's, written possibly during his stay in Egypt, as a lecture, to show his familiarity with mythology. When his vitality had been sapped he may possibly have attempted a serious scientific explanation of current superstitions. In the savage (?) use of the word γοντρεῖν (§10) one might fancy he saw the traces of Lucian's hand, or in a fancied satiric tinge at the end of §24. But the whole is very flat, and is most probably the work of some third-class writer.

Some things, however, would seem to indicate that both are productions of the same author. Compare *De Astr.* §7, *ναὶ μήν,* and §14, *ναὶ μέροι,* with d. d. S. §10, *ναὶ μῆν.* Also the use of *εἴμεναι* for *εἰμι*, which occurs in both. But this latter epic peculiarity may have belonged to a stock-in-trade of second-century Ionisms, and hence would not prove a unity of authorship. *Aretaeus*, an imitator of Hippocrates, used it; cf. Mattaire's *Commentariolus*, p. 515: "Infinitivus modus transformat -ειν in -είμεναι,

—*πάντα τὰ πόλεις οὐ γένονται ταῦτα*, e. g., B. L. Merit, *Athenaeum*, c. 7; Merit, *Scholia*, I, 2, § 5, etc., in all of which we find *έσσανται*.

Secondly imitation of Herodotus. Lucian's own expressions of *χαράστηκεν* and *μάρτυς* for those who affect Ionic do not militate against the probability of his having tried to beat them at their own game, while at the same time he made good his opportunity for ridiculing the pretensions of the old historian as well as the superstitions of his own time. He has himself (Loc. XXI 1) expressed us of his admiration for Herodotus as a writer, and he certainly would have been as capable of imitating him as would any other writer of the second century A. D.

In the following passages and turns of thought an imitation is apparent. In the first place the dialectic and other obvious resemblances may be passed over—e. g., *ταῦτα διδούσθε τοῖς ξενοῖς*, etc. Cf. Kühner *die von ihm geäußerte Meinung des Lucian* (cf. Att. H. I and *vid. Dindorf ad loc.*).

In d. d. S. § 25, & Kühner *c. n. 2.*, reminds us of the address of Daris to the mortalled Zopyrus, Herod. III 155; and further on in the same section there appears to be exaggerated allusion to the honors heaped upon Zopyrus, and by the words *ιστήρεις Ἀσσηπει* we are reminded of the *ιστήρεις Ασσηπει*, Herod. III 84; and again, for the permission to go to the king without announcement, cf. Herod. III 84 and 113. And finally, though this is less evident, by the last clause in § 25 we are reminded of Herod. III 160: “*τούτῳ γαρ οὐδείς Περσέων ἡγεμών εἰσὶ ταῦτα συντελεῖν.*” Again, in § 27, *τρίτηρεις δέ που θυμός εἰσειν* suggests Herod. I 1, *τοῦ θυμοῦ (ωνειδεῖ)*, or VII 116, *θυμός σφι ἔχεντο θηραριῶν τοὺς πολεμεῖν*. In § 30, *ἔργαται* used of buildings has an Herodotean flavor; cf. Herod. II 130, 169; III 57.

Below follows a comparison of the Ionic forms and the deviations from the Ionism of Herodotus as exhibited in the three pieces under discussion.

§ 1. Dual. It is commonly accepted that Herodotus did not make use of the dual number either in declension or in conjugation (*vid. Stein and Abicht*), and Kühner, *Ausf. Gram.* I, §98, says: “Im ganzen Herodot findet sich der Dual nur an zwei Stellen durch die codd. gesichert” (i. e., I 11 u. 91). In his second volume, however, §349, 3, Kühner tells us: . . . “Prosaiker, wie Herodot, die älteren Attiker, auch Xenophon u. A. gebrauchen denselben (d. i. den Dual) häufig.” This latter statement is carelessness, but Dübner also seems to forget the facts when deciding

upon the use of the *fem.* dual of the article: Arr. Ind. XVI 9, ἀμφοῖν ταῖν χεροῖν, v. l. ἀ. τοῖν χ., "quod," he says, "non recepi, Ionicorum scriptorum exempla quia non in promptu¹ erant." This does not have much point if he is referring to epic usage, while if the so-called "New-Ionic" writers are intended, we are told that it is entirely foreign to the usage at least of Herodotus.

In the d. d. S. §30, we find δρυνιέων δυοῖν. In the two Herodotean passages above cited, Stein writes δυῶν.² In the H. I. occur a number of instances of the dual, so that we must assume that Arrian, if he was imitating Herodotus in form, neglected or was ignorant of this peculiarity. In §VII 1, δυοῖν: this particular form might be justified from the two passages cited, or from inscriptions, but there occur others both in declension and conjugation—viz.: §XVII 6, . . . δοκίμω ἄνδρε, ἀνεγραψάτην; in §XIV 5 and 6, several instances in a description of an elephant playing a pair of (or rather three) cymbals. The situation may be sufficient to account for a deliberate deviation.

Hippocrates does not seem to have used the dual, and although I have found one instance in his imitator of this period—Aretaeus (Βιβ' ἐγκύψαι τῷ πάθῃ)—it is not to be found in a number of other passages where pairs (hands, feet, etc.) are mentioned. There does not seem to be secure evidence that either the "New-Ionic" writers used the dual or the Ionists of the second century A. D.

Augment. Dindorf (Commentatio de Dial. Herod. ad d. d. S. §:8) conjectures for ἀμείβετο, ἡμείβετο (on the analogy of ἥρξατο, which he had just above corrected to the true Hdt. form—*vid.* Stein) or ἀμείβεται; in his Tauchnitz edition, however, he writes ἀμείβετο ("never augmented," Stein), and in this same edition, d. d. S. §22, he augments αὐλίξετο "now," as Veitch says significantly (*vid.* Veitch, Greek Verbs s. v.).

Abicht lays down the rule: "In all verbs beginning with the diphthongs *ai*, *av*, *eu*, *oi*, the augment is omitted." Stein, however, limits this, but says that no verbs beginning with *eu* (except εὔδω), or with *oi*, are augmented. He mentions also a number of others beginning with the other diphthongs which are not augmented.

But in Arrian we find φιτσιένοι, φέκαι (Dübner, 18, 10 φέκε) in 1, 2, 5; 5, 13; 10, 4; 18, 10; 22, 10, etc.

¹ A good example in Attic is Andocides I 144, ταῖν χεροῖν ταῖν ἐμαυτοῦ, where the *fem.* article occurs twice, making the reading more secure.

² Genetivum δυῶν bis exhibet titulus Chius quinto saeculo exaratus. (Karsten, §12.)

Dindorf (Comment. de Dial. Herod. ad d. d. S. §24) says that the Codices give here *εἰργασμένον*, as *εἰργάσαο*, §25 (for term. cf. Merz. Studien VIII, p. 187); so too De Astrologia, §23, “*ἐργάζοντο*: Probabilius *εἰργάζοντο*.” Stein says, “*ἐργάζομαι* stets ohne Augment.” With this compare Arr. H. I. 28 2: *εἰων* Ep. and Att. for *ἴων*. So d. d. S. §31, epic form *εἰαραι*; cf. Herod. II 86 *κατείαραι*, and IX 90, *κατείαρο*. Dindorf, moreover, d. d. S. §25 (Tauch. ed.) accepts *ἥτε* for *ἥτες*; also, §26, he writes *διητέντο* for *διαιτέντο*. Merzdorf and Stein omit augment and give contract form *διαιτώντο*; cf. (Studien VIII, p. 194) Catalogue of Contract Verbs, and, e. g., Herod. I 120, 123; III 65; IV 95, 114, 121, etc.

In this connection cf. form *ἔοικός* in Arr. H. I. 6, 6. Hercher, in accordance with his practice of emending only in accordance with Arrian's own usage, says: “In sequentibus pro *ἔοικός* scripsi *εἰκός*.” The commonly approved Herodotean forms are: *οἴκα*, *οἰκός*, etc. Veitch says this is true “in the case of the participle, but the indic. *ἔοικε* occurs often without v. r.” Here perhaps it is an epic reminiscence.

In Arr. 13. 10 occurs the form *ἴαλωκότας*. Veitch discusses this form at length, q. v. Merzdorf (Studien, VIII 142) regards *ἴλωκ-* Herodotean.

ἐκεῖνος and ἐθέλω. In d. d. S. §60, Dindorf (De Dial. Herod.) says: “Scribendum *ἐκεῖνοι* ex codicibus.” Erman (De Dial. Tit. Ion. Studien V., p. 286–7) shows from inscriptions that Dindorf and Bredow are wrong in denying the shorter forms for these words.

Declension. Nouns of the third decl. ending in *ις* and *υς*. In the acc. pl. Stein allows both the contracted and uncontracted forms,¹ and so Kühner (cf. I, p. 348, “Die ep. Akkusativform auf *ιας* st. *ι* kommt sehr häufig vor, so *πόλιας* an sehr vielen Stellen ohne Variante, ebenso . . . *πανηγύριας*,” 6, 3). Arrian, however, seems to have used the uncontracted forms throughout; cf. Hist. Ind. 7, 2, 3; 11, 11; 12, 5; 32, 11 *πόλιας*, and 6, 8, etc. *ἰχθύας*; 15, 3 *πίγριας* (Cod. A *τίγρης*), etc.

So also in the two Lucianic pieces Jacobitz has the uncontracted forms throughout. Dindorf, however (Tauch. ed., 1858), without adducing MS authority writes *πανηγύρις*, d. d. S. §§1 and 2, and *πόλις*, De Astr. §23 (R. and J. *πόλιας*), but De Astr. §7 and d. d. S. §14 *ἰχθύας*, and De Astr. §22 *πόλιας*. In nom. pl. Stein gives *πόλιες* (*πόλιι?*) and Kühner says: “Der Nom. Pl. findet sich nur ganz

¹Accusativi pluralis exempla in quinti saeculi titulis habes duo, alterum solutam praebens formam *πόλιας*, alterum contractam *πρήσις* (Karsten, §11.3).

vereinzelt ohne Variante." D., however, writes, d. d. S. §10, πανηγύρις; §12, δόφις; and §14, πίστις. In Arr. H. I. 8, 5, Dübner, πόλης (*Cod. πόλης*).

βοῦς and *χοῦς*. The epic acc. pl. *βόας* occurs in d. d. S. (D. and J.) §54; De Astr. §22 (probably here an Homeric reminiscence, "'*Ηελίου τὰς βόας*'"); and Arr. H. I. 7, 7. Herodotus always has acc. pl. *βοῦς* (cf. Kühner, I, p. 352), but nom. pl. *βόες*. Merzdorf (*Studien VIII*, p. 215) discusses¹ this form and also *χοῦς*, **χοέος*, *χοῦν*. In Arr. H. I. 13, 3 and 5 this latter word occurs once in the Herodotean form *χοῦν* and once *χόον*. For the sake of uniformity Dübner changes one (c. 5) and writes both *χόον*. But Kühner, I, p. 393: "In der Bedeutung von aufgeworfener Erde (which is the meaning l. c.) geht δ *χοῦς* nur nach *βοῦς*." So Stein, *χοῦν*, Hdt. VII 23.

Some other points may be noticed in the third declension. Thus *μάντεων*, Astr. §23, for *μαντίων* (e. g., Hdt. III 124). Arrian, H. Ind. §18, 4; 18, 10, 'Αμφιπόλεως² and -λει³ occur for the Hdtean. forms -όλιος and -λι, and 21, 3 ἀμπάτεσι for ἀμπάτιοι. Elsewhere, Ind. 29, 9; 30, 8 and 37, 5, Arrian has the form ἀνάπωτις.

Passing to adj. in -γεως, we find that Dindorf allows, d. d. S. §7, the word *ξανθόγεως*; but adjectives formed from γῆ take, in Hdt., the suffix -γαιος (*vid. Stein*), although the prefix is γεω- (e. g., γεωπέδων and *vid. Merz. St. IX*, p. 236). Hence this should be *ξανθόγαιος*, if formed as in Herodotus. Arrian has the correct form—e. g., 22, 2 μεσογαιήρ.

In the declension of the word *Mírω* we find, De Astrol. §20, the acc. sing. *Mírω*. This is the epic form (though also the Attic). The Attic decl. runs *Mírως*, gen. *Mírωs* (once *Mírω*), acc. *Mírω*. In Hdt. it is declined, gen. *Mírω* (*bis*), acc. *Mírωn*; cf. Hdt. 170 and 171. Once, indeed, the gen. *Mírωs* does occur, but from this would have resulted, according to the ordinary rules of Ionic resolution, *Mírwa* in the acc., just as the acc. *Hρωa* is found in Hdt. alongside of the form **Hρωn* (*Mírwa* and *Mírω* are also found in v. ll.).

¹ But see K. Z. Vol. XXV, pp. 17 and 19.

² πόλεως . . . in titulo Chio bis legitur (Karsten, §18, 4).

³ Reitz, ad d. d. S. §60: "πόλει. Qui delicias Ionicas amat, πολι scriberet. . . . Sed quia πόλει perpetuo in hac Dial. ut c. 1, 10, 13, 21 ac 22, etc., nihil mutavi, etsi scribarum vitium puto." Dindorf changes to πόλι (Roehl, I. G. No. 497, 31, δυνάμει; cf. Renner, Stud. V 305). Karsten, §11, gives χίσι from a fifth-century inscription; cf. also §17.

So in d. d. S. §22 D. allows the Ep. gen. *γούνων* for Herod. *γονάρων*, although just below he corrects the Ep. gen. *ἀπρήκτοι*.

Contracts. In d. d. S. §55, Dindorf would write *ἀείπας* for *ἀπάς*, with which compare §52, *ἀείπαται*. There is much diversity of opinion on this point. Stein always writes the uncontracted forms—*e. g.*, I 87; I 90; VIII 56, etc. Veitch,¹ however, says that Hdt. uses the contract form as well as the other, and that both forms occur in Hippocrates. Arrian (H. I.) has constantly the contract forms—*e. g.*, 25, 7; 27, 2, 3, 4, 6; 29, 1, 7. Finally, Merzdorf (Stud. V, pp. 186-7) says: “Bredovius, Dindorfius, Steinius pleniorē formam solam Herodoteam esse statuerunt, quod, *quamquam in tit. Ephes. C. I 2953*, a Kirchhoffio . . . medio saeclo quinto attributo, *ἐπάπας ἐπάρη* reperitur, itemque in mitiore Hippocratis Ionismo formae contractae praevalent: . . . (Renner, St. I 1, 189), jure fecerunt, cum analogia vocabulorum *ἀείδω* *ἀεισμα* deciens extantium et verborum *ἀεικήν* *ἀεικές* etiam *ἀείρω* solutum poscat.” The verb (*ἐπ*)*ἀείδω* occurs too, Arr. Ind. 10, 1, in the contracted form *ἐπάδονται*. (This is also left uncontracted by Stein.)

Compounds with *Ἐργος* are usually (for exceptions *vid.* Stein) left uncontracted in Herodotus (cf. Merzdorf, Studien VIII, p. 213); in Arr. Ind. 12, 1 the forms *δημιουργικόν* and *λειτουργοί*; *προϊπτον*, §20, 3, therefore do not conform. So also §9, 5, *τεσταρακοντούτεες* (wrong also in the numeral itself. Ionic *τεστεράκοντα*), and finally §9, 7, *τριακοντούτεες*. Arrian has the correct form, *ηλιος*, which Dindorf notices as Herodotean in his *Commentatio*, although he retains *ἥλιος* “ex codicibus” in his *Tauch. ed.* of Lucian.

Arrian, H. I. 19, 5, has the form *δώδεκα*. Herod. wrote *δυώδεκα* (cf. Stein); for this we have independent evidence from a Thasian inscription (*vid.* Studien V, p. 306, Erman) containing this word.

In reference to the declension of the word *Βορέης* a few points may be noticed. d. d. S. §28, *Βορέην* the acc. is the correct Ionic form, but the tetrasyllabic genitive *Βορέων* is not Herodotean. Dindorf, to be sure, so declines the word and (Comm. de Dial. Her. §9) says: “Si poetae literam ejicere quam synizesin duabus ultimis

¹ Supporting Veitch is Brugmann, K. Z. XXVII, pp. 197-8: “Neben der präsensform *ἀείρω* (Homer, Herodot, tragiker), . . . hat man die form *αιρω* bei, . . . Herodot (ἀπαιρωσι, VIII 57, 60; ἐπαιρεις, VII 10).” Speaking of the analogy of *ἀείδω*, *ἀεισμα*, etc., he says: “Unsere darlegung zeigt das dieser grund zu ausmerzung von *αιρω* bei Herodot hinsfällig ist.”

syllabis adhibere maluerunt, rationem secuti sunt idoneam. Quae quum nulla sit in oratione prosa, ego plenam formam ἔω ubique vel ex codicibus vel ex conjectura restitui," etc. But Merzdorf (St. VIII, p. 172), in treating of the combination εω, brings up various examples to show that this special triple combination¹ was not liked by the Ionians, and instances this word βορέω, claiming that the trisyllabic form only has MS authority.

Dübner, Arr. Ind. 2, 1, writes (contrary to Codex A, which has βορέον) βορέω. Arrian 6, 9 has also the form βορειότερον for the Herodotean βορηιότερον.

Another group of contractions may be noticed in connection with the form which Dindorf (De Astr. §17) writes—*i. e.*, ἐπενώσαντο for ἐπενοήσαντο. According to Merzdorf, St. VIII, p. 221, this is a false analogy from the true contractions in the aor. and perf. of βοάω. Merzdorf claims that there was an essential difference between the η sprung from ε, as in νοέω, and that from α, as in βοάω. Stein, however, admits these contracts from νοέω when they occur alongside of the uncontracted forms, but derives them from a different stem. Merzdorf thinks this incredible. Still further astray, he continues, is Dindorf in making the contraction within the stem—*e. g.*, βωθήσαι for βοηθῆσαι, as if parallel to βῶσαι. Stein agrees on this point: “εβάθεον εβάθησαν u. ä. von βοηθέω standen bisher an einigen Stellen, haben sich aber als gefälscht erwiesen.” In this connection is to be noted, Arr. Ind. 10, 6, the un-Herodotean form δύδογκοντα for δύδώκοντα.

Contractions in flexional endings, especially in verbs ending in ᾱω, ἑω, and δω. As little or nothing is certainly established (*vid.* Merzdorf's detailed discussions in St. VIII), I will notice only a few forms in the pieces under our consideration. In De Astr. §19, if Herodotean forms are to be inserted at all, we must read for ἀπαιωρούμενος, either ἀπαιωρέμενος (*cf.* Hdt. IV 103; VII 61, 92), or, if the question be so decided, ἀπαιωρύμενος.

In Arr. H. I. 20, 3, Dübner has emended ἐπινοούμενα to ἐπινοεύμενα, while ἀπομαχούμενοι, §24, 2 (fut.) (*per emend. Dübneri*), would be

¹ To show the need of caution in accepting any sweeping statements about the passion of the Ionians for vowel-sounds indefinitely succeeding one another, it is worth while to note the results from the inscriptions; *e. g.*, Erman St. V, p. 290 (De Tit. Ionic. Dial.), in discussing proper names made up of the suffix from κλέος, says: “Diu . . . ante Herodotum in duabus Ionum sedibus inter se quam maxime distantibus, Miletii et in coloniis Chalcidensibus, contractam reperimus formam (*i. e.*, -κλῆς).” *Vid.* also p. 291 *ad fin.*

ἀπομαχεσθμενοι (Veitch and Abicht), or *ἀπομαχησθμενοι* (Stein), if conformed to Herodotus.

Of the transfer of verbs in *-ω* to *-εω* not much need be said. Dindorf in his *Commentatio* corrects the numerous un-Herodotean forms of the verb *δράω* found in his edition of 1858 in accordance with the laws given by Merzdorf (cf. Stein VIII, p. 207, etc.). The form *μεταπηδέων* (Ion. for *μεταπηδάων*), d. d. S. §36, shows that the author of the d. d. S. was not ignorant of this dialectic law. Of the usage of Arrian, Dübner says in the preface to the Didot edition: "Verborum in *εω* formae Ionicae frequentes sunt in codicibus, atque eas haud cunctanter posui ubique: sed verborum in *άω* et in *όω* nullae usquam praeter vulgares formas apparent, exceptis tribus, *δρέομεν*, *κομόωντες* (*bis*) et *χρέομενοι*: in his igitur substisti, quum vel in nativis Ionibus horum verborum conjugatio nondum prorsus sit ad liquidum perducta."

Of the following verbs in the Hist. Ind.—*i. e.*, *πλανώμενοι* 7, 2; *τρυγάστιν* 11, 10; *θηράστι* 13, 1; *ἐξεπήδων* 28, 4; *άναφυσθμενοι* 30, 2; *ἐπηράστων* (wrongly for *-ειράστων*, cf. Veitch) 33, 6; *βοῶντες* 33, 7; and *άνηράρα* (wrongly for *άνειράρα*) 35, 7—all except *τρυγάστι* (wh. Stein, Herod. IV 199, contracts) and *ἐξεπήδων* are included by Merzdorf (*vid. St. VIII*) in his lists of verbs which are either usually or always contracted in Herodotus as in Attic.

The remaining forms—*i. e.*, those from *δράω*—contracted by Arrian—*e. g.*, *δρώμενα* 30, 6; and *κατοράστιν* (3 p., pl.) (emended by Dübner from *καθορ-*) 32, 6 and 37, 4—are shown by Merzdorf to vary greatly in the MSS.

Diaeresis. In De Astr. §1 (Dind. Tauch. ed.) *μαντείης* and *ἀληθείης* occur. The latter is correctly retained (ex Cod. 90) as coming from the proparoxytone *ἀλίθεια*, while the form *μαντηίης* from the paroxytone *μαντεία* should have been allowed to stand (cf. Abicht: *Uebersicht des Dial.* Herod. §2). In De Astr. §2, from the two readings *ἄιδρην* ("codex unus") and *ἄιδρειη* ("alii") he selects the former in his Tauch. edition, possibly because this is an epic word. In his *Commentatio*, however, he had said: "Quod *ἄιδρηη* scribendum." Stein and Abicht, however (Hdt. VI 69), edit *ἄιδρειη*, on the analogy of *ἀλίθεια*, *ἀληθείη*.

With this cf. Arr. H. I. §17, 4, *ἀνδρίην* (v. r. *ἀνδρίαν*) for Herodotean form *ἀνδρηίην*, and §40, 1, *ληστραῖ* for *ληστραῖ*. He writes *ἀρήτον* correctly for *ἄρειον*, for this is made by Herod. himself (cf. Herod. VIII 52, Abicht) an exception to the rule for proparoxytones.

Dindorf prefers the reading (Cod. 90) De Astr. §§6 and 10 (Tauch. ed.) ξώια, but Herodotus retained the contraction.

The Ionic form of θαῦμα Stein writes θῶνμα ("ein abgeschwächter oder uneigentlicher Diphthong"). Dindorf in these pieces—*e. g.*, d. d. S. c. 7, and De Astr. c. 3—always corrects to θωμ-; in the Ionizing dialogues, however, as in the Vitarum Auctio, c. 6, he writes θωμαστή, although he writes *ιροί* for *ιεροί*. Arrian also gives the form θῶμα, c. 34, 10; 40, 5 (ex Codice).

Interchange of Vowel-Sounds. a for η. In Arr. Ind. c. 9, 10 πολυπραγμονέστατον, and c. 43, 10 πολυπραγμοσύνης, occur for Herodotean πρηγ-.¹ Again c. 30, 9, σιαγόσι for σιηγόσι; finally c. 4, 6, 16; 5, 2 ναυσίπορος, which is a *twofold* departure from the Herodotean form νησιπέρητος.

a for ε. Arr. c. 9, 5; 22, 9 has τεσσαράκοντα for τεσσεράκοντα, and c. 13, 2; 21, 13 τέσσαρες for τέσσερες. So in c. 8, 6 he has ἄρσενας for ἄρσενας. Dind. in his Tauch. edition emends De Astr. c. 11, ἄρρενα and ἄρρενες, the late form, to the classic form ἄρσενες, etc. It is hard to see what is gained by this.

ε for α. Arr. Ind. presents pretty uniformly the Attic forms of τέμνω—cf. c. 2, 2; 11, 10; 13, 12; 20, 10—but the Ionic forms of τρέπω. In the Lucianic pieces Dindorf has emended similar slips.

ε for η. In Arrian is found throughout the form ἑως (the East) for ἡώς, and ἑώσ for ἡώς, and ἑωθεν for ἡώθεν—*e. g.*, 2, 1; 2, 7; 3, 3; 4; 5, 2; 26, 6, etc.

In d. d. S. c. 17 occurs the form κατενεχθῆναι; the Herodotean form is κατενεχθῆναι. So in De Astr. c. 15 κατηνέχθη for κατηνείχθη; cf. Hdt. I 66, 84; II 116, 121 (*fin.*), etc. (Dindorf takes no notice of these forms.)

ει for ε. Arrian H. I. c. 14, 9 the form βόειον occurs: Hdtean. is βόεον. So c. 25, 7 ἀποδεειγμένον for ἀποδεεγμένον, and c. 33, 8 δείξειν and ἔδειξε for δέξειν and ἔδεξε. Dindorf notices and corrects the similar un-Herodotean form ἐπίδειξε in d. d. S. c. 25.

ι for ει. εἰκελος—ἴκελος in De Astr. §§10 and 20, and d. d. S. §§25 and 33, D. fluctuates and Stein and Abicht disagree, the former preferring εἰκελος—cf. Herod. III 81, and VIII 8—where the MSS agree in giving this latter form.

ειν for ι. In Arr. H. I. c. 1, 6 occurs εὐθύς: Hdtean. ιθύς.

ιε for ι. Arr. H. I. c. 18, 12 ιερία (Dübner for ιερεῖα), Hdtean. ιρία, cf. De Astr. c. 7, Dind. corrects ιερά to ιρά and ιερώτατον to ιρώτατον. One codex here gives ιρώτατον.

¹ C. XXXIV, Dübner pref. πρήγματα ex Codice.

ou vs. o. In Herodotus editors usually (*e. g.*, Abicht) write οὐνομάζω on the analogy of the substantive οὐνομα. In Bk. I 86, however, ὄνομάσαι; and Stein so edits; cf. his Uebers. des Dial. p. 52: "οὐ für ο . . . οὐνομα (aber οὐνομάζω, οὐνομαίνω)." Arr. H. I. c. 1, 5; 21, 10; 27, 1 has the common form ὄνομάζω. So Dindorf in his Commentatio, etc., corrects De Astr. c. 23, but writes ὄνομάζεται in his text.

ε for ει: ἑνεκα and ν ἐφελκυστικόν. Arr. H. I. has εινεκα once; elsewhere (*e. g.*, 15, 5; 23, 4) ἑνεκα. Dindorf, Commentatio de Dial. Herod. p. 35, says: "Ενεκα praepositionis duae tantum in codicibus Herodoti formae reperiuntur, εινεκα et εινεκεν, eaeque ante consonantes pariter atque vocales. Ego ubique εινεκεν scripsi, formarum Ionicarum εινεκα et εινεκεν analogia commendatum. Apud Lucianum (d. d. S. c. 33 et 39) τοινεκα pro τοῦ ἑνεκα."

In this connection it may be worth while to speak of the usage of the ν ἐφελκυστικόν in the pieces under discussion. It occurs frequently in the Lucianic pieces, but Dindorf omits it; in Arrian it is sometimes used. Editors usually consider it entirely foreign to the usage of Herod. Erman, however, St. V, p. 278, De Tit. Ionic. Dial.,¹ says that the Ionic inscriptions show that the insertion of the ν was on the whole more common than its omission, and concludes that its use fluctuated very much as in Attic. It may be noticed in connection with the ν form of ἑνεκα—*i. e.*, εινεκεν—that we have here an additional ground against drawing *a priori* conclusions in favor of an inordinate love on the part of the Ionians for combinations of vowel-sounds under all circumstances.

"i demonstrativum." Arr. H. I. c. 3, 3 has ταυτησι. ννι, Bk. VII 229, is the only example in Herodotus, and Dindorf, d. d. S. c. 23, emends ταντι to ταντό (writes, however, in his Tauch. text ταντό).

Aspirates.² d. d. S. c. 16 κάθηται for κάτηται. So in Arr. c. 6, 9 οὐχ for οὐκ; and frequently in Arrian αθις for ατις; so ἐνταῦθα Arr. c. 21, 12; 42, 1, etc., for ἐνθαῦτα; and c. 37, 8 ἐνθεῦθεν for ἐνθεῖτεν; the remaining one of this group of three—χιτών—is written where it occurs once (c. 16, 2) in the proper Herodotean form κιθών.

¹ *Vid.* Dübner, preface: "Semel legitur οἰπεα (in Codice 11, 11), semel οἴποι, pro οἴραι (c. 40, 11), semel εινεκα (c. 33, 9), semel μέγαθος (in Cod. c. 29, 10), semel τραποίατο (c. 12, 12), ad horum normam non sum ausus centena loca refingere, quamquam credo Arrianum his formis esse usum.

² p. 279 . . . Tantum igitur abest, ut dialectus ubique illud ν neglegat, ut vel frequentissimus videatur fuisse illius usus.

* For aspirates in Ionic inscriptions, cf. Karsten, §3.

Pronouns. In d. d. S. c. 51 occurs the form of the rel. pron. ὅτε for Hdtean. ὅτις; so frequently in Arr. Ind. both in gen. and dative—e. g., c. 1, 6; 23, 5, etc. Also the indef. pron. τις for τεις, c. 5, 13, etc.

Verbal Forms. In d. d. S. c. 7 sqq. Dindorf corrects γίγνεται to γίνεται. In Arrian's H. I. (e. g., 3, 8; 28, 4) the latter form occurs throughout, but this coincidence with the Ionic form may be owing to the fact that γίγνομαι from Aristotle onwards (cf. Veitch) usurps more and more the place of the Attic prose form. With the use of γίγνομαι compare that of μίγνυται H. I. §4, 16; for Herodotean form μίσχεται cf. Veitch. In a second passage, indeed (§17, 3), we find the latter form. In d. d. S. c. 21 the aor. mid. ἐπεμήνατο is Epic and late (Veitch). Hdt. uses the second aor. ἐμάνην. Also in c. 53, 55, the late aor. mid. (Veitch) ξυράμενοι and ἐξύρατο, Herod. uses the act ἐξύρησα.

Verbs in -μι, εἰμι. Very noticeable is the use of the Epic infinitive ξμεναι for είναι (cf. Dind. Com.) both in the d. d. S. and once in the De Astr. c. 26.

While this form is un-Herodotean, we find it in the oracle delivered to Croesus in the familiar passage B. I. 86. Arrian does not use it, but Aretaeus does (see above).

In d. d. S. c. 25 the poetical form ιστεται is used for ισται (cf. Hdt. III 134), and in De Astrologia, c. 5, Attic οὐσι for ισουσι. So Arr. 19, 1 ὄντας.

ιστημι and τιθημι. In d. d. S. c. 6 ιστανται for ιστέαται, also Arr. κατισταντο c. 7, 9, etc. So in De Astrol. c. 7 ἀνατίθεασι for ἀνατίθεισι (cf. Stud. VIII, p. 189).

εἰμι. d. d. S. 28 ηεισαν for (ηίεσαν) ηισαν (Veitch, p. 204). Arrian has the ordinary Attic form ἐπηεσαν, 24, 7; 36, 9, etc. ηιον d. d. S. 25 may be compared with ηιε Herod. II 26, V 51.

FRANCIS G. ALLINSON.

V.—A HAGIOLOGIC MANUSCRIPT IN THE PHILADELPHIA LIBRARY.

Somewhat more than a century ago three Greek manuscripts were presented to the Library Company of Philadelphia by Henry Coxe, Esquire, of England. They are preserved in the Ridgway Branch of the Company's Library. One is a large early cursive, on vellum, containing a number of Chrysostom's Homilies. The titles and many Scripture passages are written in uncials. Another, on parchment, contains a large portion of the Lexicon of Zonaras. The third, which is the subject of this communication, is written on paper, dates probably from the fourteenth or the fifteenth century, and contains a collection of hagiologic material such as was read in monastic oratories on saints' days.

It consists at present of 130 leaves, leaf 39 being torn away, except a small corner at the top; each leaf $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in dimension; and is bound in half-leather with marbled paper sides. The margins appear to have been not cut down, but are worn away so much as to have lost, either in whole or in part, many marginal numbers. Many of the leaves had to be mounted on a slip for binding, and thus many more marginal numerals, with rubricated initials, have been lost. Many of these initials (but no numerals) have been supplied in red by a hand which shows that the binding was done while the MS was in Greek hands. The lettering on the back, however, was doubtless put on in England or Ireland, for it reads "MSS. Greek Commentary." The number of the MS in the Library is 1141. I believe it has never been examined before since it came into the Library Company's possession. A note in later Greek script at the top of the first page reads *κτήμα τῆς σεβαστῆς μονῆς . . .*, the name of the monastery being undecipherable, except that it ends in *-apinov*. The writing occupies a space about 8×6 inches in dimension on each page, usually 30 lines, but sometimes only 29. The writing is a cursive, a little coarse, hung from the lines, with a quite moderate amount of ligatures and *compendia scribendi*, but very few of the ligatures are complicated. The principal chapters and sections of the MS commence with ornamental red initials in the margin. Smaller divisions have smaller initials in the text. It is an easy cursive to

read, though it abounds in *iotacisms*, often exchanges σ and ω , is not very precise in its breathings and accents, sometimes replaces ν by β , and actually now and then exchanges μ and β . (This last exchange is actual, and not a mistake from the well-known similarity of the forms of these two letters in certain kinds of cursive.) *Iota* subscript rarely occurs, except where supplied by a later hand. The contents of the MS show that two leaves are now missing at the beginning and one at the end of the MS. The contents are as follows:

1. (Fol. 1-66b.) A recension of the Historia Lausiaca of Palladius, Bishop of Helenopolis in Cappadocia, differing considerably from those in print. It commences, as the MS now is, with the word $\epsilon\gamma\alpha\rho\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon\tau\omega$ in the last sentence of the Proëmium, and, after the end of this sentence, inserts a table of contents of the Historia which fills 4½ pages, containing a little more than 170 items or titles. For nearly eighty of these titles the table corresponds with the text of the Historia given in the MS (but as there are slips in the numbering of both table and text it is hard here to be exact), but for the rest of the table its items diverge from the matter of the text. Also, this remainder of the table corresponds, as to most of its items, with the matter in the latter part of the Historia as given in Migne's Patrologia Graeca, Vol. XXXIV, but not in the same order. The table, therefore, is in a measure independent of the rest of the MS, and was not compiled specially for it. It represents some recension of the Historia different from both the MS and the printed editions.

After the table of contents follow the two letters of Palladius to Lausus which give the name to the Historia; but the first one has no title, and the second has the title which in Migne is applied to the first: $\alpha\pi\iota\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\nu\;\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\lambda\eta\gamma\;\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\eta\;\lambda\alpha\iota\sigma\phi\;\pi\pi\iota\sigma\sigma\iota\tau\phi\;\pi\pi\lambda\lambda\delta\iota\o\;\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\o\pi\o\;$.

On fol. 6a begins the Historia proper, coinciding with the table of contents, and pretty well with the recension in Migne (though with many transpositions in the latter portion), for about 112 of its sections, or 76 chapters of Migne (the sections in the text of the MS, as well as the items in the table of contents, are generally less extensive than the chapters in Migne); but for the rest of the Historia the MS has different recensions of portions of its own preceding matter, together with matter found in the Appendix ad Palladium as given in Vol. LXV of Migne, and other matter coincident with portions of the Acta Macarii, the Paradisus Patrum,

etc. Some of the matters, as the visit of the Abbot Macarius to the paradise made by Jannes and Jambres, I feel sure have never been printed. It would seem that the scribe or compiler of the MS passed ignorantly or insensibly into other matter akin to the Historia. The colophon at the end reads: *τοις φθε ή κατ' αιγυπτίου μοναχῶν ιστορίᾳ*; and this latter title is one of those usually applied to the *Paradisus Patrum*, while the Historia, which dates A. D. 420, is an account of the journey of Palladius among the churches and monasteries of Egypt, of the wonderful things he saw, and of the wonderful stories he heard, while there. It may be further mentioned, in this connection, that much of the following matter of the MS consists of narratives or chapters introduced as if by a traveller relating his adventures. Also, that the marginal numbering of the text of the MS ceases with the number 73; at which point, furthermore, begins the breaking up of the correspondence in *order*, or sequence, between the matter of the MS and that of Migne. At only one other place in the MS Historia are numbers supplied, and those are at the seven days which ended Palladius's journey in Egypt.

I shall elsewhere publish the coincidences and divergences of the matter of the MS with that in Migne, and therefore omit here the necessary tables.

2. (Fol. 66b.) After an ornament extending across the page in red, black and green, begins, with an elaborate and elegant red initial, the *βίος τοῦ αἰδημάτων Θρασίου*; followed (on fol. 70a), apparently as part of the same general matter, by a chapter *τερπίνησις*; and then (fol. 71b) by another, less closely connected, *τερπίνησις διάρροια*. This section I do not thus far find in print, though most likely it is to be found in the *Eccl. Graec. Monumenta* of Cotelerius. It ends with fol. 72a.

3. On fol. 72^a, after an ornament in red and black, and with a large red initial, begins *ἀργυρών καὶ μοναχών ὀντίων τερπίνησις τερπίνησις*. This is one of the collections of *Apophthegmata* or *Gerontika* so common in monastic MSS, of which probably no two are alike. It consists of about a hundred items, varying from a narrative of several pages to a saying of two or three lines. I have not thought it worth while to attempt to identify them all in full, but I came upon more than half of them while searching for matters. A few of them seem to me to be not extant in print. As with other portions of the MS, many of these *Gerontika* are in different recension, or attributed to a different father from print. Details I shall publish elsewhere.

4. On fol. 94a, after the close of the last division, and another ornament in red and black extending across the page, begins the treatise *περὶ ἀββᾶ μακαρίου πολιτικοῦ*, which is the commencement of another collection of Gerontika, containing about forty sayings and narratives, which are usually longer than those in the preceding collection. (It may not be superfluous to state here that the name Gerontika comes from the phrase *εἰπεν γέρων*, and others similar, with which so many of the stories or sayings commence. The Greek title is usually either *γεροντικά*, *βιβλος γεροντική*, or *βιβλίον γεροντικόν*.) Many of these in the second collection I have identified. They, with those of the first collection, are to be looked for in the Appendix ad Palladium, the Acta Macarii, the Apophthegmata, etc., in Vols. XXXIV and LXV of Migne. Some of them, however, are so remote as in the Pratum Spirituale of Joannes Moschus, to be consulted in Migne, Vol. LXXXVII 3.

5. After the conclusion of the last, on fol. 106b, occurs: *τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατράσι τὸν ἀθανασίου πατριάρχον ἀλεξανδρείας σύγγραμμα διδασκαλίας εἰς πάντας τοὺς μονάζοντας καὶ πάντα εὐσεβῆ χριστιανόν*. It is the same treatise with that in Migne XXVIII 4, Coll. 835, 836, though there called *σύνταγμα*. Its chief coincidence with the Διδαχὴ τῶν ιερέων Ἀποστόλων is in the MS clearly marked as a *quotation*, though whether directly from the Διδαχὴ or not I do not propose here to discuss. The words run thus: *ἀξιόν σε αὐτὸν εὐτρέπισε προβεβλημένος, ἀγαπητέ, ταῦτα φυλάττειν ἀγονίζοντα μετὰ τοῦ κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἀγαπήσεις ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου, καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν ὃν φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ φαρμακεύσεις, οὐ διχοστατήσεις ἀπέχου πνικτοῦ καὶ εἰδωλωθήτου καὶ αἴματος.*

6. On fol. 109a ends the foregoing, and, after another ornament of red and black, begins *τὰ τῶν προφήτων ὄντα, καὶ πόθεν ἦσαν, καὶ ποῦ κεῖνται*. This, though having many agreements with the printed recensions, appears to be inedited. It has a form and style of recension intermediate between the two given in Migne, Vol. XLIII; the one, Coll. 415-418, reprinted from Petavius, who took it from two Coislin MSS of the tenth century, and the other, Col. 393 sq., reprinted from Tischendorf. The order of the prophets is the following: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Zechariah the father of John the Baptist, Elijah the Tishbite, Elisha, Selom and Eli, and Nathan. The MS makes Selom a confusion of Samuel with Ahijah the Selonite, who prophesied to Jeroboam. In Migne, I believe, the name of Selom

refers to the latter only. This treatise is attributed to Epiphanius of Tyre.

7. On fol. 113^b, after the conclusion of the last division above, and an ornament, begins a treatise entitled σύγγραμμα ἐκδησιαστικὸν περὶ τῶν ὁ μαθητῶν τοῦ κυρίου δωροθέου ἐπισκόπου τύρου, ἀρχαίου ἀνδρὸς πνευματοφόρου, καὶ μάρτυρος γεγονότος ἐν τῷ καιρῷ λυκίου καὶ κωνσταντίνου τῶν βασιλέων περὶ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα μαθητῶν. The opening paragraph expands the attribution of this treatise to Dorotheus, stating that it was translated from the Latin of Dorotheus, and adding various particulars; all of which, as in the following treatises attributed in the MS to Dorotheus, are consistent with the usual supposition that the recension or compilation from the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew literary remains of Dorotheus was made by Procopius, Bishop of Tyre. This composition in the MS is almost exactly the same with that in Migne, Vol. XCII, Coll. 1060-65, though with some transpositions, and, in general, a better text. Among the blunders in the text of Migne may be mentioned one which is almost self-correcting, viz. the substitution of Βαρβαρᾶς (*sic*) for Βαρρᾶς. The MS has the right reading. The Seventy are numbered in the margin of the MS.

8. On fol. 115^b, after the end of the last treatise, and an ornament, is a composition likewise attributed to Dorotheus originally, but stated to have been compiled from his literary remains, the truth of which is vouched for by John, Bishop of Jerusalem. It consists of two portions—one on the martyrdoms of a number of the Seventy, and other persecutions under Licinius and Constantine; and another (beginning on fol. 17^b) on the (Twelve) Apostles. It is substantially that in Migne, Vol. XCII, Coll. 1065 (last paragraph) -1073. Thus Sections 7 and 8 are together in Migne, but in an order the reverse of that of the MS. In the MS the paragraphs treating of the several Apostles are numbered in the margin from 1 to 12.

9. The last treatise in the MS is the βίος καὶ πολετία τῆς ὅσιας μαρίας τῆς αἰγυπτίας, τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἡρημον δύσιος ἀσκησάστης, συγγραφῆς παρὲ τοῦ ἐν δύσιοις σοφροσίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἵεροσολύμων. λεχθεὶς τῇ ἐ τοῦ μηρέλου κανόνος. It begins on fol. 119^a, after an ornament, and breaks off at the end of the MS in the middle of the word ξυλά[ρων], just so near the end that scarcely a page and a half more would have been needed to finish it. Except the variant readings, it is identical with that in Migne, Vol. LXXXVII, Col. 3697 sq., breaking off in Col. 3724. The date of this composition, if its reputed authorship is the real one, is A. D. 629-38.

It remains only to be said that, throughout, the variant readings of the MS are many, and that many of them are great improvements on the printed texts. It is evident that this MS has never been consulted by an editor of a printed text; and equally evident that it should not be neglected in case any of the texts are reprinted. I have not felt willing, however, to swell the bulk of this notice by citing examples of various readings; the less so as I hope that some student or scholar of more leisure may collate it thoroughly.

ISAAC H. HALL.

VI.—CORRECTIONS OF THE TEXT OF PARTHENIUS ΠΕΡΙ ΕΡΩΤΙΚΩΝ ΠΑΘΗΜΑΤΩΝ.

The short collection of 36 love-stories, known under the above-mentioned title, besides the interest which attaches to it as a work dedicated to the ill-starred poet Cornelius Gallus, possesses an intrinsic value for the recondite character of some of the legends. It was, probably, well known to the Roman world, as its supposed author, Parthenius, was not only a poet of distinction, comparable with Euphorion and Rhianus (Suet. Tib. 70), but, if the statement of Macrobius (Sat. V 17) may be credited, the guide of Vergil in his Greek studies, and so great a favorite with the Emperor Tiberius that his works, as well as his bust, were admitted *inter ueteres et praecipios auctores* to the public libraries (Suet. u. s.).

The *περὶ ἐρωτικῶν παθημάτων* is preserved in only one MS, the *Palatinus* (P), which, after its transference to Rome in 1623, was removed from the Vatican to Paris at the end of the 18th century, and subsequently brought back to Heidelberg in 1815. I have had before me the editions of Heyne (1798), Westermann (1843), Meineke (*Analecta Alexandrina*, 1843).

VI. τὸν δὲ Σίθονα πρώτον μὲν κελεύειν τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους μνηστῆρας πρὸς μάχην οἴει τὴν κόρην ἔχοντα, εἰ δὲ ἥττων φανείη, τεθνάναι· τούτῳ τε τῷ τρόπῳ πάνυ συχνοὺς ἀνηρήκει.

Some words appear to have fallen out: perhaps *πρὸς μάχην οἴει τινα*, διθλον τὴν κόρην ἔχοντα, εἰ δὲ ἥττων φανείη, τεθνάναι.

XI. Some verses of Nicaenetus are cited in which, speaking of Miletus, the father of Caunus, he says:

αὐτὰρ ὁ γε προτέρωσε κιών Οίκουσιον ἄστυ
κτίσσατο, Τραγασίῃ δὲ Καλαινέες εἰχετο παιδί,
ἥ οἱ Καῦνος ἔτικτεν ἀεὶ φιλέοντα θέμιστας·
γείνατο δὲ ῥαδαλῆς ἐναλίγυκιον ἀρκεύθοισι
5 Βιβλίδα, τῆς ητοι ἀέκων ἡράσσατο Καῦνος.
βῆ δὲ φερένδιος φεύγων ὀφιώδεα κύπρον
καὶ κάπρος ὑλιγενὲς καὶ κάρια ἵρᾳ λοετρά.

In v. 2, *καλαινέες*, which *P* gives, appears in Heyne and Meineke as *καλαινοῦς*, in Westermann as *Κελαινοῦς*. Celaeno is a name not unfrequent in mythology: three are mentioned in Westermann's

Index. But here the MS points to a quadrisyllabic word, and it would, I think, be more natural to mention the father than the mother. Hence, I should prefer Κελαινός, from Κελαινεύς, a name which occurs in mythology as that of one of the sons of Electryon (Apollod. II 4, 5). Another point of doubt is Τραγασίη. Is it the name of the maiden? If so, it is a very strange one. I suspect it to be an adj. formed from Tragagus, or Craugagus (both forms of the same word; cf. Meineke's Epimetrum II, at the end of his Steph. Byz.), a hero seemingly associated with the Troad (Tzetz. on Ly-coph. 232, Etym. M. 763, Paus. X 14, 2). The use of the adj. would be like many similar uses in Latin poetry: it would introduce an extra point of description, adding the name of another ancestor, perhaps with the object of *defining*, where the requirements of verse forbade *stating*, the woman's appellation. Tragagus or Craugagus may have been the remoter ancestor, as Celaeneus was the actual father. But the most doubtful part of these obscure verses is 6, 7: 'Pro δὲ φερένδιος Voss δ' ἐπ' ἔραν Δίας, Diam Cariae urbem esse monens ex Stephano Byz. Δία . . . πόλις Καρίας. Passovius βῆ δὲ πέρην Δίας, Kayserus βῆ δ' ἄφαρ ἔνδος. Non liquet. Nec Κύπρου sanum est.' So Meineke. I believe myself to have here seen more than any of these critics. Steph. Byz. (p. 541, Meineke) has this article: Πύρινδος, πόλις Καρίας τὰ εἰς ὁς καὶ εἰς αἱ εἰς εὐς ἔχει τὸ ἔθνικόν. Hence from Πύρινδος, Πυρινδεύς. For βῆ δὲ φερένδιος, then, I would read βῆ δὲ Πυρινδῆς. But what is ὀφιώδεα Κύπρου? Even if ὀφιώδεα is right, Κύπρου must be wrong, as the other places mentioned with it are Carian. Heyne conj. Κάπρων, for which, however, he quotes no ancient authority. Ptolemy (V 3, 5) mentions a place called Cydna, at the foot of Mount Cragus. This may, I suppose, be the name disguised as Κύπρου in *P*: possibly Nicaenetus called it Cydnus. At any rate, in v. 7, Voss's emendation, Κράγος, is in a high degree probable; as (1) Cragus would be fitly described as well timbered; (2) in MSS the forms which it assumes are manifold, and some of them in a marked sense odd and misleading: *e. g.*, Ov. Met. IX 647, *Cragon* appears in three MSS which I have collated as *chracon*, *gralon*, *grathon*. But I confess my doubts as to ὀφιώδεα, for though Cydna might abound in snakes, would Nicaenetus have used, as Strabo 770 seems, ὀφιώδης in this sense? An easy conj., and not an improbable one, would be ὀφρυώδεα 'brow-like,' 'beetling.' The vv., then, as now emended will be:

Βῆ δὲ Πυρινδῆς, φεύγων ὀφρυώδεα Κύδναν (? νον)
καὶ Κράγος ὑλιγενές καὶ Κάρης ιρὰ λοετρά.

XVII. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐκ ἔφη φθερεῖν ἐξεγμένη γυναῖκα ὑπὸ τε νόμουν καὶ ἔθουν, λίπαρως δὲ προσκειμένης τῆς μητρὸς συγκατατίθεται. καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοῦξ ἐπῆλθεν εἰς ἡρὸς ἐπέτακτο τῷ παιδὶ, προεδήλωσεν αὐτῷ μήτε λύχνα φαίνειν ἐν τῷ θαλάμῳ, μήτε ἀνάγκην αὐτῇ ἐπάγειν πρὸς τὸ διαλεχθῆναι τι.

Heyne, Westermann and Meineke all read ἐπιπροσθεῖσθαι, which is objectionable as an unnecessary heaping up of prepositions, since προσθεῖσθαι in itself means ‘to ask besides.’ I think the previous προσκειμένη points to ἐπιπροσθεῖσθαι: ‘for the woman herself seconded her (*i. e.*, Periander’s mother’s) urgent appeal from a feeling of shame.’

Ib. καὶ ἡσά μέν τινος ἐθέτο τῆς μητρὸς ἐξικεντοι ἐκείνην, ὅπως τε εἰς λόγους αὐτῷ ἀφίκοιτο καὶ ἐπειδὴ εἰς πολὺν πόθον ἐπάγεστο αὐτόν, δήλη τότε γεγένηται· τούτη δὲ πατάπαστο πράγμα ἄγνωμον πάσχειν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐφίεσθαι αὐτῷ καθορᾶν τὴν ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου σπουδῆς αὐτῷ.

The words δήλη τότε γεγένηται are altered in Westermann and Meineke into δήλη πότε γένεται. I agree with Legrand and Heyne in retaining at any cost γένεται, which, if Parthenius wrote γένοτο, would hardly have been substituted for it; and I incline to follow Heyne in retaining τότε, adding γέ, which has its proper force, in reference to Periander’s proposal of *at last breaking the silence* which his unknown paramour had hitherto observed: ‘He begged his mother to prevail upon the woman to exchange words with him, and, since she was now leading him on to strong love, to use that occasion (τότε γέ) for at last revealing her person to him.’ The subjunctive would imply, I suppose, that this was the part of the request which was nearest to Periander’s heart, and which he realized more immediately than the mere conversation which was to accompany and precede it.

XXI. It seems worth while to call attention to the coincidence of *name* in this story of the Methymnaean Peisidike, who betrays her country to Achilles, the sight of whom has inflamed her love, with the virgin of the Asiatic Pedaus, who, when Achilles is laying siege to the town, falls in love with him, and by means of an apple inscribed with the words

μὴ στενθί' Ἀχελλεῖν τρίνο Μονενίας ἀλγε·
ἴτανοι γάρ οὐκ ἔχοντο· διψάστο(;) τακτός·

suggests to him to reduce the town by making himself master of the spring Monenia (Schol. Il. VI 35). This same legend, I incline

to believe, lurks in one of the obscurest allusions in Ovid's Metamorphoses, VII 465 sqq.:

Marmoreamque Paron, quam quae impia prodidit Arne
 Sithonis, accepto quod auara poposcerat auro,
 Mutata est in auem, quae nunc quoque diligit aurum
 Nigra pedes, nigris uelata monedula pinnis.

For so MSS lead me to write this passage (see Cambridge Journal of Philology, XII 74). It would be quite in accordance with the shifting character of this kind of legend to suppose that as the name Peisidike is transferred from one place to the other, so the name Monenia reappeared in some Roman form of the story as Monedula; the spring by which Pedasus was betrayed becoming the bird into which the traitor maiden was metamorphosed. If so, the hero of the Parian story may be, as in the other two cases, Achilles. But this is a mere suggestion on which I would not lay much stress.

XXIV. Ἰππαρίνος δὲ Συρακοσίων τύραννος εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ἀφίκετο πάνυ καλοῦ παιδός· Ἀχαιὸς αὐτῷ ὄνυμα. τοῦτον ἔξαλλάγμασι πολλοῖς πείθει τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπολιπόντα σὺν αὐτῷ μένειν.

In Liddell and Scott's Lexicon *ἔξαλλαγμα* is explained as 'recreation,' 'amusement,' from the derived meaning of *ἔξαλλάττειν* = *τέρπειν*, and a verse of Anaxandrides (fr. 20 Kock) is cited. Kock there quotes Phryn. Ecl. 363: *ἔξαλλάξαι τὸ τέρψαι καὶ παραγαγεῖν εἰς εὑφροσύνην*, but it is added that the word is only to be used in this sense with caution. In the above passage of Parthenius this meaning would certainly be possible; yet, to my mind, the character of the expression as a whole suggests a different idea—viz.: 'by constant changes of *presents*,' such as the lover in Petronius (85-7) employs to effect his purpose. Among such presents would be the sword which *ἐτύγχανεν αὐτῷ κεχαρισμένος*.

XXXIII. τὸν μὲν Φίλοπτον ἐν κυνηγίᾳ διαφθαρῆναι, τὸν δὲ Ἀσσάονα τῆς θηγατρὸς πόδῳ σχόμενον αὐτὴν αὐτῷ γήμασθαι.

For *αὐτὴν* possibly we should read *αἴτεῖν*.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

NOTE

ON VARIOUS USES OF DERIVATION AND ETYMOLOGY.

The most valuable of the evidence of the antiquity of the name of the month was presented by Stowasser in his "Frage nach dem Ursprung des Wortes" and elsewhere and in the rest of their discussions on the derivation of starting in their very earliest as are to come in the next section we shall have a certain way.

The strongest argument in favor of the date is the attempt of Stowasser to prove in *Antike und Neuzeit* (Linguistik und Grammatik) I, 1896, that the name of the month comes from *meri* and that the original name was *meri* and not *mer*. The derivation which he has probably received from the time of Varro, Sciolz, and Lachmann, is that while Latin uses word *pluviae*, derived from *pluia*, there is more probable than that of Varro, that of the Greeks in his *Perihermeneias* p. 122 says: "Sofern also es die *meridionales* *luminositas* sind *meridie* höchst möglich und die *meridionales* sind *mera* *mera*" Wilhelm Müller in a review appearing in the *Festschrift für klassische Philologie* Berlin 1891, page 112, p. 500, declares that "Meridie ist zugleich ein Beispiel für jenen, der Origenes wortähnlich die *merid. dñeis* in ihm". This approval by authorities so respectable shows that there is quite danger of this derivation's entering with general acceptance and finding its way into our dictionaries. There would be at first supposed. It is time for such one to come in the age of Varro. The absurdity of many of Varro's etymologies has not discredited others, and no one would claim that his opinion is final. But his statement, De L. L. VI, 2, *L. exponit ut & in hoc latet: ut Præcessu incisum in solis* *meridie* is quite another matter. One would suppose such evidence of an eye-witness would be decisive, even if the Skt. *madhyâvara*, Gk. *meridianos* *meridie*, our *midday*, and other analogous expressions did not speak in its favor. But Stowasser is not convinced. Varro may have invented the example to suit his purpose, or the maker of the sun-dial may have sought to impose upon people with this spelling. Put into a few

¹ See Vol. V of this Journal, p. 178.

words, Stowasser's reason for doubting Varro, and seeking another etymology, is simply this: D between vowels in Latin never passes into R. The Romans, moreover, found nothing disagreeable in a succession of d's; this despite the testimony of Priscian (I, p. 137, Keil): "Ne male sonet alterna d in utraque continua syllaba." They said *dedit*, *dedidit*, *dididit*, *dedidicisse*, *dedecet*, *dedecus*, *dodrans*, *dudum*, *Didius*. If any one had said *meridie* for *medidie*, these other words at that moment would have suffered dissimilation of r to d, unless, indeed, some cross-law had come into operation. Again, it would be unscientific to suppose that because final d can change to r, as in *ar apor* (and d before f and v and b, as in *arvena*, *arfari*, *arbiter*, etc.), medial d can ever become r. But no one will deny that a certain kinship of sound is hereby proved, which is what Donatus asserts in a passage which has escaped the notice of Stowasser, namely, ad Adelph. V 3, 62.

Meridie ipso faciam ut stipulam conligat "et nomen fecit de adverbio. *Meridiem* dixerunt veteres, quasi *medidiem*, r pro d posita propter cognationem inter se literarum."

Of course it would not be pertinent here to refer to the Umbrian change of d to r (rs) in *peri*, *persi* (= *pede*), *dupsus*, *calersu*, etc., for Umbrian is not Latin; nor would it be scientific to adduce vulgar forms in modern Greek (as κλαρί — κλαδί, κλάρα, κλαρώνω, Ἀριστέρης for Ἀριστείδης, heard in Crete; cf. Foy, Laut-System der griechischen Vulgarsprache, p. 43); nor even to cite Spanish *lampara*—*lampada*, Neapolitan *pere*—Italian *piede*, Lat. *pedem*, Neapolitan *rurece*—*duodecim*, Italian *mirolla*—*medulla*, although here the continuity in history between the Latin and Romance languages might be appealed to, and the unscientific might easily be persuaded that if *medulla* (from *medius*) could become *mirolla*, *medidie* at a much earlier day might have been pronounced *meridie*, and, once so pronounced, might have been protected from reverting into *medidie* by the analogically formed *pridie* and *postridie*. No, if we would be truly scientific, we must produce some example of D in Latin actually becoming R between vowels. Fortunately, we are able to do this. Not to speak of *Ladinum* and *Larinum*, where the priority of *Ladinum* may be disputed (cf. Sandys, Cicero Orator, 157, note by Reid), we have *IRUS* (for Idus), Rossi 48 (338 A. D.), and *FERELEZ* (Fidelis) IRN 6700, both cited by Seelmann (Die Aussprache des Latein, p. 311). Stoltz, Lat. Grammatik, p. 174, although he distrusts *meridie*, proclaims "*maredus*" (Loewe, Prod., p. 353, taken from Cod. Vossianus,

fol. 82) "neben *madius*" as "ein ganz sicheres Beispiel." A still better attested example, which has escaped the notice of Stoltz and Seelmann, is to be found in Captivi 999; where Brix, Sonnenschein, Ussing, and other editors, read with all the MSS *monerulae* for *monedulae*, and in Asin. 694, where, on the authority of the best MSS, Goetz, Loewe and Ussing read *monerulam* for *monedulam* (found in E'FZ.); cf. Lachmann, Lucretius III 1011. Without seeking to defend the etymology, we may also notice Isidorus XII 7, 69: "*Merula antiquitus medula* vocabatur eo quod *moduletur*, *Alii merulam* aiunt vocatam quia sola volat, quasi *mera* volans." Here the kinship of *r* and *d* is distinctly recognized, although Stowasser ridicules the form *medula* as a sheer invention. Yet Isidorus is the only ancient grammarian who gives *merus* + *dies* as a possible derivation for *meridies*; cf. III 41, 3: *Meridies autem vocata, vel quia ibi sol facit medium diem quasi medidies, vel quia tunc purius micat aether. Merum enim purum dicitur. Similarly, V 30, 15; XIII 1, 6. In XVII 7, 2, *medidies* alone is given.*

Among modern writers, the Rev. James Davies (Weale's Classical Series) may claim priority over Stowasser in championing the derivation of Isidorus. In his note to Adelphi V 3, 59, he calmly says "Varro and Donatus wrongly derive *meridies* from *medius* and *dies* 'quasi *medidie*.' It is derived from 'merus dies.'"'

The ancient passages supporting the derivation from *medidies* (Varro L. L. VI 4; Cic. Or. 47, 157; Quint. 1, 6, 30; Nonius Marcellus, pp. 60, 451; Priscian IV §34; Velius Longus, Keil, VII 71) are too well known to be quoted here. So far as the meaning is concerned, no one, I think, will deny that a locative *medi die* is much more probable than *meri die*. We find *luci claro* used by Plautus, but not *luci clari*.

A few words now about the form. Stowasser recognizes that it is not properly a compound, but two distinct words, *meri die* (as we should say *medi die*), forming a locative like *pridie*, *postridie*, and the forms *die quinti*, *die pristini*, etc., attested by Gellius X 24. We should, consequently, not expect *meridie* to be declined any more than *pridie*. The remark of Donatus quoted above, "et nomen fecit de adverbio," is suggestive in this connection. The first step toward declension was probably taken when a preposition like *ante* or *post* was used before *meridie*, just as we have *ante diem sextum Kal. Apr.* standing for *ante die sexto*, where *ante* has forced *die* into the acc. According to Gellius and Censorinus,

ante meridiem and *post meridiem* were found in the Laws of the XII Tables (see ed. Schoell, p. 118 f.). There are three passages in Plautus where the editors give the accusative :

Pseud. 1174, Ex Sicyone pérvenisti huc? áltero ad meridiem.
meridie F, *mediem* B.

Most. 582, Quod si híc manebo pótius ad meridiem. *meridiem* Ba, according to Ritschl.

Most. 579, Abeám? Redito huc círciter meridiem. *meridie* BCD, M in fine versus apparuit (in A).

Círciter, however, may be regarded as an adverb, and the form *meridie* retained, just as in Nonius Marcellus, p. 451, where Varro is quoted, the MSS give *círciter meridie*, which is kept by Stowasser (Quicherat reads *meridiem*). The evidence for the acc. in Plautus is, therefore, not very abundant. As for the nom. *meridies*, I think there is room for doubt whether it was used as early as the time of Plautus. The editors give it in Most. 651 *heus, iam adpetit meridies*, but the MSS all have *meridie*, and the emendation is due to Saracenus. Terence uses *meridie* only once. It would be difficult to say when *meridies* first appeared, and I cannot here enter into the later usage. I subjoin a few examples of the use of the nom. *meridies*: Varro L. L. VI, 4 (where he discusses the etymology); Caesar B. G. VII 83; Censorinus, c. XXIV; Pliny N. H., VII 212; XVIII 326. It occurs also in the grammarians. *Postmeridiem* and *antemeridiem* are both given as adverbs by Charisius 187, 34, and Georges remarks that the Notae Tironianae 74 give *antemeridie* and *postmeridie*. In Vegetius, according to the critical apparatus of Lang, p. 15, 1, *postmeridie* is read in II, p. 50, 19 *post meridie* A, *meridiae* M; p. 55, 14 *post meridie* AMG.; p. 84, 10 *post meridie* M. Here the *m* may have fallen off or *meridie* may have been treated as indeclinable. Other evidence of this I have not discovered, unless, indeed, Varro R. R. 1, 2: "Aestivo die, si non diffinderem meo insiticio somno *meridie*, vivere non possem," can be so considered. In De Vit's Lexicon *meridie* here is considered a neuter. Keil, however, emends to *aestivom diem*.

M. WARREN.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

RECENT BOOKS IN THE HOMERIC DIALECT.

I. Die homerische Dialekt nach ihrer Entstehung betrachtet und in der ursprünglichen Sprachform wiederhergestellt von AUGUST FICK. Göttingen: First Part 1885. Second Part 1886.

II. The Growth of the Homeric Poems, by GEORGE WILKINS. Dublin, 1885.

III. Introduction to the Language and Verse of Homer, by THOMAS D. SEYMOUR. Boston, 1885.

The publication in 1883 of a theory of the genesis of the Homeric poems—the most revolutionary that has appeared since the days of Friedrich August Wolf—in "Die homerische Odyssee in der ursprünglichen Sprachform wiederhergestellt" of Fick, revivifies the interest attaching to the problem of the Homeric dialect, the solution of which is of such far-reaching importance to the critical historian of literature, to the student of the Greek epopee, and to the investigator of the dialects of Hellas. The study of Homeric forms received, upon the promulgation of this theory, a renewed stimulus; and the number of publications which owe their *raison d'être* to this, the *κατ' ἵξοιν* most startling innovation upon the traditional doctrines of the supereminence of Ionic genius in the cultivation of epic poetry, offers a new proof of that keen acumen connate with daring boldness, and that power to govern linguistic phenomena, which the Göttingen professor has heretofore displayed in fields of investigation embracing a wider horizon.

Conscious of the Jacobinism of his views, Fick was prepared to meet the antagonism or even the vituperation (for the student of the *literae humaniores* is upon occasion *inhumanissimus*) of the classical philologists of the *stare super viis antiquis* type, whose judgment he considered valueless, since they seemed to him to possess neither an adequate knowledge of Greek morphology nor a keen insight into the interrelation of the Greek dialects, the intermixture of which in the Homeric poems he has been, according to many, the first to successfully explain. At the outset he made the announcement that he would attempt to repel only those attacks which seemed to imperil the cardinal features of his theory, which are, in brief, as follows:

Tradition bears manifold witness to an Aiolic Homer, and the authority of Dicaearchus, the scholar of Aristotle, may well be invoked when he gives utterance to the assertion that the Homeric poems were originally Aiolic. That Dicaearchus was correct is proved by an examination of the peculiar position occupied by the traces of Aiolic influence in Homer. The Aiolic ingredients embedded in the grotesque mixture of Hellenic and barbarous forms preserved in our texts, do not owe their existence to an original design on the part of the Ionic *mourai* to tinge a creation of their genius with an

Aiolic coloring which should recall the memories of a far-off Aiolic epos which had perished in the wrack of time. These Aiolisms owe their admission into our present text to the fact that the Ionians, when they received the epic forms from the original composers, the Aiolians, and translated the poems into their epichoricistic dialect, either had no metrical equivalents for these Aiolic forms or did not possess the words in question (*e. g.*, θεά). The hypothesis of an Aiolic Homer is thus, according to Fick, elevated beyond any doubt by the possibility of a retranslation into the original Aiolic, those Ionisms which do not submit to such a retranslation being found in passages which are the production of Ionic Homerids, and branded as spurious by the consentient verdict of the Ὀμηρικάρος of ancient and modern criticism.

It is not the purpose of this notice to subject to a detailed examination from the point of view of diplomatic criticism a theory of such far-reaching consequence. For the present at least we propose to collect, and submit to a brief examination, such of the results of Fick's investigations as are of significance for the science of Greek dialectology.

According to Fick, the present text of the Iliad, which rests on an Attic recension dating shortly after 500, is sutured together out of the following pieces :

I. Μῆνις Ἀχιλλέως. A 1-610, 12 lines of B, Θ 55, Λ 57-805, Ο 592-595, 415-418, 716-746, Π 1-155, 212-206, 656-867, Σ 1-315, T about 76 lines, Υ 39 lines, Φ 1-227, 515-611, X 1-394. In all about 2250 lines.

II. Extension of the Μῆνις. Α 575-848, M, N, Ξ, Ο 1-414, Π 155-197, 306-683, 805-817, Ρ 1-761, Σ 82-242, 316-478, 610-617, T 1-39, X 395-515, Ψ 1-257, Ω 3-803. About 4560 lines.

III. Οἴρος Ἰλίου. B 48-483, 811-826, Γ, Δ, Ε, Ζ, Η, Θ 1-55. About 2860 lines.

IV. Extension at the hands of the poet who inserted the Οἴρος. Θ 55-565, Α 1-57, Ο 415-746, Υ 1-380, Φ 385-513. About 1300 lines.

V. Ionic redaction of Cynaithos of Chios about the middle of the sixth century. Several passages in A and B, B 484-877, in Δ, Ε, Ζ 119-236, Η, Θ, all I, all K, Σ 483-609, the greater part of T, Υ and Ψ 257-849, and in general all passages throughout the entire Iliad which cannot be retranslated into Aiolic. In all about 4850 lines.

The author of the extension of the Μῆνις Fick holds to be a Lesbian, for several reasons : 1. The mention of the dawn spreading its light over the sea, Ψ 227. 2. The exact topographical knowledge of the Troad displayed by the author. 3. The Boeotians, who were settlers in Lesbos, are the first brought into battle. 4. Epic poetry was cultivated at Lesbos—*e. g.*, by Lesches.

The arguments that have led Fick to the conclusion that the Ἰλίου οἴρος and its extension are the productions of a Cyprian poet are *inter alia* as follows : 1. The name Κύπρις is used for Aphrodite in E alone. 2. Ἀργεῖ παντὶ must comprise Salamis, the metropolis of the Cyprian Salamis. 3. In Δ 275-282 the allusion to Aias and Teukros. 4. The glorification of Salamis, Η 195-199. 5. Cyprian forms : ἀκοστήσας, Ζ 506 (ἀκοστή· κραθή παρὰ Κυπρίος). The infinitive form in φορίναι is restricted to the dialects of Arcadia and Cyprus; *ἰδέ* "and" occurs in prose in the dialect of Cyprus alone, and is found 19

times in the *Ode* and its extension, twice in the hymn to Aphrodite—which Fick holds to be of Cyprian origin—and in no other hymn, with the exception of that in praise of Demeter, which is composed in a mixed dialect. 6. The tradition that Homer was a Cyprian, *Pausan. X 24. 3.* 7. The frequent mention of Cyprian heroes.

The *Kurruōr* or was originally Cyprian, but inserted by an Ionian; immovable Ionisms are but few, and found only in the later Ionic additions. The *Hpecōzēia* is younger than the Cyprian reduction of Θ., but can be retranslated into Aiolic, though fixed Ionisms are not wanting. Fick regards the author of the ninth book either as an Ionian who was skilled in the art of using the Aiolic of the older epic, or as a rhapsode who composed in the mixed Aiolo-Ionic of the sixth century, which came into existence after such older portions as the *Mōrē* had been Ionized. The epic poetry of the Ionians before 550 is genuine Aiolic, but the *Arimaspē* of Aristaeus (525 B. C.) is full of immovable Ionisms. The *Iouareta* can be Aiolized, though its author may be one of the older Ionians. The books containing the *Illeterēia* and the *Δoklōvēia*, though demonstrably younger than any other portion of the Iliad, cannot, nevertheless, have been the work of a poet without some touch of the divine afflatus. Their late origin leads us to expect the presence of a greater mass of fixed Ionic forms than found elsewhere; that this is not the case is one of the weak positions of Fick's theory, which is ever liable to prove too much (*e. g.*, in the case of the *Theoklymenos* episode). The *Shield of Achilles* and the *'Aθēna ēti Harōsōi* were originally Aiolic, but at a later period intermixed with Ionisms, the handiwork of the redactor; the latter is not older than 680.

The critique of Christ in the Philol. Anzeiger XIV fails to grapple with the essential features of the new hypothesis, except where he makes the assertion that the transformation of an Aiolic into an Ionic Homer is without a parallel in the history of literature, and that Greek history offers no instance of such dialect-transformation. Fick attempts to invalidate this statement by transcribing several fragments of Terpander, Simonides, etc., into that original dialect in which he conceives them to have been composed. To escape the charge of having involved himself in a vicious circle, Fick must overthrow the theory of early dialect-mixture as formulated by Ahreas in 1852. A necessary complement to his reproduction of Homer in the Aiolic form must be a review of all early lyric and elegiac poetry in the light of such a hypothesis. Whatever be the result of this investigation, which has already been attempted for Pindar with doubtful success, one fact is certain—the neglect of the study of the Greek dialects on the basis of the epigraphic monuments and in the light of comparative grammar has engendered an almost blind reverence for the authority of Bergk, who not unfrequently presents a heterogeneity of dialectical combinations which is supposed to enhance our admiration for the plasticity of Greek art, but which in reality obscures our vision of the exact relation of melic poetry to the cantonal dialect. Thus we are requested to read with equanimity and to find an indication of the aesthetical conservatism of the Greeks in such a combination of forms as that found in a fragment of Alcman, the chorus-master of the Spartans: *χαίροντας ἀγγες ἐχωμενοι μέγαν σκύπον | οἴα τε ποιητές εἰσιν*.

A more serious onslaught upon Fick's theory has been made by Cauer

(*Zeitsch. f. Gymnasialwesen X*), who maintains that in those portions of the *Odyssey* which are indisputably ancient, Ionic forms are found for which the Aiolic cannot be substituted—e. g., diphthongs, which came into existence from the expulsion of *F*, as in *παὶς*. Cauer assumes that if, in that stage of the development of the Aiolic idiom represented by Alcaeus and Sappho, *F* was preserved intact at the beginning of a word and as *v* after the augment, it is incredible that it should have disappeared between vowels at the time when Homer was Aiolic, according to Fick. To this it may be replied that inner *F* is not found in Aiolic; that the conjunction of vowels originally held apart by *F* is Aiolic; that Ionic poets use both the open and the contracted forms; and that in other dialects *F* is found between vowels ($\Delta\!F\!\delta$) and has disappeared ($\Delta\!$). Cauer's argumentation is not cogent, since a form like *παὶς* can be Aiolic as well as Ionic. Though the existence of the dual in Homer has been regarded as proof of the Ionic character of his poems, it can be shown that Ionians as well as Aiolians lost the dual in the earliest period of their dialect-life. Finally, Cauer's assertion that *ā*-forms, as *θέά*, *λαός*, *Ἀρείδαο*, are old Ionic (which view is also held by Brugmann), is to be met with the counter-assertion that it would be impossible for the same dialect to possess at the same time the corresponding *η*-forms, *Λευκοθέη*, *ηνός*, *Ἀτρείδεω*. (See Bechtel's refutation of Brugmann's statements in a recent No. of *Philol. Anzeiger*.)

Hinrichs, in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, has offered to Fick's theory the objection that *Πέρραμος* is the Aiolic, *Πρίαμος* the Ionic form. The analogy of *κέπτια*, later Aiolic *κέπτερρα*, fails to militate against the assumption that *Πρίαμος* is also Aiolic.

Perhaps the most salient argument against an Aiolic Homer is the fact that both *āv* and *ēv* are found in our text. In Attica, Ionia and Arcadia *āv* was in use, *ά*, a Doric prose form, in the Peloponnesus and in North Greece (also in Boeotia and Elis), *έ*, *έv* in Thessaly, Aiolis and Cyprus. *ē* *āv* is a combination occurring in the dialect of Arcadia alone. Fick assumes that for *έ* *āv* has been substituted, and shows that in the dialect of the older Ionic poets there occur 21 cases of *āv* for which *έ* may be substituted, and 22 cases where *āv* is immovable. In Homer, however, their interrelation is different. In the old *Nóστος* of the *Odyssey* the ratio of movable to immovable *āv* is 18 : 4; in the continuation of the old *Nóστος*, the revenge of Odysseus, 30 : 4; in the younger *Nóστος* 7 : 3; in the Telemachy 10 : 3; in the *Mήνις* 15 : 7; in the extension of the *Mήνις* 26 : 5; in the *Οίτος* and in the insertions necessary to complete its junction with the *Mήνις*, *āv* can be replaced by *έ* by the adoption of occasional conjectures which, in the opinion of Fick, do not seem over-daring. It is evident that the larger proportion of immovable *āv* in the *Iliad*, the older poem, does not argue much for the correctness of the hypothesis that *āv* has been forced into our text, for the greater part, at the hands of the Ionic rhapsode Cynaithos.

A series of noticeable observations upon Homeric grammar and the inter-relations of the dialects concludes the volume. To the Aiolisms Fick now adds the rhyme established, for example, by reading *-οὐσι* for *-οὐσι*, as in *μάρτυρος ἀμφοτέροις θέου τοι* "Ολυμπον ἔχοισι". But Fick does not show that the Aiolians were especially addicted to the use of rhyme, nor is this probable *per se*. Of interest is the differentiation in the dialects of *eīs* and *ēs*. *eīs* Fick holds to

be Aiolic, is to be Ionic. In the oldest portions of the *Odyssey* and in the *Mήνης*, is can be readily eliminated by conjecture. In the case of Οἰνος, however, is is frequently immovable, and is regarded by Fick as the Ionic representation of the is of the Cyprian dialect, in which the Οἰνος and that portion necessary for the insertion of the Οἰνος in the Μήνης were originally composed. An examination of the epic fragments leads Fick to the conclusion that those which are older than 550 are capable of retranslation into Aiolic—a proceeding impossible in the case of others whose origin must be ascribed to a later date. The 59 ineradicable Ionisms in the 905 verses of the *Bē̄nayōzoumāxīs* of Perges of Halicarnassus are indisputable proof of the increasing supremacy exercised over the *epos* by the Ionians, inasmuch as no such proportion is found in any equal number of verses of early origin.

The foundation of Fick's theory of the linguistic form of Greek epic poetry rests upon arguments which he has developed chiefly in his *Odyssee*, where material is adduced sufficient to control his assumptions. This abstract of the results contained in his recension of the *Iliad*, together with some scattered observations thereupon, will be followed at some future date by a criticism of the plausibility of the theory itself.

The volume by Mr. Wilkins, late Scholar of Trinity College, Dublin, is a representative of that tendency in scholarship which is easily satisfied with an a posteriori explanation of the latest Germanic theories, without eliciting the un-sophisicated the desirable information from what authorities he has amassed his materials. It is therefore not to be expected that he should have enlightened our knowledge of Homeric grammar by any originality of his own. As Niese, Bechtel and Hellwig have been drawn upon & their names at the reader for a large portion of his book, it must be regarded as an instance of the art de figner one method, or of a surprising eccentricity on the part of Mr. Wilkins, when in Chapter XIII he assures us that Fick is the protagonist of the theory of the origin of the dialect mixture in the Homeric poems which we have sketched above. It would have afforded us some satisfaction if Mr. Wilkins had referred to his reproduction of pages 2-32 of Fick's *Odyssee* some criticism of his own besides the adjectives "brilliant" and "luring." The student eager to learn of recent work in Homeric grammar will scarcely be satisfied with a summary of a single theory, be it mine or that of Dr. Scherer's *Disputation*, or of that of Prof. Müller's *Die Interrogationen des Homer* von metrischen und Gesichtspunkte beleuchtet, there is no *mentum*. Mr. Wilkins' "elpoint" must be very agreeable.

We wish pleasure Prof. Seymour's *Introduction to the Language of Homer*, which contains a clear and comprehensive view of the cardinal features of the Homeric dialect, and by the well-scholarship of its author. The purpose of the volume is essentially that—to relieve the commentary of the mass of unnecessary details which, unadapted to their proper connection, are necessary to the understanding of the *epos*. As Prof. Seymour says in one of his own editor's prefaces, "A presentation of the subject in a thoroughly logical sequence is of course necessary that we may understand it in its entirety. But it is necessary also, to know what many of its sub-

ments in such authoritative language that the tyro in Homer, for whose use the volume is adapted, may build his faith upon the rock that cannot be swept away by the flood of a contemporary criticism which seeks its high-water mark in the pre-Ionic period of the epos. No reference can therefore be made to the probable chronology of certain portions of the text, and contractions, etc., must be registered which many scholars either expel from the text as occurring in interpolated passages (*e. g.* λυτοῖντα M 283; the termination in ἀκταις 284 is suspicious) or resolve into the uncontracted forms.

That portion which concerns the dialect constitutes half the volume—the discussion of Homeric style and Homeric syntax occupying pages 1–33, that on Homeric verse pages 81–94—and is admirably adapted to fulfil the purpose of its author; and we do not recollect to have observed the omission of any phenomenon of essential importance to the understanding of the language of Homer.

The interest attaching to any publication that deals with that *crux criticorum*, Homeric morphology, is so great that we beg leave to offer for Prof. Seymour's kind consideration some remarks in reference to a few of his statements which seem to us not incapable of modification.

4 f. There are three passages in Archilochus showing the influence of the labial spirant: I Ἐνναλίου ἀνάκτος, XXIX 2 ή δέ οι κόμη, XCVII 1 ή δέ οι σάθη; whereas we read, "No trace appears in Archilochus." Of course these are merely Epic reminiscences; that is proven by the 21 violations of *f* in the other poems of the Parian poet. It is not absolutely certain that the strong form θέρσος in Θερσίης is Aiolic, although probable enough, since it is found in the Lesbian, Boeotian, Thessalian and Arcadian dialects. The base θέρσ- is found in proper names also in inscriptions from Sparta, Athens, Chios, Corcyra, etc.—5 e. For ἐννέκα read ἐννέκα with Aiolic φίλωτες; cf. τούνεκα A 291; βόλεται has the same claim to the epithet "Aiolic" as βόλλεται; cf. βόλα GDS 239, Mitylene, where there is no trace of the second λ. This is, as far as I know, the only instance of the reduction in this word. The Arcadian τὸν βολόμενον GDS 1222, 24, the Cyprian βόλε, and the Pamphylian βολήμενχ, prove the Aiolic character of the Homeric βόλεται. The relation of πούς to -πος in ἀελλόπος ἀρτίπος τρίπος has not yet been explained. The breaking down of the law that monosyllables should be long by nature or by position, or its infringement by analogy, may suffice to explain the Laconian πόρ and Homeric -πος from *πώς, later ποῦς.—6 e. *ia* is not contracted into *i* in ἀκοίτις; ἀκοίτις is from *ἀκοιτι-νς, as δἰς from *δὼνς. We should take as our starting-point an original form rather than an analogical formation in -ας (*cf.* πόλιας), which finally underwent the violent contraction into *i*.—11 f. It can hardly be said that apocope was the rule in the Boeotian dialect. Κατά suffers apocope only before the article, πεδά never; ποτὶ is found in ποτιδεδομένον, etc.; ἀνά and παρά, it is true, always elide the final *a*. πρός is not from προτί (which would give a form προσί), but from προτ-+ς; *cf.* ἐν-+ς = εἰς, etc.—12 i. The so-called "parasitic" *τ* in πτόλις, etc., is nothing more than an affection of π+τοδ; *cf.* βδ from γν+τοδ in βδέλλω, and φδ from γνθ+τοδ in φθίνω.—12 j. The identity of ξίν and σίν cannot be maintained.—12 l. The etymology of ιημι from ιιγημι is absolutely incorrect, though upheld by Curtius. The ιησε (*cf.* σέμενος σάτυος) is now almost universally accepted. ως is not from ιώς, but from Φλως, Goth.

svē. Curtius' influence has done much to propagate this widespread belief in the potency of *jod*, which disappeared between vowels as early as the age of Homer (*e. g.* *τρεις*); before vowels it occasionally left in the *spiritus asper* indication of its former presence. The other *jod* (for there were two in Greek originally) became ζ.—12 o. Would it not have been more scientific and equally clear to have said that σ is added in ξέ, οὔτας, πάς? — 14. The following instances of the occurrence of *F* might well be added: *Φηχή, Φεκῆλος, Φέρρων, Φέθειραι, Φέλωρ, Φετώνως, Φέτης, Φίρις, Φίρος, Φίευαι, Φείκω, "seem," Φίδος, Φολγνυμ.*—16 c. ἐνμελίδα Δ 47 is not from -ιης, but from -ιος; cf. ἥπονος: κόμη. The ā-stems are occasionally interchangeable with o-stems. *Αἴνεια* and *Βορέω*, the other two forms quoted for the contraction of -εω to -ω < āo, occur before a vowel, so we may read ā'; cf. 7 d.—18. The statement that with the exception of the i-stems the dative singular ending i is found only *sub ictu*, would have at least left the question open in reference to the i of the dative of those 16 words which have the *ultima* long. It is by no means certain that the i of Latin has anything to do with the i of Greek.—18 p. The theory of the "insertion" of an ε in certain stem-forms of i and u-stems ought not to be further propagated nor to find entrance even into a book designed for beginners.—24 d. The statement in reference to ἄμφε and ἡμέας is not exact. It is true that ἄμφες may be substituted for ἡμέας when (1) the latter stands (as in a large majority of cases) at the beginning of the hexameter, where it is followed by μέν, δέ, etc., and when (2) ἡμέας forms the sixth foot. But ἡμέας is immovable 19 times (1st foot 9 times, 2d 1, 3d 2, 4th 7, 5th 1). ἄμφε can find entrance into the text of Homer in these passages only in case recourse be had to conjectures, which Prof. Seymour would doubtless stigmatize as savoring of too great boldness. The substitution is feasible seven times. Whatever theory may be held as regards the fortunes of the Homeric epos, it cannot be denied that the statement that ἄμφες ἄμφε are found in our text, where the Ionic dialect presents no metrical equivalents, would at least facilitate the understanding of the tyro.—24 V r. "The stem τι- is drawn into the second declension by the addition of o and τιο- becomes τεο-; cf. πόλιος and πόλεως." This assertion, in which Prof. Seymour agrees with Curtius, Renner and Windisch, is indefensible, since τιο- is original. The palatalization of the guttural does not necessitate the i-coloring of the vowel. As in τεοῖο, gen. of the personal pronoun, we have the stem τιο-, so in τεού, Archil. 95. The stem τεο- has, however, nothing whatever to do with τι-. This extended in the first instance by ν (τι-ν-ο-), in the second by ι. Specifically Aiolic (τιω, τιουσιν, Hesychius *οτιοσιν*). If in τιο- we might accept with my great frequency into i, we might accept with diametrically opposed to that advocated by Prof. Seymour, we may remark in passing, is not the ground-form more probable that τιψ is < τέψ—an original and later in the dialect of Lesbos nor in that of Aiolis is i maintained by Johannes Schmidt. i arises from ε before η, ει, ει, and frequently before vowels in the dialects of Laconia, Cyprus, Messenia and Argos. The dialect most closely related to that of Lesbos which offers an instance of i < ε is the Thessalian. Could the i of τιο- become ε. The analogy of πόλιος πόλεως is incorrect. It comes from the analogy of the gen. of nouns in -ιος; πόλιος and πόλεως

are therefore morphologically different forms. *τεο-* is <*τεyo*>—Old-Bactr. *cahyā*. —29 *h.* Emend *μνθέαν*.—33 *d.* A reference to the conjectural readings *δαῖω* and *τραπήσουεν* might have been inserted with profit; otherwise the student would fail to understand the similarity in formation of *δαῖω* and *δαμῆγε*. The conjectural readings were adduced 34 *d.*

HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

Études Critiques sur Properce et ses élégies. Par FRÉDÉRIC PLESSIS. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1884.

There is a sense in which M. Plessis' *Études Critiques sur Properce* may fairly claim to be one of the most important contributions to the subject yet published. For the first time students of Propertius are presented with data for forming a true estimate of the age of the *Neapolitanus*, the debatable point round which all recent criticism has turned. M. Plessis has examined the famous codex with his own eyes at Wolfenbüttel, and has photographed six pages of it; which photographed specimens are given at the end of his volume, and may be said to settle the question of date finally. The authority of the first of French palaeographists, M. Léopold Delisle, as well as M. Chatelain, has pronounced the MS to belong to the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century; and I am able to confirm their judgment by that of our own great expert, Mr. E. M. Thompson, who unhesitatingly assigns it to the end of the twelfth century. It will be remembered that Messrs. Lucian Müller and Bährrens agreed in considering the MS to be much later, the former ascribing it to the fourteenth, or preferably the fifteenth century; the latter not only believing it to be written after 1430, but finding in it traces of unmistakable interpolation. It is satisfactory to be reassured by the incontestable evidence of fact, and to find the conclusions of Lachmann and Keil completely verified by the independent judgment of the first modern authorities in palaeography. All the conclusions which have been drawn from the supposed late date of the *Neapolitanus* must henceforward be considered to be disproved: if the MS is interpolated, such interpolation must be shown to rest on other than palaeographical arguments; if it is *not*, as I, with A. Palmer, Leo and most others, believe, the supporters of its sincerity may henceforward start with one of the most important of all vouchers, its comparative antiquity. By comparative I mean as compared with the other Propertian codices; for none of these can claim a date nearly as early.

M. Plessis, then, deserves our particular gratitude for this signal service, and if his *Études* possessed no other claim to distinction but this, they must on this ground only be allowed to rank far above the numerous *Quaestiones Propertianae* which year after year pour from the presses of Germany. I can truly say that I know few accounts of the MSS of particular authors more interesting for style or matter than the chapter which M. Plessis devotes to the MSS of Propertius; more than anything which I have yet seen, it is calculated to make even listless readers aware of the growing importance of the *res diplomatica*; if indeed this were not sufficiently evident alike from the obvious uneasiness of those who know nothing about it, and the growing suspicion (even in Cambridge) that philology *may*, after all, develop in a non-syntactic direction!

But M. Plessis, a pupil of M. Eugène Bénoist, writes primarily for Frenchmen, and has, as he candidly confesses in his preface, to rouse an interest which at present is dormant, if not extinct. Therefore it is that his *Études* are many-sided and discuss most of the points in which the poems of Propertius touch popular or literary sympathy. It must seem extraordinary that the countrymen of Passerat, in my judgment the best of all the commentators on Propertius, should, since his time (circ. 1600), have made no solid contribution to the elucidation of his poems. The reason perhaps lies in the very excellence and fullness of Passerat's life-labor: for indeed his commentary is *nil parum aut humili modo*; it belongs to a great era of Latin erudition, the era of Casaubon, Lipsius, Delrio; and ranges over the whole field of Latin Philology as then known. How small and insignificant by the side of this grand folio the comparatively slight month-work of the much-lauded Scaliger! A few acute remarks, varied with much doubtful interpretation—such is Scaliger's contribution to the study of Propertius. A minute, detailed examination of line by line and word by word—each step illustrated by citations drawn from the stores of a quite unbounded reading—the whole guided and marshalled by a discerning and truly *poetical judgment*—such is the work of Passerat. And yet for one who connects the name of Passerat with Propertius there are perhaps fifty who associate him with the name of Scaliger. But justice, however tardy, comes at last; and the spirit of philological inquiry which Lachmann and Ritschl inaugurated will not be content to repeat the unexamined verdicts which come down to us as part of the tradition of the eighteenth century, but will read and judge for itself. M. Plessis himself, in the chapter which he gives to the editions of Propertius, whether from French modesty, or possibly feeling himself overpowered by the gigantic scale of Passerat's commentary, accords to it a praise which I imagine to be far below its merits. "L'édition de Passerat est une des plus considérables—une des meilleures." I may be permitted, perhaps, as an English admirer of the poet, to express my conviction, founded on a considerable study of Passerat's work, that no subsequent commentary, with the exception perhaps of Hertzberg's, is so indispensable for a thorough knowledge of Propertius' meaning. Unhappily it is now very rare. The fame of the poet (for Passerat was "un charmant poète," Plessis, p. 61, note) has perhaps obscured the consideration of the commentator.

The chapter on the editions is followed by one on the division of the elegies into four or five books. M. Plessis, after an examination of the arguments urged by the supporters of Lachmann, Fr. Jacob, Keil, Paley, Haupt, on the one side, and by G. W. Proctor, Palmer, Postgate, on the other, decides in favor of the former. Lachmann's argument, that from

int pompa libelli,
sima dona feram,

the poem could be divided into two, is, perhaps rightly, based on words a meaning which they need not bear. The fact is that when II 13 was written, Propertius had the first series of his Cynthia-poems by a third book:

whether any part of that third book was written at the time or not. This is virtually the opinion of Beroaldo as well as of Passerat, and, more recently, of Faltin and Postgate. Plessis, while inclining to this view, mentions with approval another, first maintained by Nobbe, and lately by Voigt, that *libelli* in the above-quoted passage may mean, not collective books of elegies, but single elegies. We might then imagine the poet, in his desire to deprecate pomp or grandeur, expressing himself thus: "I am contented with carrying to Persephone the smallest of death-offerings, two or three of my elegies, and that is all." Plessis goes on to show that the MS division into four books conforms with Nonius' citation of III 21. 14 as from the third book of *elegies*; whereas Lachmann's division of B. II into two books, one of ten, the other of twenty-four elegies, introduces an inequality which we have no reason to suppose existed in the original arrangement. Finally, Birt's hypothesis that the *Mοnοbiblos* (our B. I) ought not to be included in the numeration, and that the remaining books should be reckoned as four—II = first and second, III = third, IV = fourth—is dismissed as imaginary.

Next comes the question of interpolations. Nine passages, all from the second book, are passed in review, and the objections of Heimreich, Gruppe, and others considered. If the arguments against the genuineness of most of these are to be accepted as the strongest that German criticism has elaborated, I must pronounce the cause to be weak indeed. Almost all of them allow of easy refutation. But here M. Plessis admits that his work is imperfect. For instance, nothing is said about two vv. of the Paetus-elegy which in a more than ordinary degree bear an external look of interpolation:

Hoc iuuene amisso classem non soluit Atrides.
Pro qua mactata est Iphigenia mora.

And it is too clear that Prof. A. Palmer's excellent articles in *Hermathena* have missed the generally penetrating search of our reviewer—an oversight which is the more astonishing as one of the greatest merits of these *Études* is the care with which almost every one who has written on Propertius finds mention in their pages.

Very comic is the view stated on p. 137, as Heimreich's, that the difficult verses, II 24. 1-8—

Tu loqueris cum sis iam noto fabula libro,
Et tua sit toto Cynthia lecta foro?
Cui non his uerbis aspergat tempora sudor?
Aut pudor ingenuus? aut reticendus amor.
Quod si tam facilis spiraret Cynthia nobis,
Non ego nequitiae dicerer esse caput,
Nec sic per totam infamis traducerer Urbem,
Vrerer et quamuis nomine uerba darem.

are the composition of a monk. "Je ne sais pas si c'est un moine ou tout autre qu'il faut rendre responsable," remarks M. Plessis, with justifiable amusement; and assuredly, culpable as this much vilipended race may have been, one of their least demonstrable sins is this of inventing verses whose only fault is that they are all but unintelligible. Only fault, I say advisedly, for metrically they are quite Pro-

pertian; the substitution of *ingenuost* for *ingenuus* (Munro, quoted in Cranstoun's translation) is enough to make v. 4 rhythmical, and the connection with v. 3 is sufficiently clear. It seems nearly incredible in an age which professes, like our own, to study, and really does study the documents and style of the Middle Ages, to imagine any classical critic seriously ascribing to a monk these eight verses. Very different are their real forgeries, such, for instance, as the imitation of the *Heroides* published some years ago in the *Rheinisches Museum* by Riese; which no one could for an instant believe to be anything but what it is, a composition, perhaps by a monk, but in any case mediaeval. Quite different, too, is the case of single lines or distichs which bear traces of scriptural allusion, e. g. the well-known *Per tenues ossa sunt numerata cutes*, though even here the chances are strongly against a monkish hypothesis. For my own part, I have never persuaded myself that Lucian Müller was serious in ascribing such an origin to the Propertian

Quare, dum lucet, fructum ne desere uitae,

where *dum lucet* is supposed to be a monkish reminiscence of S. John IX 4, just as in Hor. C. III 18. 12 *pardus* of some MSS is believed by Bentley to be a reminiscence of Isaiah XI 6.

On the tautological distich, II 23. 23, 24:

Libertas quoniam nulli iam restat amanti,
Nullus liber erit si quis amare uoleat,

Plessis mentions with approval a view of Fischer's, that our present v. 24 has replaced a lost original. "Ici la probabilité est tellement forte, qu'elle équivaut presque à une preuve"; and he goes on to explain how the substituted verse got on. "Un lecteur quelconque, s'amusant à retourner la pensée contenue dans l'hexamètre, aura fait ce vers et l'aura mis en marge; un copiste l'aura pris pour une variante et le préférant au pentamètre véritable, l'aura maladroitement substitué à celui-ci." No notice is here taken of what I think may be another possibility, viz. that Propertius was consciously imitating the parallelism of Jewish poetry.

I cannot agree with Plessis' view that *Veneres* in II 20. 7—

Aetas prima canat Veneres, extrema tumultus,

is supported by Cat. III 1. In the line of Propertius it means 'joys of love,' in Catullus it is personal. Nor can I accept his version of II 26. 9, 10—

Quae tum ego Neptuno, quae tum cum Castore fratri,
Quaeque tibi excepti, iam dea Leucothoe !

"que je n'ai-je point alors *promis* à Neptune, promis à Castor comme à son frère," or the accompanying note suggesting that *excepti* contains the idea of a stipulation. The notion is, I think, of making vows *in succession*, one after another, to Neptune, the Castors, and Leucothoe.

The chapters on the name and country of Propertius, and on the chronology of the poems, are well written, and discuss the points they treat in a systematic way, yet so as not to fatigue the reader. Then follows a study on elegy and its Greek and Alexandrian representatives, concluding with an estimate of Propertius as an elegiac poet. Lastly, the text of three elegies, I 2, III 12,

IV 11, with a full critical apparatus of MS variants and conjectures by successive editors, is given. M. Plessis has himself proposed some new emendations: the most noteworthy of these is in IV 11. 21, which Plessis reads—

Assideant fratres iuxta Minoa, sed astet
Eumenidum intento turba seuera foro.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

Maxime Collignon: A Manual of Greek Archaeology. Translated by JOHN HENRY WRIGHT. Cassell and Co., London, Paris, New York, and Melbourne, 1886.

The title of this book, which awakens confused memories of Otfried Mueller and Bernhard Stark, might injure its circulation, were it not that it appears as one of a series of handbooks adapted to the uses of intelligent students of the formative arts. The potent imprimatur of South Kensington itself is the nearest English equivalent, we suppose, for that of the French Department of Fine Arts, under which the original series was brought out. Wherever what the author can predicate of his own country is true in Anglo-Saxondom—that acquaintance with the monumental side of Antiquity is demanded as the indispensable complement of classical studies—the Manual ought to have a public of literary students as well. The writer has regretted the unavailability of the French text for class-use with English-reading pupils, and was about to undertake a translation, when he found himself forestalled by Professor Wright. German scholars expressed surprise to him that a French work should be preferred. Actually, there is no German work of the same scope extant. The nearest approach is Baumeister's *Denkmäler des Altertums*, a reference-book in dictionary form, now in course of completion.

M. Collignon, a former member of the French School at Athens, was called from Bordeaux to a chair of archaeology at the Sorbonne not long ago. His disposition of the subject-matter is a simplification of Mueller's systematic arrangement. His books treat in order of the Origin of Greek Art, Architecture, Sculpture, Terra-cotta Figurines, Painted Vases, Numismatics and Glyptics, Bronzes and Jewels. Naturally, these divisions are far from equal in number of pages. Sculpture gets about as many as the other arts together. Chapters and paragraphs take account of the obvious periods, or of local schools, or subordinate technical categories, with much freedom. Indeed, to follow out the author's own comparison, he has reproduced in his printed pages the arrangement of a museum, the administration of which must dispose its collected treasures to best advantage in halls of varying size, form, and illumination. May our good genius preserve us, whether in museums or textbooks, from systems and selections final and invariable! M. Collignon's illustrations hit our mark. The number—one hundred and forty-two—is sufficient to leave the general impression that is the compiler's aim; most of the plates are as large as may be, and, if they do not represent the highest style of graphic art, are fair mechanical reproductions from good pen-and-ink drawings. They grow on the eye with familiarity. The ordinary trade-cuts do not. Finally, a large proportion of the subjects are novel to the general reader, without any artificial discrimination against the famous pieces. He

may recognize old friends in the quoit-thrower of Myron, the fillet-binder of Polykleitos, and the lizard-killer of Praxiteles, but is spared a hundredth repetition of the Aphrodite of Melos or the Apollon of the Belvedere. The Manual has excellences, and faults, that do not belong to the type. It tingles with life, if the opinions thrown out are not always orthodox. This we can say without offence; for the author himself has taken more than one of them back in alterations his translator has made with his sanction. One example will serve. In treating of Phoenician influences, M. Collignon rather boldly assumed a Dorian school of sculpture, which, he says, came particularly under the sway of the Punic models. In the translation this paragraph is suppressed, and we read: "Phoenicia did not possess a style sufficiently original and distinct to impress itself upon the earliest Greek sculptors." But here, as elsewhere, recent discovery has cleared doubts and sharpened outlines that were blurred a few years ago. The author has satisfied himself, for example, that the primitive pottery, etc., found under the volcanic tufas of Thera is of a more recent date than the oldest articles from Hissarlik-Ilios. So the paragraphs are transposed, and "une civilisation analogue, quoique plus récente" (the Trojan) becomes "the earliest civilization." A careful comparison with the original text brings out innumerable minor corrections, where a date, maybe, is changed, or a "possibly" limits a mere conjecture. It is the more surprising that Pheidias and Alkamenes should still be designated, without qualification, as the sculptors respectively of the east and west pediments of the Parthenon. This was a conjecture first emitted, I believe, in Beule's *Acropole d'Athènes*, as an ingenious interpretation of an anecdote related by that absurd old creature Tzetzes. Now that we have authentic works of Alkamenes in the Olympian Centaurs and Lapithai, most of us will consider it inadmissible; certainly it does not belong in a textbook. Damokrates and Anaxagoras, as builders of the theatre at Athens, very properly give way to "architects whose names are unknown." The lists of authorities that head the chapters have been brought up to time, and some titles of older standard books passed by in the French edition have been inserted. Altogether, three titles are suppressed and thirty-one are added; we are glad to notice Middleton's *Grecian Remains in Italy*, etc., an early American work to which the American Journal of Archaeology called attention in its first issue,¹ among the latter. Professor Wright has appended a capital index, in the typography of which artists, subjects, and technical terms are readily distinguished. It will be seen that he has produced an English edition of independent value, which should meet with an extended circulation in schools where the history of art is studied, or ought to be. Scholars who read French will not yet discard the original for the vernacular version. M. Collignon's style is terse, idiomatic, illumined with apt tropes. In Mr. Wright's rendering we miss at times equivalent "sabre-cuts of Saxon speech." "L'Égypte leur était fermée" (p. 24) becomes "Egypt was less known to them" on page 16; "cette civilisation imposante" (p. 26) is rendered simply "Egyptian civilization" (p. 19); "Psametik opens Egypt to the Greeks," "accueillant des pirates Ioniens et Cariens" (p. 27); Wright makes him "subdue" them. "L'opinion commune fait remonter ce monument [the ark of Kypselos] à la xxx^e olympiade environ" is rendered

¹ Vol. I, p. 3.

"current opinion placed," etc. This opinion is that of modern archaeologists. "Ronde bosse," of course, is "high relief"; this Mr. Wright knows well enough, as is shown by p. 65; but he has rendered it once "round bosses." Colors were applied to architecture sparingly: "suivant le goût des écoles"—"with the better taste of the schools." The translator must be an anti-polychromist! "Le portique des Hermès" is not "the portico of Hermes" (p. 86); nor were *οἱ τρίποδες* a "Street of the Tripod" (p. 96). Such easy writing would hardly justify animadversion, if inexact rendering did not entail serious blunders sometimes, as in Quatremère's notorious mistranslation of a sentence in Strabon which made the Zeus of Pheidias butt his crown against the ridgepole of his temple for over half a century. But there are also felicities of expression not derived from the original: "splaying jambs" (of the treasury-doors at Mykenai, p. 38; "budding Doric" ("le dorique naissant"), p. 20; "stone-cutter," though a tamer, is a truer equivalent of *λαθοξέος* than the comical turn of "räcleurs de pierre."

A new edition will bring, as we are assured, an advance upon Beulé's *Monnaies d'Athènes* in regard to certain Euboian coins, and perhaps a recognition of the writer's strictures on the pseudo-archaic relief of Herakles Toxotes (Fig. 36),¹ as qualified by Professor Furtwaengler's communication in the last number of the *American Journal of Archaeology*,² besides further needed correction of the press.

A. E.

Die Aussprache des Latein nach physiologisch-historischen Grundsätzen, von
EMIL SEELMANN. Heilbronn, 1885. 398 pp.

In the preface the author acknowledges his obligations to Professor Wendelin Foerster, to whom the work is dedicated, and under whose inspiration it seems to have been written.

Since the publication of Corssen's work, so great advances have been made in the field of phonetics, that a new consideration of the entire subject, in which more attention should be paid to the physiological character of sounds, seemed demanded. The attempt is made to set before us the sources, and to distinguish clearly between what is purely hypothetical and what may be regarded as certain and established. The statements of the Latin grammarians have been carefully examined, and many of them are skilfully translated into the technical phonetic terminology of to-day, while more attention is given to the evidence to be derived from the Romance languages than will be found in any previous work. A pupil of both Buecheler and Foerster, the writer has been trained in the best of schools for investigation of this sort. The work bears evidence of the greatest industry in the collection of materials, and still it may be doubted whether, with all industry, so young a man can have sufficient acquaintance with the results of the work of specialists in Latin, Romance and comparative grammar to put them all in the proper relation, and to draw correct conclusions. One might fairly expect more attention to be given to Umbrian and Oscan, and a more detailed acquaintance with the results of Plautine criticism would have saved some errors. The inscriptions have been

¹ See *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. I, p. 152.

² P. 52.

well studied, much that is new and not to be found in Corssen or Schuchardt having been added, although here and there important material has been overlooked. Not enough weight has been attached to MS readings in matters of orthography.

The treatise begins with a discussion of accent and recomposition. After a thorough examination of the testimony of the ancient grammarians, the writer puts himself on the side of those who argue that the Latin accent was essentially a matter of stress, the musical tone being of subordinate importance. Stress and musical accent may rest on different syllables or may coincide. In early Latin this energetic stress-accent was not bound by the three-syllable limit. A tendency existed to recession from the end of the word. The proofs advanced for this proposition are much the same as those adduced by Corssen, and not more convincing. Whether stetérunt or stétérunt is to be assumed as the earlier form is left undecided; but cónignum evidently goes back to cónignum, and éiero to éiouro. The significant syllable received the accent; hence návifragus becoming later náufragus, nómencapo becoming núcupo. Analogically, in the Romance languages we find evidence for the accent *viginti*, *triginta*.

In treating of the established accent of classical Latin, Seelmann recognizes, as Corssen did not, the possibility of particles and pronouns having different accents accompanied by a difference of meaning. In assigning to Latin a circumflex and acute accent essentially like the Greek, he is carried too far by grammatical theories. That the rules laid down by the grammarians were not strictly followed in the popular pronunciation, is proved from the Romance languages and other evidence. Such vulgar deviations in accent are páriétem, muliérem, tenébrae, trifolium, fícatum, credímus. Some interesting observations are made on certain borrowed Greek words which retain their native accent at the cost of quantity. In proper names, too, the evidence of the Romance languages establishes as the common pronunciation Pátavium, Pisaurum, Mogúntiacum.

Considerable attention is paid to "recomposition" where the same elements enter in as in older words, but with different accent and with the vowel of the simplex unchanged, as in desúper over against désuper, consácro over against cónsecro, commando and commendo. The details of this phenomenon must largely be worked out from the Romance.

In treating of vowel-quantity Seelmann recognizes the divisions into longs and shorts to be very inadequate. The position and character of the accent have much to do with the relative quantity, and difference in quantity influences also vowel-coloring, so that long vowels tend to become closer, short vowels more open—a fact which, in the treatment of the ancient tongues, has not received due recognition. Seelmann's description of sounds is excellent, but as his phonetic terminology is largely his own, with peculiar characters having special phonetic values, it is hard adequately to represent his views by any brief statement. Much attention is paid to the determination of hidden quantities from the Romance. Here the student, however, must be on his guard, as Marx and Seelmann and Gröber often disagree. On p. 92, to the evidence for *fórmā*, should be added Donatus Comment. to Phormio, Prolog. v. 28: "Si a *formula* esset nomen comoediae primam produceremus syllabam."

The chapter on the division of syllables is admirable, giving not only the

facts, but their scientific explanation. Baehrens' complete misconception of consonant-gemination is exposed.

In treating of the vocalism, the pronunciation of the early empire is made the starting-point, the deviations of earlier and later periods being noted. The same is true of the consonantism. Here the materials of Corssen and Schuchardt have been largely drawn upon, with an immense gain in arrangement and scientific statement. Whether the treatment is here truly historical, and whether too much weight has not been accorded to the testimony of late grammarians, admits of discussion. Every page is full of suggestion, and challenges the serious study of all Latinists. Occasional slips, like that of associating *kai trepo* with *ceteri*, p. 167 (corrected by Stolz in the *Nachträge*), might be noticed, but they do not greatly impair the value of the book. Its scientific character has been recognized by Stolz, who, in his recent Latin grammar in the new *Handbuch der klassischen Alterthums-Wissenschaft*, has adopted its description of sounds. We have never before seen Latin phonetically printed, and the specimen passages which are given at the end of the book are as curious and as disturbing to the eye as any of the attempts which have been made to give to English a phonetic dress. The book would have been much improved if the alphabetical index had been made more complete.

M. WARREN.

M. Tulli Ciceronis ad M. Brutum Orator. A Revised Text, with Introductory Essays and Critical and Explanatory Notes. By JOHN EDWIN SANDYS, M. A. Cambridge, University Press, 1885.

It seems altogether fitting that the Public Orator at Cambridge should give to his University and the world this sumptuous edition of the Orator, with its MS facsimile, its well-executed illustrations, its copious introductions, and its very solid body of notes, both critical and explanatory. It is a welcome addition to our Cicero-literature.

The introduction traverses the history of Greek and Roman oratory, acquaints us with the motives of the work and Cicero's peculiar fitness for writing it, discusses the Greek sources and the MSS upon which the text is founded, and furnishes us with an excellent bibliography of the various editions, commentaries, dissertations and other works which have a general or particular bearing upon the subject-matter. It is rare to find so good a bibliography compressed into so small a compass. And the notes give evidence that Mr. Sandys has faithfully endeavored to master all that has been done by others, and to contribute of his own knowledge to the elucidation of this most important work. The student of Blass and Jebb will not find much that is new in the sketch of early Greek oratory and rhetoric, but the facts are freshly stated and form a fitting introduction to the treatise. The chapter on MSS is particularly satisfactory, and after the labors of Heerdegen and Stangl it would seem that little now remains to be done in the way of collecting materials on which to base the text. The oldest MS now in the public library at Avranches has been newly examined by Mr. Sandys, and in some cases he has been able to correct Heerdegen's readings. In the commentary much more attention has been paid to explaining Cicero's references to famous works of art than will

et alii) is interesting enough. The discussion of the text is in the main identical with that given by Professors Fawcett and John Read in *The Phoenician Inscriptions*. But in Pl. II, 12, in Line III it is felt that to retain the reading *επέντε* is to give a better due to the evidence of the inscriptions as to the date of these inscriptions, although it is agreed that the date of the inscription is probably in the 7th century. In X, 34, the reading *τοις τοις οὐδὲν* is given preference to the other two of the suggestions of Professor John Read, because, if the first is accepted, it is to read *τοις τοις οὐδὲν* which would be the same as *τοις τοις οὐδὲν*, or 2 with *τοις τοις οὐδὲν* a double and a singular γάρ, which is no good. In XXXVI, 92, *αγράνθητον* is chosen over the other options. Why may it not be used is to be seen in the note on the line. In Line II, 12, *τοις τοις οὐδὲν* is chosen over *τοις τοις οὐδὲν* and *τοις τοις οὐδὲν*. In XIII, 15, however, the reading *τοις τοις οὐδὲν* is chosen over the other reading *τοις τοις οὐδὲν*. In view of this, it is thought, it may be necessary whether more weight ought not to be allowed to the reading *τοις τοις οὐδὲν* in XIII, 15. In commenting on *τοις τοις οὐδὲν* as the common reading, a name is derived directly from *τοις τοις οὐδὲν* and *τοις τοις οὐδὲν*. In 1912, the note: "In Plautus and Terence *toio* is often found, but *tois* is infrequent, as *toio* occurs only twice in Terence, and *tois* only four times in Plautus, while its usage is much different from *toio*. Many of the readings which are given of *τοις τοις οὐδὲν* are very good, and some additional notes on etymology and usage have been contributed by Professors Fawcett and John Read." The illustrations include a copy of a stele from the lower Agora, a vase of Heros from the Royal Museum, London, a vase of Branci & the Lancoline Museum, coins of Elis and the Athenian Drachma, and a marble fragment of a shield of Athene Parthenos, which while not giving full to the attractiveness of the book, must also increase its value and this is so slight as almost to preclude its being used except in a library or an advanced college. Its circumference greatly to be regretted is that there is no other available edition with English notes.

M. W.

REPORTS.

HERMES, 1885.¹

No. I.

W. Dittenberger. *The Kerykes of Eleusis.* This treatise on an interesting topic of Attic antiquities is by one of the editors of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, which collection, to a very great extent, furnishes the material for the author's statements and arguments. Of the former we may note that there was but *one γένος* of κῆρυκες in Attica. Here, as elsewhere, paternal descent determined membership, and a boy once introduced by his father could not afterwards be received into any other *γένος*. There was an ἄρχων τοῦ γένους with one year's term of office; there were, moreover, a treasurer (*ταμίας*) and a priest for the special worship of the *γένος*. Eleusis seems to have been the place of meeting.

This *γένος* regularly furnished three of the religious functionaries who took part in the ceremonies of the Eleusinian mysteries: the torchbearer (*δαδοῦχος*), the herald (*κῆρυξ*), and the "priest at the altar" (*ὁ ἐπὶ βωμῷ*), whereas the "hierophants" belonged to the *γένος* of the Eumolpidae. The office of daduchos was for a long time held by the Calliadae of Athens, and when this family became extinct the privilege was certainly maintained within the limits of the same *γένος*. This office of the torchbearer, with that of the priest and of the herald, was held for life. While the Archon Basileus of Athens was the chief executive functionary in the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries, the *γένος* of the κῆρυκες had certain official functions in arranging the celebration. Each and every member of the *γένος* enjoyed the right of initiating (*ινεῖν*) new members into the mysteries—a privilege shared by the Eumolpidae alone.

In the Roman era the political importance of these offices was greatly increased: the κῆρυξ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρετοῦ πάγου βουλῆς (pp. 35-6), as well as the κῆρυξ βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, were exclusively appointed from the *γένος* of the Kerykes. Herodes Atticus was a member of the same.

L. von Sybel. *Toxaris.* After presenting the views of Lobeck, Welcker, Preller, Hirschfeld (*Hermes*, 1874), and Paucker, Sybel insists that Toxaris, the "foreign physician" (*Dem.* XIX 249), and Alkon are three separate persons. Moreover, Sybel holds that Toxaris, the beneficent Scythian, is an invention of Lucian, for the legend of his saving advice how to check the plague at Athens in 430 B. C. is inconsistent with Thucydides. The name of Δειμανέτη, to whom Toxaris is said by Lucian to have appeared on that occasion, has an ironical flavor when reduced to its etymology. As regards the στήλη on the outskirts of Athens, which, according to Lucian, exhibited a Scythian holding a bow in

¹ The reporter desires to express his special obligations to the chief librarian and assistant librarians of Columbia College, New York City, for placing the valuable resources of the library at his disposal.—E. G. S.

one hand and a "roll of MS" in the other, Sybel calls attention to a pair of archers found on the same ground and now preserved in the Museum of Athens, and Sybel's suggestion that Lucian used one of these figures to construct his Toxaris legend upon is certainly very plausible.

H. Nohl. On the Value and Descent of Certain MSS of Cicero's *Verrinae* IV and V preserved at Wolfenbüttel. Nohl holds that they are copies from the text of a Paris MS.

Wilamowitz. Ein altattisches Epigramm. As such W. interprets the poem Anthol. Palat. XIII 28. On its face it is an epinikion of a chorus of the tribe 'Ακαμαντίς at Athens, and it seems to have been inscribed upon the tripod which became the ἀράθημα of the victors. The arguments of Wilamowitz are, of course, mainly based upon internal evidence. The general resemblance which the poem bears to the Pindaric type of composition is striking. W. holds the poem to be a dithyramb of the age of the Persian wars, say between 490 and 480.

The metre, indeed, is anomalous. As a work of art the poem is too inferior to be assigned to either Simonides or Bacchylides; but while of small intrinsic value, these verses would seem to be of considerable historical interest.

G. Faltin. Hannibal's Invasion of Etruria (217 B. C.). The author discusses the historical tradition in detail, weighing the evidence of Polybius and of Livy, as well as of modern students such as Niebuhr, Nissen (*Italische Landeskunde*), Neumann and others. The swamps which Hannibal traversed early in 217 B. C. were on the Etruscan side of the Apennine. A detailed report on this paper would be feasible only if a detailed map of the Apennine could be here affixed.

O. Richter, a special student of the topography of Rome, discusses the term *insula*, quoting, amongst other passages, the following from Festus, p. 111: *Insulae proprie dicuntur quae non iunguntur parietibus cum vicini circuituque publico aut privato cinguntur, i. e. houses detached from all others by an ambitus*, which the Twelve Tables fixed at $2\frac{1}{2}$ *pedes*. Later, when single houses ceased to be thus detached, the word *insula* was used for something analogous to an American 'block,' as well as for large tenements. In the age of Constantine Rome contained, within the walls of Aurelian, 1681 *domus* and 44,300 *insulae*. How is *insula* to be taken for this era? The trouble is that no census of the full number of inhabitants of Rome has been handed down. So much, however, may be gathered from special data (e. g. that at the time of Severus some 200,000 persons were entitled to receive *frumentum publicum*) that it would not do to take *insula* simply as 'house.' Richter holds that *insula* was the unit of taxed property in improved real estate, in very many cases a *curia* or large tenement buildings, in other cases an entire *casus*, *casus* corresponding to 'mansion.' To some extent Richter refers to pages on kindred subjects by the same author, controverted by Jordan.

(Berlin). On the (last) Protesilaos of Euripides, a Reconstruction. This was the first of the Greeks who fell in the Trojan expedition, namely upon landing, having been married but one day when the fleet

set sail from Aulis. Upon imploring the powers of the lower world, he received permission to return (although but for a very brief time) to his young wife. There is some reference to the legend in Eustathius on Il. II 325, where two statements are given. Further on Mayer quotes Tzetzes, who relates in detail that the widow fashioned a wooden image of Protesilaos :

ξέλινον εἰδώλον ποιεὶ μορφῆς Πρωτεσιλάον
καὶ συνεκοίταξεν αὐτῇ τῷ πόθῳ τοῦ συζύγου· κατέ.

Tzetzes also relates that, according to the most correct version, she took her own life with the sword. An image of Protesilaos probably figured in the play. Ovid, Heroid. XIII 150 sqq., makes it wax; the ἀψυχος φίλος of Fragm. 657 evidently is to be understood as referring to the image. Lucian, Dial. Mort. 23, deals with the same subject. Hyginus' collection presents two versions, according to the latter of which Laodamia (the faithful spouse) flung herself upon the pyre on which the waxen image was being consumed at the behest of her father, Acastos. A conflict probably was worked out in the drama as between the young widow and her father: she refusing to surrender the waxen image, and he insisting that she must do so and, moreover, wed a second husband. Then the appearance of Protesilaos from the lower world, the meeting with Laodamia and with Acastos, were no doubt treated by Euripides with telling effect. A sarcophagus in Naples and one in the Vatican exhibit scenes from the legend. The paper is of substantial value.

Th. Mommsen. Zama. Owing to the French invasion of Tunisia, Roman inscriptions in great abundance have been gathered, being found between 1881 and 1884. Amongst other results, this too is notable—that the location of the two Zamas is now ascertained. They were about 30 Roman miles apart, being situated on the northern slopes of that mountain range which is cut in two by the Siliannah River in its upper course, one being about 60, and the westerly about 100 *milia passuum* from Hadrumetum (Sousah), to which port Hannibal fled after the disastrous end of the famous battle 202 B. C. Mommsen argues that the westerly Zama was the scene of the battle.

A. Kirchhoff publishes a very ancient inscription of Thessaly (not much later, according to the character of the letters, than 500 B. C.), which he edits as follows : Μνᾶμ' ἐμί Πινρ(ρ)ιά | δα, δς οὐκ ἡπ(ι) | στατο φείγεται (φείγεται on the ins.) ἀλ(λ)ησθε περ γάς | ράσθε πολ(λ)ην ἄ | μιστεῖν θλατε—an evident attempt to construct an elegiac distich, in which the pentameter, however, goes to pieces. *αιθε* is a problem.

No. II.

A. Kopp (on the Homeric Lexicon of Apion) discusses the sources of certain glosses contained in the Homer MSS Baroccianus of Oxford, and a Darmstadt MS. The principle of Apion's lexicon (discernible even now, in spite of the late shape in which the remnants appear, and the woful condition of the present collection) seems to have been to give every sense of those words which have more than one meaning. Exceptions are probably due to later compilers. Many articles in the Homeric lexicon of Apollonius Sophista are due to Apion, in defense of which view Kopp argues against Lehrs.

H. Kütlewein. Critical Notes on the Text of Hippocrates' Treatise on Wounds in the Head, often criticising Littré's edition.

R. Thommesen. On the Time at which Polybius composed his History (pp. 166-230). He calls attention to the fact that Polybius, at the outset, marked the downfall of the Macedonian dynasty, 168 B. C., as the limit of his work; later, however, he undertook the writing of subsequent events down to 145 B. C.—events of which he was not only a spectator, but in which he to a certain extent shared as an actor (III 4, 13). Books I-II were composed as one work. These books were composed while Polybius was still, officially, a prisoner of state, although at liberty to move about freely in Italy, visiting Locri, e. g. before 156 B. C., likewise the Po-country, etc.

Next, as to Books III-VI. In VI, capp. 52, 56, etc., Polybius, in comparing the character and practice of Rome and Carthage, uses the present tense in a way that would be inconsistent with the destruction of Carthage; evidently these books were written before 146. Both in VI 1, 1-3 and in III 1, 8 he maintains the period of 33 years as the compass of his task.

Passages which suggest later composition, Thommen (pp. 210 sqq.) explains as later additions by Polybius. In the company of Scipio Aemilianus, Polybius made a journey across the Alps to Spain, and into Africa, where he met and conversed with did Massinissa.¹ Books VII-VIII afford no clues for chronological determination. In IX 9, 9 Polybius still speaks of Carthage as a political power in the present tense. XII 25, 3 implies the actual existence of Carthage; other *indicus* point to the conclusion that this book was written between 155-152. XIV 10, 5 is interpreted in a similar manner. The chronological explanation of the reference to the splendor of Jerusalem, XVI 39, 4-5, Thommen leaves an open question. But, to sum up, Th. argues that Books I-XXX contained the carrying out of his great original project, viz. to bring his work down to 103 B. C.

After an interval of 15 years or so he added the rest. The episode on his personal relations to Scipio Aemilianus in XXXII was probably written before² the death of Scipio, 120 B. C., and after 132. Many portions of this, as well as of other portions of these later books, were jotted down immediately after the events, and were bodily edited in the old age of the author. On the whole, chronological clues in the second portion of the work are rarer.

Jul. Beloch (On the National Wealth of Attica) attempts to overthrow the accepted views on population, grain-production, wealth, as laid down by Boeckh in the *Staatshaushaltung*; the grain-production, which Boeckh put at 2,800,000 medimni, Beloch reduces to 700,000. Much of the argument of Beloch turns on the subject of *εισοδοι*, which for the era of Demosthenes Boeckh takes as meaning not only the property-tax itself, but also the *rate* of assessment. This interpretation Beloch rejects, but goes still further, viz. he discredits the data presented by Demosthenes, contra Aphobum I, as to the patrimony of Demosthenes, claiming, e. g. that the slaves who were cutlers were not worth five to six minae (cf. Aphob. 9) each, but only two minae. Demosthenes, he claims, exaggerated his fortune threefold or more, and all computations based thereon must fall to the ground according to Beloch.

¹ Thommen's attempt to prove that Polybius made other tours across the Alps before this one seems to rest on very slender foundations indeed.—E. G. S.

² But how is XXXII 9, 1 to be explained: οἵτος ἡ καθῆσαν ἐγέλασμα τὸν Λευκίωνος δὲ τὴν Πάτημα δέξαται?—E. G. S.

While the arguments of Beloch impress the reader in the main as defective,¹ it will be well if his speculations stir up classical students to renewed study of the data and topics involved.

W. Soltau. On the Manipular System of Roman Tactics. H. Delbrück (Hist. Zeitschrift, Neue Folge, XV 239) had seriously questioned whether the accepted view of the arrangement of the *manipuli*, and subsequently of the cohorts, in battle—the famous system of intervals producing the *quincunx*—was really correct, but he seems to have overlooked the manoeuvre of *laxare ordines*, by which, in the moment of going into action, the actual front was easily doubled; which point, too, is referred to by Polybius in his description of the battle of Kynoskephalai, 197 B. C., in which the Roman *manipuli* were confronted with the Macedonian phalanx. Polybius says that while standing in battle array, the Romans, just like the phalanx of Macedon, occupied three feet per man, but double the space in action: *προφανές, ὅτε χάλασμα καὶ διάστασιν ἀλλήλων ἔχει τοὺς ἀνδράς ἐλάχιστον τρεις πόδας καὶ κατὰ παραστάτην, εἰ μέλλουσιν εὐχρηστεῖν πρὸς τὸ θέον.* 'Εκ δὲ τούτου συμβίσσεται τὸν ἵνα 'Ρωμαῖον ἴσταθει κατὰ δύο πρωτοστάτας τῶν φαλαγγιτῶν, κτέ.'

Th. Mommsen. Oropos and the Roman Tax-Farmers. In 86 B. C. Sulla defeated the generals of Mithridates at Chaeronea. About this time he made a vow to Amphiaraos giving immunity from Roman taxation to the citizens of Oropos, and decreeing that all revenues and imposts of that port should be set aside for the sanctuary of Amphiaraos there. Now, the *publicani*, in course of time, insisted on collecting taxes from Oropos, and pointed to the clause in their contract with the State which exempted lands and other property consecrated to the "immortal gods," claiming that Amphiaraos was nothing of the kind. Three delegates from Oropos, together with representatives of the *publicani*, in 73 B. C., appeared before a sub-committee of 15 senators, of whom M. Tullius Cicero was one, arguing the case. This committee decided against the *publicani*, and upheld the decree of Sulla and the resultant claim of the Oropians. All of this is set forth in an inscription found on a marble slab near the ancient site of the sanctuary of Amphiaraos near Oropus, found by the Archaeological Society of Athens, in course of recent excavations, and first published in the *Ἑφημερίς ἀρχαιολογική*, 1884, p. 98 sqq. The Greek text is palpably a slavish translation of the Latin document received from Rome..

Th. Kock. Emendationes Aeschyleae.

E. G. SIEHLER.

INTERNATIONALE ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR ALLGEMEINE SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT, von F. TECHMER. II Band, I Hälfte. Leipzig, 1885.

The new journal, now in its second year, goes on to justify its name by being fairly international. The Germans, indeed, predominate; but alongside of articles from Leipzig and Halle, come others from London and St. Petersburg

¹ One of the chief arguments of Beloch's paper turns on the correct interpretation of c. Aphob, 7: "τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῆς οὐσίας ὡρι τοῦτο" ἢν τὸ καταλειφθέν κτί," where ὁσον must be taken as referring to the *rate* of taxes paid (so per cent.) on the assessment, and where, most assuredly, the context implies that the lower assessments involved a *lower rate*. Boeckh's view of *εἰσφόρα* for the present should be maintained.—E. G. S.

and Washington; and two of the essays are in English. In all the points that make the attractive book, Techmer's *Zeitschrift* is beautiful to see, pleasant to handle, and easy to read. In contents also, especially to students of anthropology and of language on its psychological and scientific sides, the journal offers many attractions. And even for students of narrower range, for specialists in Latin, Greek, English, etc., there is a good amount of new knowledge and of useful facts and theories. It is, indeed, the manifest aim of Dr. Techmer to bring the most modern achievements of linguistic science into relation with the practical processes of teaching. In his philology there is a strong bent toward pedagogy.

In the new number, the article that has the deepest and most permanent interest is one of 80 pages, by Dr. F. Kluge, of Jena, on the History of Sign-Language. In this he edits with admirable precision an Anglo-Saxon treatise, never published before, on the Sign-Language of the Anglo-Saxon Monasteries. The text, with translation and notes, fills 13 pages. In respect both of the language itself, which is very careful and precise in grammatical forms, and very rich in vocabulary, and also of the customs and manners revealed, this treatise is of lively interest and great value.

Next in this in value comes a long essay, of 71 pages, by Dr. A. F. Pott, of Halle, the beginning of a great work to be called an Introduction to the General Science of Language. This beginning is devoted to the literature and bibliography of the less familiar departments of the science. It brings together into one body of classified authorities, carefully criticised, the chief works, down to the most modern, that bear on the languages of Asia. Under each head the author gives an interesting, and sometimes elaborate, discussion of the linguistic position and relation of the language or dialect in question. The essay represents the outcome of an enormous learning. Of especial interest are his remarks on the language of Japan, pp. 74 seq., of the Caucasus, pp. 99 seq., and of the Gypsies, pp. 111 seq. Under this last head, Dr. Pott, going back to his own brilliant study of the Gypsy language, published 1844-5, gathers together the facts accumulated during forty years to give support to the theory of Gypsy origin that may now be accepted as final.

In addition to these two great articles, there are five others that from one or other aspect of philology are worth study. Dr. G. Ehres gives, in 31 pages, a bright and learned sketch of Kichard Lopush as student of languages. Prof. Hubert Baynes, writing in English, gives, in 12 pages, a suggestive essay "On the Psychological Side of Language." Dr. Karl Abel, in an essay that promises much for the future, opens up, in 16 pages, some new views on "The Question of the Relationship of Languages." Dr. W. Radloff, of St. Petersburg, in a series of 10 pages, continues his account of the language of the Komisians, although very clearly arranged and in a course book can have interest only for students. But the essay by the editor, Dr. Techmer, "On the Development, Formation and Acquisition of a Language," will interest all those who are either students or teachers. No three countries that have so much the same or any one of the great mother languages, the same reasoning, the same method and definite results of their study are very valuable.

Now, as respects of the philosophy of language, the essay of Baynes is

founded upon the study of the ways in which reason and speech, as inter-dependent powers, act and react upon each other. There is, he says, p. 3 *seq.*, in the development of the human being a fourfold succession of phenomena: 1st, feeling; 2d, sensation; 3d, perception; 4th, apperception. Of these, feeling and sensation result respectively in cries and interjections. Perception now comes into play, and out of these cries and interjections produces, by means of onomatopoeia, a new class of sounds, which deserve to be called words. Finally, apperception, which is the grouping of perceptions into concepts, gives the possibility of connected discourse "in an endless progress of linguistic structure and variety." The reasoning is subtle, but it is clearly stated and well exemplified. The theory itself, if accepted, has the merit of making atonement between two sharply conflicting theories. Strangely enough, Dr. Techmer, in his essay, p. 145 *seq.*, approaches the same problem, trying another line of solution. But, although he starts from a different point, he too works out a fourfold succession in the development of speech: 1st, the period of natural cries and significant gestures; 2d, the period of pointing (demonstrative roots); 3d, the period of imitation (onomatopoeia); 4th, the period of metaphor, symbolism and abstraction. The two schemes have, it is plain, much in common, and they explain much. In each the 4th stage has the highest interest. Here, too, in explaining the formation of concepts, Baynes comes to a threefold statement of the process. Where Techmer has metaphor, symbolism and abstraction, Baynes has synonymy, homonymy and antonymy. This does not seem so adequate as Techmer's division; but it serves to introduce a beautiful discussion of some difficult and neglected parts of philology. The power of antonymy—*e. g., bad and better* in English—to form words and develop roots, has never, we think, been enough regarded. In connection with this subject, the quotations made by Techmer from Wundt's Logic, p. 147 *seq.*, show how firmly that great master of modern psychology has grasped the problem of human speech. Dr. Pott, on p. 92, brings forward a marvellous fact to unsettle accepted notions on the rapid growth and divergence of dialects. After so many centuries of separation, the Turks from Constantinople and the Siberian Turks from Tomsk and Jenisseisk are still able, by speaking slowly, to understand each other. On p. 55 of the same essay Dr. Pott gives a document of great scientific value in the classification of languages. It is the list prepared by Wiedemann of the languages spoken (1881) in the Russian Empire—a list arranged both according to morphological types and according to ethnographical groups. In respect of the study of barbaric languages and dialects—a study that now absorbs so much of the most adventurous intellect of philology—Dr. Ebers gives a picture of Lepsius' method which may serve both as warning and as encouragement. Lepsius checked and controlled his vast historical study of language in general and by family by means of the most minute study of language in particular. "In his great Introduction he boldly sketched the outline of a vast linguistic history that had run on for four or five thousand years, and embraced all the countries of Africa and the adjacent coast-lands of Asia; but in his Nubian Grammar he showed how to use the linguistic microscope and lay bare the nice phonetic shades of dialectic usage"; cf. pp. xix-xx. In the philosophy of language, however, it is the application, use or abuse, of the Darwinian theory of evolution that must most

excite the minds of contemporary thinkers. On this the views of Dr. Pott and the views of Dr. Abel, both presented with vigor and clearness, standing by accident opposed to each other in these pages, give to this volume of Techmer a singular interest. The older scholar attacks with vehement energy the theory that in the evolution of human speech there has been any steady development of the lower type into the higher (p. 66 *seq.*). There was, he maintains, no evolution of Indo-Germanic languages from Semitic or Turanian, no evolution of Semitic from Turanian. He sums up, on p. 103, with weighty words: "According to our present knowledge, we are fully justified in denying boldly the genealogical, nay more, the physiological unity of this trio of families, not to speak of others." Yet, with the generosity of boundless resources, even while he attacks and denies the evolution of language according to the scheme of the Darwinians, he gives, p. 79, to the attacked philosophy the knowledge and use of a new fact: "The people of Thibet derives, by tradition, its origin from a pair of apes—a piece of news that Darwinians ought not to let escape them. The race, however, speaks a human language." Against this statement of the absolute difference between Aryan and Semitic languages comes the essay of Dr. Abel. It is, in fact, a preparation of the public mind for the important book that he is now publishing.¹ He starts from a discussion of W. von Humboldt's famous *dictum* that resemblance in inflection is a better means of establishing kinship among languages than the common possession of significant roots. This is, indeed, true of languages that separated after the period of inflection had set in. But it cannot apply to languages that separated from each other before the parent language had developed its system of inflections. Here the resemblance of significant roots would be, it is plain, the only means of proving community of origin. This now is assumed by Abel to be the relation between Indo-European and Semitic languages. And, in his view, the old Egyptian, as now revealed, is "the bridge between the Indo-European and the Semitic groups." By a study of the established roots of the old Egyptian, we can, he thinks, trace those roots downward, independent of inflection; both into the Indo-European and into the Semitic tongues. In announcing his Dictionary of Roots, he promises to show that "at some remote period the formation of roots and stems went on by a common law in the three great branches of the Caucasian race, Egyptian, Aryan and Semitic." The essay is written with all the subtle charm and delightful suggestiveness of Dr. Abel's philological method. It raises the hope of seeing this great problem of science at last solved.

Secondly, in respect of the science of language-teaching, the long essay of Dr. Techmer, pp. 114-92, contains a great body of useful facts and thoughtful suggestions. In America, especially, where the reform and extension of modern-language teaching are now so warmly discussed, this essay should be studied by many. The question of the age at which the learning of the modern languages ought to begin comes in for elaborate discussion. Apart from exceptional cases, the editor thinks the age of eleven to be the right time for beginning, if (and the condition is all-important) the child have by this time a good mastery of words and constructions in his mother tongue. The method

¹ Einleitung in ein ägyptisch-semitisch-indoeuropäisches Wurzelwörterbuch. Leipzig, Fried-
richs, 1886.

of instruction in the foreign language is then given with great detail and in admirable sequence. The editor's advice as to the use to make of practical phonetics in language-teaching is practical and wise. As to the scope of such teaching, he quotes the resolution adopted by the Convention of German Philologists and Schoolmasters at Dessau in 1885: "In French, as in English, in the elementary instruction, the reading of text ought to be the beginning and the aim, and the grammar ought to be taught only in subordination to that end by the inductive method" (p. 143). For the German child, the right beginning of foreign-language study is, Dr. Techmer urges, by all means the English. The arguments by which the claim of the English over the French is made good are ingenious and convincing. Finally, as to the teaching of the mother tongue itself, the editor exposes ably the radical blunder of Jacob Grimm, who, as is known, denied that the study of grammar should have any part in the study of the mother tongue by children. Against Grimm's fanciful conception of a method that should exclude grammar, he sets the able and profound words of Dr. von Raumer in favor of the right kind and amount of grammatical teaching. And even from Grimm himself he quotes later expressions of opinion that reduce his famous paradox almost to right reason.

In Latin, Dr. Pott⁶ shows examples—e. g., *pad* and *duc*, p. 72—of roots that have the double function of noun and verb; and he points out the derivation of *pandere* and *passus* from *pad* (to go). He uses Latin examples also to illustrate the principle of phonetic symbolism; as compared with verbs that denote the passive state or condition, those verbs that denote the active bringing about of that condition—i. e., causatives—are fitly characterized by a greater energy of consonants or by a heavier weight of vowels—e. g., *sédare*, *sópio*.

In Greek, Dr. Pott brings back from his review of the Asiatic languages many definite etymologies of borrowed words. *Baθυλόν* has nothing to do with "confusion of tongues": it is the *Babilu* of the cuneiform inscriptions, "the gate of the god of the river," p. 57. *δάχνος*, used by the author of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* to mean south, is the modern *Dekhan*: and the form of the word shows that by this time the Sanskrit form had passed into Prakrit. *Taix* is the Tamil word *tōgei*. *σάνταλον* is the Sanskrit *chandana*, a tree from the Malabar region.

In English, finally, the essays contain a good number of interesting facts. *Japan* is the Chinese *si-pen* (sun-rise), a parallel to *Levant* and *Natolia*. Pott, p. 75. *Chemistry* is from the Koptic *chame* (black), the art of the dark-skinned Egyptians, *ib.* p. 82. *Shaster*, the Gypsy word for Bible, is the Sanskrit *gāstra*; and *devel*, the Gypsy word for God, is the Skt. *deva*, p. 114. *Ophir* is probably the Skt. *Suviva*, a land and nation in western India. *Tartar* is the Chinese *Tata*, and owes its r's to the punning of St. Louis with *Tartarus*, p. 84. *Turanian* and *Turan* are probably from the Afghan word *tūr* (black), p. 90. *Aryan*, traced back through its vast ramifications, seems to be the Skt. *aryd* (faithful). *Hindū* and *Hindoo*, as names of India, come from the Skt. *sindhu* (river), the native name of the *Indus*, p. 109. *Better*, through Gothic *batiwa*, is traced back to a supposed Gothic verb *batan* (to be useful), cognate with Skt. *bhad-ra* (joyous), from root *bhand* (to shout), p. 104.

The syntactical relation between *than* and *then* is well developed by Pott on p. 68. The difference in nature and function between English and Chinese

monosyllables—a point on which much confusion exists—is clearly expounded on p. 59. Finally, on p. 75, Dr. Pott traces out the curious historical parallel between the Japanese and the English as "mixed languages." The learned Chinese is there to the inherited Japanese as here the Latin to the Anglo-Saxon. The borrowed element is in both cases defined and controlled in grammar by the native.

THOS. R. PRICE.

ARCHIV FÜR LATEINISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE UND GRAMMATIK. Zweiter Jahrgang.

Heft 4.

This number opens with an article on *Per*, pp. 497–508, by Friedrich Stoltz, which is intended to enlighten classical philologists, and to rid them of serious errors of conception in regard to the origin of this preposition. The oft-asserted identity of *per* with *παρά* must be given up. *παρά* represents an Indo-Germanic instrumental *prād*, while *per* represents a locative *peri* which before a vowel had lost its *i* and then become generalized. The accusative form of *per* is seen in *perendie* for **peremdie*. The real representative of the Greek *παρά* in Latin is *por-*, seen in *polliceo*, *portendo*, etc., while *prae* represents an Indo-Germanic dat. sing. *prādī*. The original signification of *per*, from which the other meanings have been developed, was that of "räumliche Durchdringung." Compounds of *per* are then classified under the following heads: (1) where *per* = *rings um*, *rings umher*, *der Reihe nach*; (2) = *durch*, *hindurch*, *zer-*; (3) = *darüber hinaus*; (4) where it expresses "die Vollendung oder einen hohen Grad der betreffenden Handlung oder des Zustandes, ferner die lange Dauer der- oder desselben." All the prepositional uses are easily derived from the first two of these meanings, but these uses are not considered in detail by Stoltz. The postpositional *per*, seen in *topper*, *nuper*, *parumper*, etc., he compares with the Oscan *-pert*, following Mommsen.

Bücheler, p. 508, adduces new evidence from Photios, Lex. 592, for the obscene meaning attaching to *titus*, already discussed in Archiv II, p. 120, and shows that in the Sardinian *tidu*, *tidone*, *tuddne*, there are still traces of the word *titus* in the sense of dove.

Thielmann, pp. 509–549, brings to a conclusion his article on "*Habere mit dem Part. Perf. Pass.*" He emphasizes the point that the necessity of distinguishing between the logical or present perfect and the aorist perfect may have contributed to the use of *cognitum habeo* for the former. In recommending one person to another a regular formula is *commendatum habeto*. In Gaul *receptum* is substituted for *commendatum*. Other imperative forms are *dictum habeto*, *praeceptum habeto*, *promissum habeto*, *pactum habeto*. To confirm the close connection between the forms *mihi cognitum est* and *habeo cognitum*, he points to the fact that in most of the expressions where in Plautus the so-called Greek dative is used with a perfect participle, a parallel use with *habeo* is developed later, e. g. with *emptum*, *acceptum*, *spectatum*, *exquisitum*. In Cicero especially *habeo* is thus found combined with verbs which express an activity of the mind, particularly in the philosophical works. Thus we have Acad.

2, 2, *in animo res inscriptas habebat*. Tusc. I, 57, *insitas et quasi consignatas habere in animis*. Cicero sometimes combines several synonyms, as De Fin. II, 6, *habere bene cognitam voluptatem et satis firme conceptam animo atque comprehensam*. In this he is followed by Arnobius, who has the simple *cognitum habeo* but once. It is remarkable that *cognitum habeo*, so frequent in Cicero, does not occur in the letters of his correspondents, nor in Caesar, Sallust and Livy, who only use the passive form *est mihi cognitum*. Cicero usually has the order *habeo cognitum*, in which he is followed by Arnobius and Lactantius. In only two cases has he *cognitum habeo*, which, however, became the more usual order. The passive *aliquid cognitum habetur* does not occur until the sixth century. *Incognitum habeo* is first used by Suetonius, and its passive is found in Gallic Latin from the sixth century on. *Notum habui* is used by Valerius Maximus as a perfect to present *novi*, and this usage is noted by Diomedes and Charisius. *Ignotum habeo* is very rare. *Compertum habeo* was a great favorite with historical writers, occurring most frequently in Livy, but used also by orators. *Exploratum habeo* was used but for a short time. *Certum habeo*, used chiefly in the first person singular, and at first confined to the epistolary style, afterwards extended its use. *Persuasum habeo* is not used by Cicero, but found in Caesar and later writers. *Comprehensum habere* is philosophical and not at all colloquial, chiefly occurring in Cicero and his imitators. To sum up, historically, the occurrence of this usage in the comic poets proves it to be of the people. Terence is more limited in its use. It occurs in military expressions and in law Latin. Caesar uses *effectum habere*, the jurists *factum habere*. The usage is at its height in Caesar and Cicero; already, in the second century, it is found principally in the jurists. Few new examples are found in the African Latinity or elsewhere in writers of the third, fourth and fifth centuries. But in the sixth century the scene changes, and in Gregory of Tours we have a great many examples, affecting nearly every verb and not confined to fixed formulas. The early confusion of tenses in the Gallic Latin probably led to the revival and extension of the usage. In Italy and Spain the vulgar formation of the perfect with *habeo* followed somewhat later.

Karl Sittl (pp. 550-80): Zur Beurtheilung des sog. Mittellateins. After a brief examination of the causes which led to the decadence of Latin, affecting its study in the schools and its correct use by the people, the special conditions existing in Spain, France and Italy are touched upon, and an attempt is made to fix a date when Middle Latin may be said to begin. Except for Spain, this may be put about the middle of the sixth century. When we remember that before this time final *m* was silent, final *i* had sunk to *e*, final *u* to *o*; that the sharp distinction between long and short vowels was lost, and *ae* written not simply for *ɛ*, but for *ɛ̄*, the decay of the Latin declension cannot excite wonder. In the first declension there were properly but two cases: nom., voc., acc., abl. in *a*; gen., dat. in *e*. In the second declension the dat., acc., abl. ended in *o*, the gen. in *i*, with great irregularities in spelling. In the third declension all the oblique cases virtually ended in *e*, although for the gen. the spellings *is*, *i*, *es*, *e*, *em*, *ae* are found, and similar confusion prevailed in the other cases. The fourth declension was merged in the second, and the fifth in the third. In the nom. s. of Declension II a difference of treatment arose. In Italy, Spain and Switzerland final *s* was mostly dropped. In France it was more

often retained. The people, moreover, said *aprus*, not *aper*. In Decl. III, except in France, *es* and *e* were identical, and new nominatives were formed after the analogy of the oblique cases, as *cucumer*, *vomer*, *merces* for *merx*; *pontes* for *pons*; *antistites*, *principes*, etc. The nom. was even written *facultatem*, *principem*, the *m.* of course, being silent. In neuters we find new nominatives like *carcere*, *animale*, *sale*, *melle*, although neuters in *us* sometimes go over to the II Decl. In the plural the following endings occur:

I Decl. Nom. *e* (= *ae*) ; acc. *as* ; dat., abl. *is*, *es*, *iz*.

II Decl. Nom. *i*, acc. *os*, more frequently written *us* ; dat., abl. *is*, *es*, *aes*, *ies*. Neuters : nom., acc. *a*.

III Decl. Nom., acc. *es*, *is*, *ies*. With this is merged the V Decl., as the IV with the II Decl.

In the gen. pl. the III, IV and V Declensions followed the analogy of the I and II. Thus we find from *mensis*, *misoro*, *mesoro*, *mesorum*, *μησωρον*, *mesoru* and *misoru*. These, however, do not occur in France. A few examples are given of datives irregularly formed, as *amicibus*, *avibus*, *natibus*, *colonibus*, but the lengthy ending in *ibus* was for the most part avoided.

As a consequence of this blurring of case-endings, the feeling for proper syntax is lost. The accusative is used for the abl. absolute, as in late Latin the abl. was rarely used without a preposition. Hence *se vivum*, *impelta tempora*, *rebelles caeos*, etc. The acc. is used for the nom. In an inscription of 341 occurs (*h*)*onorem oblatum est*, pronounced *onore oblatu est*.

In Italy the loss of final *s* in plural cases led also to the following results : 1. In Declensions I and II the nom. takes the place of acc. 2. In Declension III, for distinction from the singular, the *i* of the second declension is adopted. Hence *ad omni* = *ad omnes*. In France, on the contrary, the *s* was retained. This difference may often serve to fix the locality of certain documents.

The details in regard to the neuter plural forms, and the fate in a later period of the singular forms above described, cannot here be given. In closing, the writer calls attention to new growths which accompanied the decay, especially to the use of *de* and *ad* to express case-relation. In this abstract we have necessarily omitted the numerous examples with the exact references.

Wölfflin, pp. 581-97, gives a full account of the usage of *instar* in different periods, and offers an ingenious explanation of its origin. From glosses and from the literary use, the first meaning of *instar* is shown to have reference to size, with an implication of equivalence to something else; the idea of similitude is a development from this, and not established before Vergil. *Ad instar*, which does not occur before the second century, is due to the efforts of African writers to give *instar* a legitimate construction like *ad exemplum*. Later on *tuxta* and *secundum* are made to govern *instar*. Ovid uses *pondus et instar*, Columella *instar pondo*. Wölfflin, accordingly, comparing a Swiss-German expression, "die Stimmen stehen in (ein)" = "die beiden Wagschalen halten sich das Gleichgewicht," and noticing that *oratyp* and *statera* are used for balance, assumes that *instar* is an old inf. = *instare* with loss of final *e*, accompanied by a shortening of *ar*. One may also assume *poculum est in stare librae* = "der Becher ist so schwer, das er die Andere mit einem Pfunde belegte Wagschale zum stehen bringt." This removes most of the difficulties, and explains at once why *instar* was indeclinable.

Goetz, p. 597, withdraws his emendation of two passages in Apuleius, given in the previous number, p. 341, and which we characterized as venturesome, being reminded by Dr. Gunderman of ἀφάνναι, ἐν ἀφάνναις, and the gloss of Suidas, σκινθαψός : ἀφάνναι, and apinae : φάννας. The gloss he now would explain in this way:

aefamiae : [apinae]
aestimiae :] pro aestimationibus.

He queries also whether it may not be identical with Ital. *affanno*, Diez. I, 8. The St. Gall gloss, *aefunne*, we still think represents a Greek word.

Another specimen of the *thesaurus* prepared by Hauler includes the words *abdicabilis*, *abdicatio*, *abdicativus* and *abdicatoria*.

Zingerle, p. 604, points out the archaic *donicum* used by Hilarius, Prol. Psalm. 2, Mign., p. 234, 4; also *episcopium*, Hilar., Prol. Psalm. 1, Mign., p. 233, 15.

The *Miscellen*, pp. 605-16, which are particularly interesting in this number, include short articles by Bücheler, Stowasser, Vogel, Sittl, Havet, and a list of additions and corrections to previous numbers prepared by the editor.

Pp. 617-30 are occupied by reviews.

M. W.

FLECKEISEN'S JAHRBUCHER FÜR CLASSISCHE PHILOLOGIE. 1883.¹

Fascicle 7.

66. A review of Schneidewin's *Agamemnon*, second edition, revised by Otto Hense; review by Wecklein. Hense is commended for abandoning that radical treatment to which he subjected his revision of Nauck's *Trachiniai*. H. has left Schneidewin's own work on the *Agamemnon* uncorrected, as far as possible, though a decided toning down of S.'s exaggerated discoveries of the height and depth of the poet's meaning is apparent. This moderation, however, has led to an unevenness and an occasional inconsistency. One must regret the strong influence which Ahrens' work (first supp. vol. *Philologus*) has had on Hense. A full account is presented of all those portions of this edition where the impression of inaccuracy or faulty judgment is given. The review is not favorable.

67. Zu Aischylos. Three short articles, the first by Lugebil, supplementary to Nauck, on the interchange of πολίς and μέγας in Aisch. Application of these remarks is made to the *Seven against Thebes*, 489, and the question is raised whether we are to read πιλάτην or μεγάλην. The next is by Mähly, on the first chorus of the *Hiketides*; the third, by A. Hildebrandt, in reply to Lugebil (Jgbr., 1882, p. 727), on the interpretation of lines 380 and 381 in the *Seven*. In the ninth *Yasna* chapter of the *Avesta*, Haoma tells Zarathustra, who was the first man to press the Haoma: "Kerasaspa was a noble youth who slew the horned dragon, the devourer of horses and men, poisonous and green. Over him Kerasaspa cooked his meal at midday; then was it hot for the dragon; he issued forth and upset the boiling water." If he also howled, we get some light possibly upon the μεσημβρινὴ κλαγγαῖ of the dragon in Aischylos.

¹ See A. J. P. VI, p. 504; also VI, p. 234.

68. *δ, ὅπερ, ἀ*, in the sense of 'wherefore,' 'while,' 'although.' The article is by R. Schneider, and covers ten pages. The conclusion drawn is: The acc. of specification in pronouns, where it serves to connect with what goes before, in the sense of 'with ref. to which,' 'wherefore,' 'since indeed,' 'although,' or 'while,' begins with Homer, runs down into late Greek, in writers of prose and poetry, but is at no time common. This warns us to be careful in emending such uses of these pronouns.

69. On the hypothesis of Aristophanes' Wasps. K. Zacher, Breslau. Critical notes.

70. Zu Ciceros Briefen. Critical note on Epis. XV 4, by B. Hirschwaldt, Breslau.

71. Pausanias und seine ankläger. J. Schubart, Kassel. A sharp and decidedly unfavorable review of G. Hirschfeld's article in the Archaeol. Zeitung, XL 97 ff., 'Pausanias und die inschriften von Olympia.' Hirschfeld may have shown quite clearly that Pausanias' list of athletes does not reach beyond the second century B. C., and may have compared all that has been found and bears upon the list of athletes with great care. But that Pausanias described not the Olympia of his time, but of 200 B. C., is a thesis, as S. firmly maintains, which Hirschfeld has not yet proved.

72. Baedeker's Griechenland (1883). Favorably reviewed by L. Schwabe, Tübingen.

73. Zu Ciceros Rede pro Milone. Textual criticisms by A. Uttenkamp and Rohde.

(9.) Zu Florus. Three emendations proposed by Eussner, Würzburg.

84. *Animum inducere* in old Latin. A. Funck. The meanings of this expression are reduced to two categories: First, where the meaning is 'to convince one's self'; secondly, where the meaning is 'to decide.' These two meanings, which can easily fall together, came from one origin. *Animum inducere* with *ut*, or with the infinitive, often conformed with *aliquem inducere*. Madvig, however, in discussing Livy's use of this expression, shows where it did not conform.

(49.) Wisibada. S. Widmann, Wiesbaden. A discussion of Cuno's derivation of this name (see Jgbr., 1883, p. 302).

75. Horazischer realismus. Th. Plüss, Basel. The Horatian realism touched upon here is to be found in the aging Lydia and the 25th of the first book of Odes. Sarcasm as a motive in Horace is not so common as we would have it; frequently, where it does become the motive, there is no intention to hurt or to be personal. Nay, his sarcasm may arouse some entirely opposite feeling, like pity. Horatian realism may, after all, be ideal both in purpose and in effect. The sharp and hard lines of a hard and sharp actuality are intended to reproduce an aesthetic effect on the spectator, who recognizes in the picture the clear image of what he had often felt, though perhaps obscurely. There is no crass realism in Carm. II 20.

76. Zum libellus de Constantino Magno. Hydenreich, Freiberg. A new edition of this work is necessary, in which many improvements in the text as we have it may find place, by collating the new manuscript C.

Fascicle 8.

77. *Prolegomena ad papyrorum graecorum novam collectionem edendam.* C. Wessely, reviewed by Landwehr, Berlin. An analysis of W.'s work is given, but Landwehr confines his review to the *disquisitiones palaeographicae* and *diplomaticae*, and the *interpretatio instrumenti I* and *II*. The review is not favorable; it fails, however, to expose any positive errors in Wessely's work. The larger work, to which these prolegomena were to serve as a preface, not yet having appeared, it was impossible that the reviewer, in aught he had to say, should feel assured that he hit just those features of the treatise which deserved either censure or praise.

78. *Zu Hieronymus de viris illustribus.* Textual notes on three passages, by W. Gemoll, Striegau.

79. *Zur geschichte des zweiten athenischen bundes.* Höck, Husum. This was the federation of B. C. 378. Busolt had concluded as to its terms that, in deliberations on war, peace, and treaties with other States, the members of it had only an advisory power with reference to the Athenians. The demus might, therefore, reject a dogma of the council of the confederation for a treaty to be concluded with a foreign State, which would then have a binding force on the members of it, without even the Athenians taking the trouble to inform them. This view Höck opposed in the *Jahrb.*, 1878, 473 ff. In the present article he argues from the formulas of the oaths as found in C. I. A. II 1; add. n. 49b. In *Hermes* XIV 119 ff. he argued from the terms of the peace of Philokrates, holding that the Athenians, in consultations on war, peace, and alliances, were guided by the proposals of the majority of the confederation; or if they rejected or changed them, such action was to be ratified by it before its members could be compelled to conform. Lenz now understands that the δόγματα συμμάχων did not have so great importance in treaties of alliance as in war and peace. Höck's present article aims to combat this and to answer Busolt.

80. *Zur schlacht bei Marathon.* Sohr, Wiesbaden. An explanation of Nepos's description: "Namque arbores multis locis erant rarae."

81. *Homerisches.* C. Nauck. Note on *εἰκοσινήρτος* and on *ἔξετε ἀδμήτην*, Il. Ψ 266 and 655.

82. *Zur landeskunde und geschichte Kilikiens.* Neumann. 25 pages devoted, first, to the western limit of Kilikia; secondly, to the pass between Kilikia and Syria. K. Müller is our only authority on the divisions of Asia Minor. This paper would supplement his work on Kilikia by a quotation from Strabo that Artemidoros made Kilikia begin with Kelenderis; what lay west of it did not belong to Kilikia. Pomponius Mela and Plinius, however, give Anemurium as the western limit. As to the pass between Kilikia and Syria, it was what is to-day the pass in the Province So, and not the one in Demir Kapu.

83. *Zu Minucius Felix.* Eussner, Würzburg. In Oct. 10, 3 *non regnata* is proposed for *non regna*.

84. *Zu Hesychios Milesios.* Hesselmeyer, Tübingen. Critical notes.

85. Ein vermeintlicher archetypus des Lucretius. Brieger, Halle. Against Woltjer's hypothesis of an original codex as common source for those now in existence (Jahrb., 1881, pp. 769-83). This hypothesis is based upon the fact that omissions, interpolations, and disarrangement of lines are not infrequently separated from one another by an interval of 13 lines, or a multiple of 13. Of this Brieger makes a critical examination, coming to the conclusion that the number of places where corruptions of the text, of any character at all, occur and can be explained on this hypothesis, is very small; and over against this number stands a still larger one of corruptions which speak directly against it. There are only 25 cases to support W.'s hypothesis—too few, according to the reviewer, to render probable the existence of this archetype, with its 26 lines to a page, 13 to a column.

86. Zu Ciceros briefwechsel mit M. Brutus. O. E. Schmidt. This comes as a protest against the rather general acceptance of Meyer's skeptical views touching some of the letters to Brutus, in his pamphlet, "Untersuchung über die Frage der Echtheit des Briefwechsels Ciceros ad Brutum." He examines Meyer's five or six specifications on the spuriousness of the third of the first book of letters; yet he comes to no convincing results that show Meyer to have failed at all.

87. Zur lateinischen anthologie. Eussner, Würzburg. A note on Seneca's *De Vita Humiliori*.

88. Zur Orestis Tragoedia. K. Rossberg. Textual criticisms on some 75 lines.

(50.) Philologische gelegenheitsschriften.

Fascicle 9.

89. Das erste jahr des peloponnesischen krieges. Ein beitrag zur chronologie des Thukydides. H. Müller-Strübing, London. This is a lengthy article, running through 35 pages of this fascicle and 55 of the following. Lack of space would seem to forbid any adequate summary of it here; the article is commended in its entirety to those interested in the subject discussed.

90. Zu Horatius. A criticism by Hultsch of Schwering's note on Epist. II 2, 43. Certainly Horace, in using *curvo* and *rectum* in this line, does not mean that we should understand, as S. does, that he took a full course in the geometry of the Academicians, and that he alludes to the beginning of such a course here.

91. Die textüberlieferung der nicomachischen ethik. Susemihl, Greifswald. A reply to Busse in *Hermes* XVIII, pp. 137-47.

92. Engelmann's Bibliotheaca, 1882, reviewed by Klussmann. "We still have, in this 8th edition, no bibliography of classical authors which answers the demands of to-day. The unqualified praise the work receives in the *Lit. Centralblatt*, 1883, No. 12, is greatly to be regretted."

93. Ein chorlied der Soph. Elektra. Plüss, Basel. A study of the question whether this choral song (vv. 472 ff.), wherein the curse resting over the house of the Pelopidae is the theme, is any disturbance to the "tendenz" of the

tragedy. Plüss takes the ground that it is not, but rather essentially in line with it.

94. Pausanias und sein verteidiger. G. Treu. A reply to Schubart's article in the preceding number. "The conclusion is inevitable that both Pausanias and Plinius drew their material from the same literary traditions, which were accessible at least by the middle of the second century B. C." As to the Polemon hypothesis, Treu is inclined to adopt it, as explaining the compiling of the events at Olympia in a literary form; and he may have been the author whom both Pausanias and Plinius followed.

95. Zu Aristophanes Fröschen. Drescher, Mainz. A critical note on v. 1124, in which $\lambda\acute{e}ye\varsigma$ is proposed for $\lambda\acute{e}ye$.

96. Zu Valerius Maximus. H. Wensky, Breslau. Critical notes on 8 passages.

97. Zu Tacitus Agricola. E. Bährens, Groningen. Four critical notes.

98. Zu Martiales. W. Gilbert, Dresden. Critical notes supplementary to Gilbert's *Ad Martialem quaes. criticae*. Dresden, 1883.

99. Zu Tacitus Annalen. Konrad Zacher, Breslau.

100. Differentiae sermonum. S. Widmann, Wiesbaden. Hagen's *Anecdota Helvetica* (1870), pp. 275-90, give the *differentiae sermonum* which this article considers. Widmann has found portions of the same on the inside of the covers of an old book. These are given in this article, together with some observations on the differences between their readings and those of Hagen's.

101. Zum Itinerarium Alexandri. H. Rönsch. Critical observations on a dozen passages.

102. Zu den Scriptores historiae Augustae. Critical notes on Severus Imp. II 3; Alexander Severus IX 4; Probus IV 2, by J. Golisch, Schweidnitz.

Fascicles 10 and 11.

103. Zu Xenophon's Anabasis. R. Bünger. Four pages of critical notes on III 4, 19-23.

104. Beiträge zur erklärung homerischer personennamen. F. Weck. Review by K. Schirmer. The ending $-λης$ is not connected with $κλέος$; it is the same with *-culus* in Latin; e. g. in *Paterculus*. The ending $-ιππος$ is for $-πετο$, seen in the endings of the Latin words *utpote*, *ipse* (= *is ple*). $-πτολεμος$ is a superlative ending, so that *Δημοπτόλεμος* = *crassissimus*, according to W. $-μαχος$ has nothing to do with *μάχη*, but $-μα-$ is a suffix used to form adjectives or proper names, and $-χο-$ is a diminutive ending, so that *Τηλέμαχος* is diminutive to *Τίλεμος*. $-μενος$ is not connected with *μένος*, but is the same as in the Latin *Picumnus*, *Vertumnus*, etc. The review is favorable.

105. Homerisches. K. Frey. Three pages on (1) the story of the Odyssey and the Nibelungenlied, (2) the Nymph-Grotto in Ithake, (3) Minor Characters of the Iliad. Philaimenes.

106. Zur kritik des Aischylos. H. Stadtmüller. Critical notes on The Persians and The Seven against Thebes.

(5.) Zu Euripides. H. Gloël. Critical notes on Elektra 545 f.; Ion 483, 1288; Troades 961, 1167-72; Phoinissai 983.

107. Zu Ciceros Cato Major. J. Ley. Notes on §4, II and §20, 75.
108. Vermischte bemerkungen. F. Rühl. A continuation of what appeared in 1878, pp. 309-20, in Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher.
109. Zu Athenaios. K. Ohlert. Fourteen pages of textual notes.
- (40.) Zur erklärung und kritik der homerischen gedichte. A. Gemoll. An interpretation and explanation of the word *μερόδαν*. He translates it *querballen*.
110. Pausanias und Olympia. G. Hirschfeld. A reply to Schubart in Heft 7. "I still consider Pausanias as a compiler; people who give closer definitions might call him a plagiarist."
111. Zu Tiberianus. K. Rossberg. Critical notes on II 24.
112. A critical note on Vergil's Aeneid. By L. Meier.
113. Die consonanten-gemination im Lateinischen. E. Baehrens. An article of some 20 pages, in two chapters; the first devoted to a consideration of the doubling of consonants before the time of Ennius; the second, to the condition in which the language was left and the tendency given to its orthography through the influence of his work. Baehrens throws overboard the theory that the assimilation of consonants in the middle of a word was a process carried on in the oldest Latin. Whole hosts of words were formed by dropping out single consonants or entire syllables. Quantity was an entirely unsettled thing at the time of Ennius, and it was one of his great contributions that, in finding it necessary for the purposes of his verse that vowels should have a settled quantity, he did so much toward fixing them. His process was exceedingly arbitrary, and often, of two quantities for the same vowel in the same word, he chose that which was not the correct one, but existed among careless speakers only, and suited his purpose. Thus *cella* is from *cēlo*, but careful speakers pronounced the derivative *cela*. The second chapter traces the doubling of consonants down from the time of Ennius through the Ciceronian period.
- (50.) Philologische gelegenheitsschriften.

Fascicle 12.

114. Zu Sophokles Philoktetes. M. Schmidt. Critical notes advocating a recasting of lines 50-100. Lines 70-78, 66-69, 91-92 are held to be spurious.
115. Zur oekonomie der historien des Timaios. H. Kothe. A brief consideration of the evidence at hand to show the divisions of the history of Timaios, and a word in conclusion on the value of his history, drawn mainly from Polybios.
116. Zu den quellen der Messeniaka des Pausanias. G. Busolt. The framework of the history of the first Messenian war is taken from Thukydides and Xenophon; to fill it out, all kinds of details were resorted to, including even miracles and fables. Doubtless Pausanias's immediate authority put such details as these together from stories heard from the Messenians themselves.
- (67.) Zu Aischylos. A. Lowiński. A note on Agamemnon, l. 518.
103. Zu Xenophons Anabasis. F. Reuss. Notes (1) on I 10, 9 f.; (2) on *ἱδριοι δόθησαν*, which he considers equivalent to "reihen-colonnen"; (3) on III

4, 19-23. "Reckoning three feet for a man, each side of the square was 360 feet. The sides of the hollow space inside were 216 feet (=46,656 sq. ft.)—enough space for the light-armed and the baggage."

117. Zum fünften buche der Aristotelischen Politik. H. Flach. Some 18 or 19 critical notes.

(40.) Zur erklärung und kritik der homerischen gedichte. A. Gemoll. Zur neunzahl.

(60.) Zu Dionysos von Halikarnassos. Some dozen critical notes by Carl Jacoby.

(78.) Zu Hieronymus de viris illustribus. A critical note on Chap. 59, p. 41 (Harding), by Terwelp.

(45.) Zu Ovidius Fasti. Critical note, by H. Gilbert, on III 497 ff.

118. Horazische allegorie. Th. Plüss. Whether the ode *O navis referent* be an allegory or not.

119. Zu Tibullus. E. Baehrens. A critical note on the first of the two Tibullian Priapea, p. 85 (Baehrens). Read *dux pecoris scaenae causa erat hircus avis*.

120. Die zeit der Lex Cornelia de Permutatione provinciarum (44 B. C.). O. E. Schmidt. "The law was adopted on the 27th or 28th of July."

121. Zu Ammianus Marcellinus. F. Vogel. On *densare* and *densere*.

122. Zu Gennadius de viris illustribus. Seven critical notes by W. Gemoll.
W. E. WATERS.

MNEMOSYNE, Vol. XIII, Part 2.

J. J. Cornelissen contributes, pp. 115-34, Notes on Fronto, using Naber's Teubner edition. Two or three specimens will show the character of the whole. Ep. 49 (64), p. 90: Id ut quam primum eveniat et dolor plantae quiescant (*sic*), di iuvent. "*Iuvare-ut* dubito num usquam praeter h. l. legatur. Legendum existimo *di diunt*, quod a Frontone, veterum scriptorum sedulo imitatore, certe haud absonum est." Ep. 57 (72), p. 92: Desisse febriculam colligo ex litteris tuis. Nunc, mi magister, quod ad fauces attinet, brevi temperantia *appelletur*, et mihi at plenior nuntius veniet. "Haereo in *appelletur*, quod sine dubio corruptum. Nomen aliquod excidisse videtur, ita ut fere legendum sit *brevi temperantia (morbus) depelletur* . . . vel avelletur . . . sequentia emendavit Schopenus scribendo et mihi a te *lenior nuntius veniet*, quod probo, nisi quod pro *lenior malum laetior*." Ep. 59 (74), p. 93: Sed re vera illa res maxime mihi animum a studiis depulit, quod, dum nimium litteras amo, tibi incommodus apud Porcium fui, ut res ostendit. "Adscripsit Maius: 'Codex: *portum*, sed videtur emendatum *Porcium*.' Veram lectionem *portum* iudico. Per portum enim Aurelius Centumcellas intelligit. Ad villam ab Hadriano ibi aedificatam quam tum habitabat, Frontonem suum invitarat, qui, ex tepido cubiculo ad mare progressus, haud leviter perfixerat." "Proba et genuina forma nominis proprii, quod legitur, pp. 111 et 137, *Demonstratus* est, non *Demonstratus*. Littera *n* prave insertum saepius talia monstra verborum peperisse exempla docent, quae affert Corssen. . . . Onensimus, Atlans, Dymans,

praenstantissimus cett. *Ipse Fronto* habet, p. 235 : manui; pp. 17, 30, 88, et 132 *desiderantissimus* passive, p. 212, *epigrammantis.*"

The next article, pp. 135-75, is filled by Herwerden with a continuation of his notes on Herodotus. The following may be taken as specimens. VII 37: *καὶ εἰρητὸς τοὺς μάγους τὸ θέλει προφαίνειν.* "Praeferenda videtur librorum A, B, C, scriptura θέλοι, quia post verba rogandi noster, paucis locis exceptis de quorum sanitate dubito, usurpavit optativum in quaestione indirecta, sive pronomine interrogativo utitur sive articulus eius vice fungitur." VII 54: *τῷ δὲ ἴστεραι ἀνέμενον τὸν ἥπιον [θέλοιτες] ιδέοισι ἀνίσχοντα.* "Quicumque de suo adscripsit ἐθέλοντες non intellexerat veterem structuram verborum expectandi ab Homero inde usitatam. Supra V 35, 2, ἀνέμενε ἀναφύναι τὰς τρίχας . . . Thuc. IV 134, οὐκ ἀνέμενεν ἡμέραν γενέσθαι," etc. VII 163: *ταῦτην μὲν τὴν ὄδον ἡμέλησε, ὁ δὲ ἀλλῆς εἰχετο.* "Barbarem huius loci structuram, in quo ne verbi quidem notio apta est, emendavi Ionis Euripidei editione, pag. 34, pro glossemate substituens genuinam vocem μετήκε, collatis glossis Hesychii μεθυσόνην· ἀμέλησα. μεθήμων· ἀμέλης. μεθῆς· ἀμέλησης." IX 2: *κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ισχυρὸν Ἑλλῆνας ὅμοφροντας . . . χαλεπὰ εἶναι περιγίνεοι καὶ ἀπαστάνθραποι.* "Verbum περιγίνεοι, cum iungi nequeat cum Accusativo Ἑλλῆνας ὅμοφροντας, aut depravatum est ex παρισταθαι, aut ante id sumenda es lacuna. Possis χαλεπὰ εἶναι (νικᾶν τε καὶ) περιγίνεοι. Cf. infra 27, περιγενθέθει καὶ (malim τε καὶ) ἐνικήσαμεν θύνει ἔξ (re dele) καὶ τεσσεράκοντα." IX 23: *οὗτος δὴ οὐκέτι οἱ ἵπποις ἵπτενον . . . ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἑκεῖνῳ ἀλλοις προσαπάλεσαν [τὸν ἵππεων].* "Stipes sit oportet, qui monendus sit equites amisisse ex suo numero equites, non pedites. Talia editores tolerare." Herwerden takes occasion in this article to criticise unfavorably several of Naber's recent suggestions, particularly his interpretation of the story of Melissa's ghost, in V 92, referred to in this Journal (Vol. VI, p. 520). He says: "Lenissimae sane mutationes, sed, ut mihi quidem persuasum est, non tantum non necessariae sed plene perversae. Inaudita querela est (inquit) quam tum demum intelligere possemus, si Melissa omni veste detracta in rogum imposita fuisset." Sed enim ex ipso usu verbi συγκαταθίπτειν iam appareat non crematas fuisse Melissae vestes, itaque falsam esse conjecturam συγκατακαθίντων et veram codicum scripturam οὐ κατακαθίντων. Si igitur vestes combustae non fuerunt, probable est pervetusto more . . . ne Melissae quidem corpus concrematum fuisse sed integro corpore humatum. Sic facile intelligitur queri Melissae umbram, quae statim defunctae corpus reliquisset, nullum sibi usum esse vestimentorum, quippe quae cum corpore suo humi condita in sepulcro manerent, nec combusta animam suam in inferos descendenter comitari non potuissent. Fieri potest ut vetusta fabella ostendat nobis argumentationem eorum qui antiquissimum illum et rariorem sepeliendi morem improbarent. Utut est, combustis deinde iussu Periandri matronarum Corinthiarum quas ei detraxerat vestibus non nuda mansit, ut Nabero videtur, Melissae umbra, sed etiam calidior facta est et ornatiōr quam se fore speraverat, meliusque sic eius ira placari potuit quam *condendis aureis ornamentiis in fossa*, ut Naberus adscita sua conjectura κατεκλήσε sequentia interpretatur. Praeterea κόσμον τὸν κάλλιστον non *aurea ornamenta* sed *pulcherrimas vestes* significare manifesto docet praegressum verbum ἀπέδωσε, ut taceam ex sensu quo Naberus voluit aptius esse κατέκρυψτε quam κατεκλήσε, nam in fossa aliquid κατακρύπτομεν, in arca κατακλύσομεν. Tandem argutari mihi

videtur vir ingeniosus scribens, vestes in fossam collatas ne cremari quidem posse, dum fumus omnia obtineat et aer introcludatur. Quod ita verum foret, si autem cremationem fossa superne clausa fuisset, sed in patenti fossa satis larga et non nimis profunda, praesertim addita materie vim flammæ alenti, contra esse appareat." "Non intellexisse mihi videtur amicus scurrilis sane et plus Aegyptiaci quam Attici salis habentis ioci rationem, qualem lascivorum puerorum more permisit sibi Amasis, qui Patarbemi, quem Apries iusserat ζευντα Ἀμασιν ἀγαγεῖν παρ' ἐντόν, secum ire iubenti ἀπεμαράσσε, καὶ τοῦτο μη ἐκέλευτο Ατρίην ἀπάγειν. Nempe Patarbemi dicenti ἐκέλευτο μη βασιλεὺς παρ' ἐντὸν ἀγαγεῖν σε Amasis ἀποταρδὼν respondit: ἀντ' ἔμοι ἀγαγε τούτῳ. Nam corrigendum videtur aut ἀγαγεῖν pro ἀπάγειν, aut utrobique ἀγεῖν, ut priori loco exhibet recentior sed eadem melior codicum familia. Contra rescripto cum Nabero ἀπαγγέλλειν perit omnis dicerii aculeus."

We have next, pp. 176-87, notes by C. M. Francken on Tibullus. He says: "Me nunc invitatus ad Tibulli lectionem EDUARDUS HILLER, recenti editione (apud B. Tauchnitz, 1885), quae . . . tutum se ducem praebet si quis purum a recentiorum conjecturis et figmentis cognoscere poetam cupiat. Prudenti iudicio ductus in editione, quae annotationem in margine non admittebat, ordinem versuum in codicibus traditum intactum servavit editor; nam nec Ribbeckii in una, nec Baehrensii in pluribus elegiis permutationes, ut taceam iam de iis, quae Lachmanno actate antecesserant, tanto assensu exceptae sunt, ut de iis apud doctos fere constet." He has most to say about Eleg. I 8, in regard to the want of coherence of its parts; and he thinks that the editors might have done more by the aid of the types to indicate the places at which there appears to be a rupture of continuity. "Ex offensione multorum interpretum efficitur satis certo ubi aliquid laxati sit: convenit plerunque de locis, ubi filum abrumpitur: hoc certe poterat notari." The remedy may be very doubtful; but "aliquid est διάγρασιν facere, etiamsi θεραπείαν adhibere non possis. . . . Sed de hoc quidquid videbitur, illud nemo negabit iniuriam nullam fieri poetae et emolumentum parari legenti, si editor, ubi defectum cohaerentiae animadvertis, eius defectus indicium aliquod det. Similiter el. 4 post v. 14 lacunam notarem, si mihi Tibullus esset edendus. Complectitur subinde una elegia in codicibus duo aut tria carmina aut fragments, quae ad eandem rem pertinent et propterea iuxta posita iniuria in unum conflata sunt, ut factum videtur II 3."

Then follows, pp. 188-221, the first instalment of Disquisitiones de Pronominum Personalium formis Homericis, by J. Van Leeuwen, Sr. He begins by showing that the elision of *iota* in the dat. sing. is not infrequent in Homer (*e.g.* ἀσπιδ' ἐνὶ κρατερῷ, G 349). "Facile tamen intelligitur, posteros hanc elisionem, quae durior ipsis videretur et a vita quotidiana usu abhorreret, nonnisi invitox in antiqua poesi perpperso fuisse, et sicubi eam evitare possent evitasse; sive aliter verba collocando, sive voculam aliquam inserendo, sive contrahendo quae elidenda erant, sive ad violentius etiam remedium configiendo, quale est illud quod proponitur in Schol. ad P 324: κήρυκ [Ηπνοτίθη] διὰ μέτρων συνταλέτου τὸ πν, ut κήρυκ scilicet recitaret potius quam κήρυκ'." The elision of *oi* was naturally still more objected to; "maluerunt interdum veteribus poetis vocabula obtrudere inaudita, quam admitterent elisiones quales posterior aetas evitabat." There are, notwithstanding, at least ten verses in which such an

elision must be assumed in *μοι, σοι, τοι, e. g.* Ζ 165: δε μ' ἔθελεν φιλότητι μηγῆμεναι οὐκ ἔθελισση. A trace of this is probably to be found in Attic in such places in the dramatists as Ar. Vesp. 776, *τοτὶ μ' ἀρέσκει*. Where the pronoun is written in full it is *μοι*, not *με* (as in Vesp. 828, *τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἀρέσκει μοι*), except in Ran. 103, *οὐ δὲ ταῦτ' ἀρέσκει*, which is probably corrupt. If the pronoun of the third person suffered the same elision, then "evanescente litera aeolica prorsus obliterabatur. Uno tamen et altero loco exitium effugit. Sic Ο 105 cum apud omnes fere, metro invito, legatur ἐνθ' ἔσαν (F)οι πέπλοι, in codice Marciano verus verborum ordo servatus est, ἔνθα οἱ ἔσαν πέπλοι, id est ἔνθα F' ἔσαν πέπλοι." Other similar indications are adduced; and the assumption of the possible elision of this *οι* is used to correct various errors, *e. g.* K 285, *σπειδοῖ μοι, ὡς δὲ πατρὶ ἀμ' ἔστρε τυδεῖ δίψα*. "At non hoc dixit, neque ita πλατειάσθοντι dea aurem praebuisset; sed dederat poeta: ἔσπειδος μ' ὡς, etc. Apud Homerum enim aoristus ἔσπειδην, natus ex σεσεπόμην, reduplicationem suam servat per omnes modos; legitimae igitur apud eum sunt formae ἔσπειδαι, ἔσπειδος, ἔσπειδην, nec dubium est quin Aristarchus, cui merito editores Larochius et Christius obsequuntur, vere indicaverit (Schol. K 246): ανάγκη πᾶσα . . . δασίνεν καὶ τὴν μετοχὴν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰ ἀρχεθεῖν." "Iam exhibebo vocabulum quod medium est intercismus. Antiqua est vox ἐπιτάρροθος, quae in deorum lingua idem significat quod posterioris aevi mortales vocabulo βοηθός indicare solent. . . . In originem vero Olympici huius vocabuli inquirere mihi quidem nefas videtur: nesciverunt veteres grammatici, nescire video bodierns, et in perpetuum opinor nescient. Illi tamen malebant de etymo nugari quam ignorantiam profiteri. Quid igitur designaverint videre est in Etymologico Magno: ἐπιτάρροθος] βοηθός ισχυρός, σύμμαχος. παρὰ τὸ βόθος (βόθω τὸ παρορμώ) γίγνεται ἐπιτάρροθος· καὶ πλεονασμῷ τῆς ταρ παντλαβής ἐπιτάρροθος, δὲν τῷ βοηθεῖν πόθημος καὶ παρορμῶν. . . . A voce igitur βόθος derivaverunt et literas ταρ abundare scilicet censebant. Quae vero abundant, sine detimento possunt abici: abiciantur ergo sicubi metrum hac medela sublevari possit! Abiecerunt homines, quos inane veriloquii studium a sana ratione deduxerat, et dum versuum numeros restituere sibi videntur, vocem antiquam misere mutilaverunt. Poeta enim cum Δ 390 dixisset: τοιν F' ἐπιτάρροθος ἡν 'Αθήνη et Ψ 770: κλιθί θεά, ἀγαθή μ' ἐπιτάρροθος ἐλθε ποδούν, illi ut elision vitaretur, delicatis ipsorum auriculis parum grata, scripserunt οἱ ἐπιτάρροθος et μοι ἐπιτάρροθος, et usque ad nostra tempora illud monstrum propagatum est. Si quis hanc explicationem audaciorem ratus credere mihi recusat, auctor ei sum ut cum versu supra citato Δ 390 conferat locum parallelum E 808, et ipsi Sapientiae deae credit, iisdem ibi verbis sed paulo aliter dispositis idem narranti: τοιν Fοι ἐγὼν ἐπιτάρροθος ἴσα." In a note he discusses and illustrates the usage and meaning of the real word ἐπιτάρροθος, which "adjectivum (non substantivum) . . . significabat idem quod ἐπιφυγος, contumeliosus, et . . . a locis gemellis Homericis . . . prorsus est alienum." Space does not permit a further abstract of this article, which is exceedingly well written and worth reading, even if one cannot in all points agree with the author's conclusions.

J. Van der Vliet, pp. 222-7, gives some notes on the *Apologia* of Apuleius; and on p. 228 J. J. Hartman offers three conjectural emendations of the *Antigone* of Sophocles.

C. D. MORRIS.

BRIEF MENTION.

MR. WALTER LEAF'S edition of the *Iliad, Books I-XII* (Macmillan & Co., 1886), will be reviewed at length in the next number of the Journal by a competent hand, and will there receive the praise that is richly due to it. Meantime it has been thought best not to withhold a criticism of sundry points that give a certain hold to the *advocatus diaboli*, who can never be absent when a book is to be canonized. Mr. Leaf's notes not only show good acquaintance with the current of Homeric study, but are full of independent suggestions, although one is disposed to rebel sometimes at the persistency with which the editor recalls some of his own lucubrations. Instead of one long and exhaustive note apiece on Lange's view of the conditional sentence, on Brugmann's theory of *sua*, and the editor's own interesting but not convincing treatment of *ἐπειν* and *ἐπειθαί*, we are annoyed both by a recurrence to the same theme, line upon line and precept upon precept, and by a certain fitfulness of presentation, as if the writer had forgotten what he had said before. In short, the book reminds one too much of the editor's *Story of Achilles*, the defects as well as the merits of which were pointed out in this Journal II 107; and the intervening six years of study and experience have not brought as much skill as might have been expected in what may be called the manufacture of a text-book. The confused and confusing note on B 435 would have been cleared up by the simple consideration of the fact that *μηκέτι* in Greek is not absolutely equivalent to "no longer" in English, and does not require that an action should actually have begun, but only that the temptation should be present. See the commentators on Pind. O. 1, 5, 114. "The canonical authority of the Catalogue during the period of Attic literature" (B 557) ought to have been more fully illustrated. So under v. 719 by a reference to the Philoktetes of Sophocles 1027. B 597 read, "There is no necessity or other justification for saying that the opt. [here] represents the subj. of *or. recta*." In commenting on B 670: *καὶ σφι θεσπέσων πλούτον κατέχεται Κρονίων*, Mr. Leaf is careless enough to say that Pindar's phrase in referring to the same shower of gold at Rhodes "is probably only a stronger form of the same metaphor, which he would not have misunderstood." Mr. Leaf has evidently forgotten the Pindaric context: *κείνος δὲ ξανθὸν ἀγαγὼν νεφέλαν πολὺν οἰε χρυσόν*. The curious fact, first noted by Benfey, that we have in Γ 276 a coincidence with the Sanskrit rule of the combination of a vocative with following nominative, is, as has been pointed out in A. J. P. II 88, nothing but a coincidence, inasmuch as the verse would not be possible without the nominative. It is hardly fair to call it hypercritical to make a distinction between *ἔβαν* (Γ 311) and *ἔβη* (v. 261), and yet to refine on *δίδου* and *δῶκε* (Ζ 192, H 305) and on *ἥγετο* and *ἥγήσατο* (Μ 101). To insist on a translatable difference, and to admit a sensible difference, are different things. In certain combinations Homer employs imperfect and aorist as sharply as any Attic writer (see on Pind. O. 4, 25), and this being so, we must

be slow to deny differences elsewhere (see A. J. P. IV 157). Extraordinary is the statement that E 288 "is the only case in Homer of $\tau\pi\nu$ with inf. after a negative clause." One example had already occurred, A 98; another was soon to occur, H 481; and enough to satisfy any one can be found in Ebeling's Lexicon, if the last ed. of L. and S. was beneath Mr. Leaf's notice. Unfortunately the point had been omitted in Monro's Homeric Grammar, which Mr. Leaf follows very closely. On H 125, Gelon's parody of this verse, $\eta\,\mu\epsilon\gamma'$ οιμωγενες δ Πελοπιδης 'Αγαμέμνων, is cited as "an interesting proof of the date to which the consciousness survived that a short vowel, at least before a liquid, could be lengthened by the ictus alone." The proof loses much of its interest when one reflects how very loose the Greeks were in their adaptations of poetry, and how remorselessly they spoiled metre in so doing. Plato is a notorious instance. Doubtful form or not, it might be maintained that $\betaεβλήκοτ$, Aristarchos's reading, Θ 270, is absolutely necessary. How can $\acute{e}tei$ with indic. be combined in a frequentative action with $\delta\acute{o}skew$? The active voice of $ixw\mu$ can hardly be called unprecedented; at least we find $\tau\delta\omega\,ixw\mu\tau(a)$ in Pind. P. 2, 30, and see note on P. 4, 118. $\acute{E}l\acute{e}yχew$, in the sense of "dishonor," may be purely Homeric, but the signification survives in the compound $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{e}l\acute{e}yχew$, Pind. O. 8, 19; P. 8, 36; I 3, 14.

According to a recent memoir of travel by Isabella Bird Bishop, the monks of Mount Sinai are still execrating the memory of Tischendorf. Whether the memory of the distinguished palaeographer Gardthausen will fare better remains to be seen. At any rate, both Gardthausen and the University of Oxford may console themselves for Eastern curses by the gratitude of Western scholars, on whom they have bestowed the handsome *Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Sinaiticorum*. Scripsit V. GARDTHAUSEN (Oxonii, E Typographo Clarendoniano, MDCCCLXXXVI). The library seems to have grown mysteriously like a plant, and to have shed its leaves mysteriously like a plant. Now a dying monk would bequeath his little store of books to the library, now a pious pilgrim would enrich the stock by a parting present, more or less voluntary. But many of the gifts went even more quietly than they came. In vain the warning words: *rō παρὸν βιβλίον τὸν ἀγίον καὶ θεοβαδίστον δρῦς Σινᾶ· καὶ διπλές ιστερψοῖς ἀπὸ τὴν ἀγίαν μονὴν να ἔχει τὰς ἄρδες τῶν πατέρων τῆς ἀκαταφέλεκτου βάρον.* The terrors which would naturally attach to the curses of the Fathers of the Burning Bush seem to have been neutralized by their bad Greek, and what monks and pilgrims gave, other monks and pilgrims conveyed to other libraries, and Sinaitic codices are found at Alexandria, Venice and Berlin, as well as at Leipsic and St. Petersburg. Still there are 1223 MSS that Gardthausen has fully described, besides a number to which he did not have access, and he avenges himself by the epigram 'Neque enim bibliotheca caret codicibus sed codices bibliotheca.' To the eye of the lady traveller just cited the library presented a goodly outside, but an expert in such matters would doubtless have discovered dead men's bones and rottenness enough. Five years ago, says Gardthausen, the MSS were in a most deplorable condition, many mutilated, many coverless, and many foul from decay and use, and in consequence of the general absence of folio numbers

he has found it necessary to add the thickness to the other dimensions of the codices. In its externals the volume resembles closely the beautiful *Fragmēta Horulakonensis* noticed in the last number of the Journal, VII 91.—There seems to be a curious significance in the selection of Lev. XXII 25 for the facsimile on the cover, but it may be a pure accident, and no reflection on the want of native enterprise or excess of native jealousy.

ΚΑΙ ΕΚΧΕΙΡΟΣ ΑΛΛΟΓΕΝC . .
 ΟΥΠΡΟCOICETAITAΛΩΡ.
 ΤΟΥΘYYMΩΝ ATTOTTANTΩ.
 ΤΟΥΤΩΝ OTIΦΑΡΜΑΤΑΕ
 CTINENAYTOICMΩMOC
 ΕΝAYTOICAEXΘΗCETAI
 TAYTAYMIN.

MR. HENRY SWEET has recently put forth *An Icelandic Primer, with Grammar, Notes, and Glossary* (Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1886), which is intended to supply the long-felt "want of a short and easy introduction to the study of Icelandic," Vigfusson and Powell's Icelandic Reader not being quite elementary enough for the beginner. Mr. Sweet has prepared this primer on the lines of his Anglo-Saxon one, and thinks it may "perhaps be the means of inducing some students of Old English to take up Icelandic as well." The Grammar (pp. 1-41), in which he acknowledges "great obligations to Noreen's Altisländische Grammatik, by far the best Icelandic grammar that has yet appeared," is clear and attractive. One only wishes that Mr. Sweet had adopted the grammatical arrangement of the Braune school. The texts (pp. 43-81) "are intended to be as easy, interesting, and representative as possible." The most important are Thor and Úigarðaloki, The Death of Balder, The Death of Olaf Tryggvason, Auðun, and Þryms-Kviða, or the song of Thor's quest of his hammer, "one of the finest of the Eddaic poems." The selection is a most happy one. Three pages of notes, a good glossary (pp. 87-107), and a list of proper names, make up the rest of the book. In preparing the texts and glossary Sweet acknowledges to have had great help from Wimmer's Oldnordisk Læsebog, which he considers to be, "on the whole, the best reading-book that exists in any language." The "book makes no pretension to originality, and will have fulfilled its purpose if it contributes towards restoring to Englishmen that precious heritage—the old language and literature of Iceland—which" their "miserably narrow scheme of education has hitherto defrauded them of." Like the author's A.-S. Primer, this is a practical book, from which much can be learned in a short time. It is adapted to make the study of Icelandic attractive, and is quite free from misprints and omissions, the only misprints noticed being *ungu* for *ungum* (dat. pl.), p. 16; *skor* for *skor* (in the glossary), and *seen* for *seem* (s. v. *fjókkja*). The following words have been omitted in the glossary: *es* (= *er*, IV 114), *fari*, "reach," "range," "ability" (II 87), *gengt*, "opposite to" (VI 154), *gildra*, "to contrive" (VI 23), *görr*, "made," etc. (III 11, *görva*, acc. pl.), *kryðta*, "to snore" (*hraut*, II 47).

67, *hrýtr*, 67), *kýrill*, "kirtle," "tunic," etc. (VI 152), *par*, i. e. *par es* or *per*, "where" (VII 54), *ø-sælligr*, "joyless" (VII 94); *vanir* (VIII 61) should have been printed with a capital *v*. The mechanical execution of the book is perfect.

With genuine German disregard of order in time the first half of Vol. I of IWAN MÜLLER's *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* comes halting behind the second half of Vol. II. It contains: A. *Grundlegung und Geschichte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, by VON URLICHSH; B. *Hermeneutik und Kritik*, by BLASS; C. *Palaeographie, Buchwesen und Handschriftenkunde*, by the same, and the first pages of D. *Griechische Epigraphik*, by G. HINRICHSH. It is fortunate that the general view of what people are still pleased to call 'science of antiquity' has fallen into the hands of one who interprets 'classical philology' in the wider sense. The sketch of the history of philology is, of course, somewhat rapid, and is more pleasant reading for one who knows the ground already than it can be for the class of students for whom it is nominally intended; and yet it must be granted that Professor v. Urlichsh has paused long enough on the great names to make the due impression on the beginner, and that he has done substantial justice to department and to school. Professor Blass is exceptionally well qualified for the parts that have fallen to his share, and even when one comes to his treatise on Hermeneutics and Criticism after a close reading of Boeckh's admirable sections on these subjects in his Encyclopaedia and Methodology, one marks the advance that the science has made and admires the clearness and practical sense with which principles and processes are stated. Many of the illustrations are drawn from Blass's own special sphere of work, and this gives great life and individuality to the treatment. In this respect one is again reminded of Boeckh, although Boeckh has sometimes drawn his examples from investigations in the results of which the philological world has not always followed him. The diligent use of this manual of Blass's would be of great service to the young philologist, who ought not to be left to pick up his knowledge of the subject from mere practice in the seminary, although, perhaps, it may be best to rouse the interest by practice before proceeding to theory. Every grammarian knows how often interpretation and criticism halt because the interpreter and the critic do not command the entirety of the grammatical material and method. The mere study of isolated points as they come up is not sufficient, and the same thing is true of every great department. Scrap knowledge is the bane of many scholars. Not to see a thing in its connection is not to see it at all.

The fourth half-volume (continuation of Vol. I) completes D (Greek Epigraphy), by the lamented HINRICHSH, who was carried off by diphtheria a few weeks since; not, however, until he had seen this portion through the press. E. Roman Epigraphy, is by the masterly hand of Professor HÖBNER, whose monumental work was noticed in this Journal, VI 262; and F. Chronology of the Greeks and Romans, by the indefatigable and microscopic UNGER. These

names guarantee the high level of a work which is indispensable to every classical philologist, young or old. Reprints of the separate articles ("off-prints" is the last coinage, we believe) would be very welcome for convenience of use in classes. For such an "offprint" we have to thank Professor HÜBNER, and we hope that the publishing house will see fit to reproduce all the articles in this form.

The present writer has a grateful recollection of Curtius Rufus, whose history of Alexander the Great was a delightful interruption to the orthodox course of Latin text-books as read in the schools of forty years since, and when his turn came to compile a Latin Reader, he was not slow to accept an abridgment of Curtius as a part of it, and to say a few words in favor of the rhetorical worthy, who does not stand so high in the graces of schoolmasters as more tiresome authors. Hence he is disposed to welcome the edition of *Curtius* which Dr. M. C. P. SCHMIDT has recently put forth for the use of schools in the well-known Schenkl Bibliotheca (Leipsic, G. Freytag; Prague, F. Tempsky, 1886). This edition is not intended to be complete. In adapting the work for young students Dr. SCHMIDT has made many omissions, changes and additions. The omissions concern minor engagements, or matters that are either aside from the main story or unsuitable for tender youth. The changes pertain to the distribution of the narrative and to Curtian deviations from standard usage in vocabulary and form. The supplementary parts are taken from Freinsheim, so that the continuity is preserved, and a clear map accompanies the volume, which—like all the volumes of the Schenkl Bibliotheca—is very attractive in its appearance.

The sixth edition of Dr. HOLDEN'S *Cicero de Officiis* is noteworthy for the large number of Supplementary Notes, 36 pp. in all. In his preface Dr. Holden pays a just tribute to the work of C. F. W. Müller, to whom we owe the new recension of Cicero in the Teubner series, and acknowledges the assistance of that admirable Ciceronian scholar, Dr. J. S. Reid. Few editions of a classic have found so much favor as Dr. Holden's *De Officiis*, and the present revision makes the position of the work secure.

Dean CHURCH'S *Trial and Death of Socrates*, a translation into English of the Euthyphron, Apology, Crito and Phaedo of Plato (Macmillan & Co.), was received with just favor upon its first appearance some six years since. In its new and beautiful dress, the translation revised and the introduction expanded, it enters the Golden Treasury Series as one of the most attractive volumes of the set.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

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Homer. *The Iliad*; ed., with English notes and introduction, by Walter Leaf. Vol. 1, Books 1-12. New York, *Macmillan*, 1886. 28 + 422 pp. O. cl., net, \$4.00.

Livius (T.) *The Siege of Syracuse*, by G. Richards and A. S. Walpole. New York, *Macmillan*, 1886. 32 + 119 pp. S. (Elementary Classics.) Cl., net, 40 cts.

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AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. VII, 3.

WHOLE NO. 27.

I.—THE NEW REVISION OF KING JAMES' REVISION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

V.

EXAMINATION OF THE REVISION OF S. MATTHEW (*continued*).

CH. XIX. v. 1. *it came to pass—he departed*, closely after the Greek; so Wycl., Tynd., and Rh.; and so Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; *it came to pass, that, etc.*, A. V., and so Dr. Noyes; see on 7, 28. *borders*, after Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, and Dr. Davidson; *coasts*, A. V. after Wycl. and all the rest; so Mr. Darby. *beyond Jordan*, omitting the Gr. article, after Wycl. and all the rest; and so Sir John Cheke and Dean Alford; the Jordan, Dr. Campbell, Dr. Noyes, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; see on 3. 5.—v. 3. *And there came unto him Pharisees*, to preserve the Gr. order, after Tynd., Gen., and Rh.; so Dean Alford; The Pharisees also came unto him, A. V. after Wycl. and Cranmer; and so Dr. Noyes, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; *Pharisees*, by change of text omitting the article, after Lachmann and Tregelles; so Wycl.; the Pharisees, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. *And there came* etc., closer to the Greek, after Sir John Cheke, Dr. Noyes, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; The P. also came, A. V. after Cran. *saying*, by an omission from the text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; and so Wycl. and Rh., after the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*); *saying unto him*, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. *for a man*, supplied and italicized; *for a man*, A. V., supplied but not italicized.—v. 4. *said*, by an omission from the text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; and so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*); *said unto them*, A. V. after Wycl. and all the

rest. *he which*, after A. V. and the rest; Wycl., *he that*; see on 2, 6. *from the beginning*, closer to the Gr. (*ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*), after Rh.; at the beginning, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest. *kis father and mo'her*, rendering the Gr. article by a possessive, after Sir John Cheke, Dean Alford, and Dr. Davidson; *father and mother*, A. V. after Wycl. and all the rest; and so Dr. Campbell, Dr. Noyes, and Mr. Darby; see on 1, 24. *the twain*, close to the Gr. after Dr. Noyes and Mr. Darby (*the two*); *they twain*, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest; and so Dean Alford and Dr. Davidson. *shall become*, to keep closer to the Gr. (*ιούσσει εἰσ—*), after Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, and Dr. Davidson; so nearly 2d Gen., shall be made: *shall be*, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and 1st Gen. — v. 6. *So that*, close to the Gr. (*ὥστε*), after Mr. Darby and Dr. Davidson, and Wycl. nearly, And so; Wherefore, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. — v. 7. *Why then did Moses*, to preserve the Gr. order, after Wycl. and Rh.; *Why did Moses then*, A. V. after Cran. *a bill of divorcement*, by a more technical rendering, after Sir John Cheke and Rh.; a writing of etc., A. V. by a new rendering. — v. 8. *For your hardness of heart*, after Wycl. and Rh. nearly, for the hardness of your heart; because of the hardness of your hearts, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *it hath not been so*, to preserve the Gr. perfect, after Sir John Cheke; and so Dean Alford and Dr. Davidson; *it was not so*, A. V. after Wycl. and all the rest; and so Dr. Campbell, Dr. Noyes, and Mr. Darby; see on 2, 2.—v. 9. *except for*, after Dr. Campbell, Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, and Dr. Davidson; *except it be for*, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *he that*, closer to the Greek, after Rh.; *whoso*, A. V. after Cran. *when she is put away*, by a new rendering, but nearly after Dean Alford, her put away; *her which is put away*, A. V. by a new rendering. *committeth*, after Rh.; *doth commit*, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. — v. 10. *The disciples*, by an omission from the text after Tischendorf; *His disciples*, A. V. after Wycl. and all the rest; and so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*). *If—is*, to preserve the Gr. indicative, after Wycl.; *If—be*, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest; see on 4, 3. *expedient*, closer to the Greek, after Rh.; *good*, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. — v. 11. *but they*, after Rh.: *save they*, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. — v. 12. *eunuchs*, close to the Greek, after Wycl., Tynd., and Rh.; *some eunuchs*, A. V. after Cran. and Gen. *eunuchs which*: so A. V. after Wycl. and all the rest; and so Dean Alford; *eunuchs who*, Dr. Noyes, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; and so twice again in this verse;

see on 2, 6. *by men*, after Rh.; *of men*, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest. *made*, to preserve the Gr. aorist, after Sir John Cheke, Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, and Dr. Davidson; *have made*, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest; and so Dr. Campbell and Mr. Darby; see on 2, 2. — v. 13. *his hands*, rendering the article as a possessive, after Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; *his hands*, A. V.; see on 1, 24. — v. 14. *the little children*, preserving the article, after Wycl. and all the rest; *little children*, A. V. by a new rendering. — v. 16. *one came to him and said*, by a change of order in the Greek, after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; *one came and said unto him*, A. V. after Wycl. and all the rest; and so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*). *Master*, by an omission from the text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; *Good Master*, A. V. after Wycl. and all the rest; and so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*). — v. 17. *Why askest thou me concerning that which is good?* *One there is who is good*, by a change of text, after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; so nearly Wycl. and Rh. after the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*), *One is good, God*; *Why callest thou me good?* *there is none good but one, that is, God*, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest; and so the text in the parallel passage, S. Mark 10, 18. *wouldest enter*, a free but idiomatic rendering of the Greek (*θελεις*—), after Dr. Campbell and Mr. Darby; *wilt enter*, A. V. after Wycl. and all the rest; and so Dr. Noyes and Dean Alford; and so in v. 21. — v. 18. *And Jesus said*, preserving the introductory particle (*δε*), after Wycl., Tynd., Gen., and Rh.; *Jesus said*, A. V. omitting the particle, after Cran. *Thou shall not kill*, after Tynd., Sir John Cheke, and Gen., and to conform to S. Mark 10, 19, where A. V. has *to kill*; but the Rev. regularly render the verbal noun (*φόρος*) which belongs to this verb (*φονεύειν*) by *murder*; as S. Mk. 15, 7; S. Lk. 23, 19, 25; Rom. 1, 29; *Thou shalt do no murder*, A. V. nearly after Rh. — v. 19. *thy father and thy mother*, by change of reading after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles, and by rendering the article as a possessive, after Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, and Mr. Darby; and so Wycl. and Rh.; *thy father and thy mother*, A. V. — v. 20. *have I observed*, after Tynd., and so Dr. Campbell, and by an omission from the text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; and so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*); *have I kept from my youth up*, A. V. after Cran.; on the aorist here rendered by the perfect, see on 2, 2. — v. 21. *go, sell*, close to the Greek, after Gen. and Rh.; *go and sell*, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest. *that thou hast*: so A. V. after Tynd.

and Gen.; what thou hast, Dr. Noyes and Mr. Darby; see on 13, 12. *come, follow me*, close to the Greek, after Rh.; come and follow me, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest. — v. 22. *the saying*, close to the Greek; that saying, A. V., rendering the article by the demonstrative, after Wycl. and the rest; see on 6, 23. *he was one that had great possessions*, by a new and very free rendering; for he had great possessions, A. V. very closely after Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; for he had many possessions, Wycl. and Rh. still closer. — v. 23. *And Jesus said*, rendering the Gr. particle (*δέ*) closely, and preserving the Greek order, after Wycl. and Rh.; Then said Jesus, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen., except the matter of order. *It is hard for a rich man to enter*, very freely after Tynd.; That a rich man shall hardly enter, A. V. closely, after 2d Gen. and Rh.; on *That* here (*ὅτι*), see on 2, 23. — v. 24. *a needle's eye*, after Wycl. and Sir John Cheke; the eye of a needle, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. — v. 25. *And when*, preserving the introductory particle (*δέ*), after Gen. and Rh.; When, A. V. after Wycl., Tynd., and Cran. *the disciples*, by a change of reading after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; and so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*); his disciples, A. V. *were astonished exceedingly*, after Mr. Darby and Dr. Davidson nearly, were exceedingly astonished; were exceedingly amazed, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. — v. 26. *And Jesus*, rendering the particle (*δέ*) as continuative, after Rh. and 2d Gen.; But Jesus, A. V., as adversative, after Cran.; so de Wette, Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; *looking upon them said*, after Mr. Darby nearly, looking at [them] said; beheld them and said, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; *to them*, after Wycl. and Rh.; unto them, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. — v. 27. *Lo*, after Wycl.; Behold, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. *have left*, after Rh.; have forsaken, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest; and so in v. 29. *what then* (*ἀπα*) *shall we have?* preserving the Greek order, and nearly after Wycl., what thanne schal be to us? what shall we have therefore, A. V. after Cran. — v. 28. *ye which*, after A. V.; and so Tynd., Gen., and Rh.; ye that, Wycl. and Cran.; see on 2, 6. *on the throne*, closer to the Greek (*ἐνι* with gen.), after Dr. Campbell and Dr. Noyes; upon etc., Mr. Darby and Dr. Davidson. — v. 29. *or mother*, with an omission from the text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; or mother, or wife, A. V. after Wycl. and all the rest; and so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*). *a hundredfold*, after Dr. Campbell and Mr. Darby; *an hundredfold*, A. V. after

Wycl. and all the rest ; see on 5, 14. *eternal life*, after Dr. Campbell and Dean Alford ; life eternal, preserving the Greek order, Mr. Darby ; everlasting life, A. V. after Wycl., Tynd., Cran., and Gen. ; and, life everlasting, in the Greek order, Rh. ; see on 25, 46.—v. 30. *many shall be last that are first ; and first that are last*, by a new rendering and order ; many *that are first* shall be last ; and the last *shall be first*, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen.

CH. XX. v. 1. *that is*, supplied after Cran., Rh., and A. V., but not italicized ; *that is*, A. V. ; so Dean Alford and Dr. Davidson ; better, *that was*, as in 21, 33, the matter narrated belonging to the past ; see on 1, 17. *a householder*, after Dr. Campbell, Dr. Noyes, and Mr. Darby ; *an householder*, A. V. ; see on 5, 14. *householder which* : so A. V. after Tynd., Cran., Gen., and Rh. ; husbonde man that, Wycl. ; see on 2, 6. —v. 3. *standing in the marketplace idle*, to conform to the order of the Greek, after Rh. ; standing idle in the marketplace, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest. —v. 4. *to them he said*, to conform to the order of the Greek, after Mr. Darby ; said unto them, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest. —v. 5. *about the sixth and the ninth hour*, supplying the second article (the Greek here omits both), after Wycl. and Rh. ; the sixth and ninth hour, A. V. omitting the second article after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. ; and so Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson ; which is good English usage ; see on 8, 11. —v. 6. *standing*, with an omission from the text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles ; so Wycl. and Rh. after the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*) ; standing idle, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest ; and it would be better to supply *idle* here and italicize it ; see on v. 32. —v. 7. *Go ye also into the vineyard*, with an omission from the text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles ; so Wycl. and Rh. after the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*) ; Go ye also into the vineyard ; and whatsoever is right, *that shall ye receive*, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. —v. 8. *And*, to keep close to the Greek (*δι*), after Wycl., Gen., and Rh. ; So, A. V. freely after Cran. *pay*, to keep closer to the Greek (*ἀπόδοσις*), after Rh. ; give, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. —v. 10. *And when*, by a change of text, after Tregelles ; and so Mr. Darby ; But when, A. V. after Wycl., Cran., and Rh. ; and so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*). *they supposea that they would receive more*, substantially after Wycl., Tynd., Gen., and Rh. ; they supposed that they should have received more, A. V. after Cran., and so Sir John Cheke. There is good authority then for both these usages in this passage. The

general usage is this: after verbs of thinking, supposing; of hoping, fearing; of intending, designing, and words expressing kindred ideas, a verb of the same tense or of the future is logically required. But for the sake of marking the matter as over and done with the past tense is also sometimes used, and that by excellent writers of all periods. The Revisers of the O. T. have therefore properly retained this latter usage in some instances; as, 1 Sam. 1, 13, Eli thought she had been drunken; 2 Sam. 21, 16, he—thought to have slain David; but the Revisers of the N. T. have removed it in every instance, so far as we have observed; as S. Mark 6, 49, they supposed it had been a spirit; Rev., —that it was an apparition; so S. Luke 24, 37; Acts 14, 19; S. John 11, 13, they thought that he had spoken etc.; Rev., —that he spake; Acts 7, 25, he supposed his brethren would have understood; Rev., —that his brethren understood; S. Luke 2, 44, supposing him to have been; Rev., —him to be; ib. 23, 8, he hoped to have seen; Rev., —to see; ib. 24, 21, we trusted it had been he; Rev., —hoped that it was he; Acts 5, 26, they feared the people, lest they should have been stoned; Rev., —lest they should be stoned; ib. 22, 30, because he would have known; Rev., —desiring to know; S. Luke 24, 28, he made as though he would have gone; Rev., —would go; Heb. 11, 15, they might have had opportunity to have returned; Rev., —opportunity to return.

We subjoin the following examples in vindication of the usage rejected by the Revisers. From Sir John Maundeville: thei trowed that oure Lord Jesu Christ scholde have honged on the Cros etc., p. 10; p. 123; thei wolde, that it scholde have lasted longe, p. 10; so was this cursed Kyng never made Sorwe for, as he supposed for to have been, p. 89. From Ellis' Original Letters, Third Series, Vol. I: the Kyngs Highnes and other men shold a ben the bettar enchoraged to [have] attempted like thyngs herafter, p. 267; he said—it shulde have been very harde to have broughthe them to have consented in hym, p. 310. From Spenser: I was about to have told you my reason, Present State of Ireland, p. 613, *a*; I ment to have deducted out of etc., p. 668, *b*; in hope to have cutt of (off) her Majestie, p. 620, *b*; Neither indeed would I have thought that any such antiquities could have been avouched etc., p. 629, *a*; p. 672, *b*. From Shakspeare: Then thought they to have done Some wanton charm etc., Temp. iv. 96; ib. 168; I did think to have beaten thee, Much Ado v. 4, 111; I have good hope thou didst not know on't, K. Lear ii.

4, 191; you durst not so have tempted him, J. Cæsar iv. 3. From Hooker: it was in the chiefest of David's desires to have performed so good a work, v. 11; to have settled Constantius the same way had been a duty, v. 42; if they had been themselves able to have made their own (professions), v. 64. From the Translator's Dedication of A. V.: it was the expectation of many—that—clouds of darkness would so have overshadowed this land, that men should have been in doubt etc., p. 119; We hoped that we had been in the right way, Pref. of A. V., p. 111, b. From Dryden: Neither durst I have justified your Lordship in it, Prol. to Dram. Poesy, p. 5; I was going to have named the Fox, Dram. Poesy, p. 90; I had thought to have written etc., Pref. to Mock Astrologer, p. 189; there had been many in a readiness to have followed etc., Ded. of Dram. Poesy, p. 27. From Addison: we hoped to have seen the great men—that we might have discovered etc., Spect. No. 50; I did not design to have troubled him, No. 72; I would fain have fallen asleep again to have closed my vision, No. 3; What would I not have given to have stopt it? No. 57. From Dr. Johnson: He intended to have taken orders, Lives, pp. 454, 520; Garrick, whom I hoped to have gratified etc., p. 525; other cases are found on pp. 144, 181, 322, 468, 518, 525, and Adv., p. i. From Burke: A Letter intended to have been sent to a Gentleman in Paris, on the title p. of Reflections on the Revolution in France; I should have thought that a Ministerial promise might have been given, Thoughts etc., p. 72. I have given him, I hope, a satisfactory answer, American Tax, p. 116. Sometimes we find both usages combined: for to make him lie down, and have slain him, Sir John Maundeville, p. 113; the peculiar character of the house would have led him to call—for every public account, and to have examined into them, Burke, Thoughts etc., p. 69.—v. 11. *received*, to preserve the Gr. aorist (*λαβόντες*), after Wycl. (*taken*); and so Dr. Davidson; *had received*, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; and so Sir John Cheke, Dr. Noyes, and Dean Alford; see on 1, 24. *the householder*, to conform to v. 1; good-man of the house, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., Gen., and Rh. — v. 12. *have spent but one hour*, after Dr. Davidson nearly, made one hour; and so Meyer, *Com. ad h. l.*; *have wrought but one hour*, A. V. after Wycl., Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; so the Vulg., *uncta fecerunt*; and so Sir John Cheke, Dr. Campbell, Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, de Wette, and Germ. and Holl. Rev.; and Dr. Edersheim, *Life of Christ II*, p. 419, prefers this reading,

maintaining against Meyer that it is more suitable to the context and that *εστω* here represents the Hebrew *וְיִהְיֶה*, as it commonly does in the LXX. *as which*: and so A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; *us that*, Wycl. and Rh.; see on 2, 6. *the burden of the day and the scorching heat*, to conform to the order of the Greek, after Wycl. and Rh.; and so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*); in the same order, Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; the burden and heat of the day, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; and so Sir John Cheke, Dr. Campbell, and Dr. Noyes; and this is the natural order in English. The Revisers themselves, after A. V., render in the text Acts 2, 42, *τῇ δέλεγχῷ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ, in the apostles' teaching (doctrine, A. V.) and fellowship*, which is a case of the same Greek order, that is, when a genitive limits two or more nouns, it is sometimes placed after the first limited word as well in Hellenistic as in classical Greek; as, in N. T.: *οἱ ταῦροί μου καὶ τὰ οὐρανά*. S. Matt. 22, 4: so 18, 25; 20, 23; S. Mark 5, 40; *αἱ βάστας αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ σφίδηρα*, Acts 3, 7; *τὸς πατέρα τῆς παιδὸς καὶ τὴν μητέρα*, S. Luke 8, 51; 14, 26; 18, 20; *τὰ τερπάκοδα τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰ θηρία καὶ τὰ ἐρπετά*. Acts 11, 6; 10, 24; in classic Greek: *ἴχνη ιππών καὶ κόπρος*, Xen. Anab. i. 6, 1; *φιγαλὶ τοσαύδῃ ἀρθρότων καὶ φόρος*, Thuc. i. 23; *τὴν ἀγωμοσίην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν βασικίαν*, Dem. de Cor. §252; *περὶ εὐεξίας τε τῶν σωμάτων εἰς κακερίαν*, Plat. Gorg., p. 450, a. And this order is imitated in Latin: *domini omnium rerum ac moderatores*, Cic. de Legibus ii. 7; *societas hominum conjunctioque*, id. de Off. i. 5; and so i. 20; i. 21; *aetatem eorum et—indolem*, Liv. i. 5; *habitum oris lineamentaque*, id. xxi. 4.—v. 13. *he answered and said to one of them*, to preserve the order of the Greek, after Rh.; he answered one of them and said, A. V. after Wycl., Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*). *didst not thou*: and so A. V., but the pronoun is not expressed in the Greek, and therefore *didst thou not*, with Tynd., Cran., Gen., and Rh., is better; and so Sir John Cheke, Dr. Campbell, and Mr. Darby.—v. 14. *Take up*, by a new rendering, to keep closer to the Greek (*ἀρπάζω*); *Take*, A. V. after Wycl. and all the rest. *that which*, after Tynd. and Gen.; *that*, A. V. after Cran. and Rh.; see on 13, 12. *it is my will* (*θέλω*) *to give*, to avoid ambiguity, after Dr. Campbell and Mr. Darby; so, I desire to give, Dr. Davidson; I will (not here an auxiliary) give, A. V. after Wycl. and all the rest; see on 11, 14 and 27.—v. 15. *or is*, after Dean Alford, and by a change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; *is*, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., Gen., and Rh.—v. 16. *So the last*

shall be first, and the first last, by an omission from the text after Tischendorf of words put in brackets by Tregelles and Dean Alford; So the last shall be first, and the first last: for many be called but few chosen, A. V. after Wycl. and all the rest; and so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*). — v. 17. *as Jesus was going up*, by a free rendering after Dr. Noyes, and nearly after Sir John Cheke, as Jesus was coming up; Jesus going up, A. V. close to the Greek, after Cran. and Rh. *apart, and in the way he said*, by a change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; apart in the way, and said, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *in the way*: and so A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; and so Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; better, on the way, Dr. Noyes; see on 5, 25. — v. 18. *shall be delivered*, to conform to the next verse, after Rh.; and so Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; shall be betrayed, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *unto the chief priests and scribes*, keeping close to the Greek, after Wycl. and Sir John Cheke; unto the chief priests and unto the scribes, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; see on 8, 11. — v. 19. *unto*, by a new rendering, to conform to v. 18; to, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest. *to crucify*, after Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; to crucify *him*, A. V. after Sir John Cheke and 2d Gen. *shall be raised up*, by a change of text after Tischendorf and Tregelles; shall rise again, A. V. after Wycl. and all the rest. — v. 20. *the sons of Zebedee*, closer to the Greek, after Wycl. and Rh.; Zebedee's children, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. *asking*, closer to the Greek (*αἰρούσα*), after Wycl.; desiring, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. — v. 21. *wouldest*, by a free and idiomatic rendering, after 2d Gen.; wilt, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest; see on 19, 18. *Command*, closer to the Greek (*Εἰπὲ*), after Sir John Cheke and Dean Alford; Grant, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *one—one*, to keep close to the Greek after Wycl. and Rh.; the one—the other, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *thy left hand*, by a change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles, after Wycl. and Rh., *hand* being repeated for the sake of dignity; the left, A. V. after Cran.; and so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*). — v. 22. *that I am about to drink*, closer to the Greek, after Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; that I shall drink of, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., Gen., and Rh.; with an omission from the text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; and so Wycl. and Rh. after the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*); and to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with? added in A.V. after Tynd., Cran.,

and Gen.; and so in the next verse.—v. 23. *He saith by an omission from the text after Lachmann, Tischendorf and Tregelles; and so Wycl. and Rh. after the Vulg. (Cod. Am.)*: And be it said, A. V. after Tynd. and Gen. *My cup indeed ye shall drink*, by change of order after the Greek, and so Rh.; *Ye shall drink indeed of my cup*, A. V. after Cran. and Gen. *on my left hand*, specifying hand by the sake of dignity, after Tynd. and Gen.; *on my left*, A. V. after Cran. and Rh. *it is for them*, supplied in new form: *it shall be given to them*, supplied by A. V. after Gen. *hath been prepared*, to preserve the Greek perfect, after Dr. Noyes and Dr. Davidson; *is prepared*, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., Gen., and Rh.; see on 2. 2.—v. 24. *concerning*, to keep close to the Greek *περί*; so nearly Mr. Darby and Dr. Davidson about: *against*, A. V. by a new rendering.—v. 25. *unto him*, supplied but not italicized as implied in the verb: *unto him*, A. V. *the rulers*, after Dr. Noyes, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; *the princes*, A. V. after Wycl., Cran., and Rh. *lord it over*, after Dr. Noyes: so Wycl. nearly, *ben lord's of*: *exercise dominion over*, A. V. after Cran. nearly, *have dominion over*: *exercise lordship over*, Mr. Darby, and this is more dignified than the form of the Revisers. *their great ones*, by a new rendering; *they that are great*, A. V. after Wycl., Tynd., and Gen. *over them*, after Tynd. and Gen.; *upon them*, A. V. after Wycl. (*on hem*) and Cran.—v. 26. *Not so shall it be*, by an omission from the text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles, and by a change of order to conform to the Greek, after Dr. Noyes; But it shall not be so, A. V. after 2d Gen. *would become* (*γενέσθαι*), after Dr. Campbell; *will become*, Dean Alford; *desireth to become*, Dr. Noyes and Dr. Davidson; *will be*, A. V. after Wycl. and all the rest; see on 15, 28. *shall be*, by a change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; *let him be*, A. V. after Wycl., Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; and so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*).—v. 27. *would be*, closer to the Greek (*—τις θελεῖ εἶναι*), after Dr. Campbell and Mr. Darby; *will be*, A. V. after Wycl. and all. *shall be*, by a change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; and so Wycl. and Rh. after the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*): *let him be*, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest.—v. 29. *went out*, after Rh.: *departed*, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest; this is the substitution of an English for a Romance word; see on 4, 12.—v. 30. *were passing by* (*progressive imperfect by attraction*), after Dr. Noyes and Mr. Darby; *passed by*, A. V. after Cran. and Rh.; and so Dean Alford. *Lord, have mercy on us*, by a change of text after Lachmann and

Tregelles; and so Rh. after the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*); Have mercy on us, O Lord, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest; and so again in the next verse.—v. 31. *that they should hold their peace* (*ἴα σιωπήσουσιν*), after Rh., and Wycl. nearly, that thei schulden be stille; because they should hold their peace, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest; *because* was anciently used to denote *purpose* as well as *cause*; so the Greek *ὡς* denotes *cause* and *purpose*, and also *result* under the form *ὥστε*; the Latin *ut*, *cause*, and also *purpose* or *result*; and the English *as*, *cause* and under the form *so* as often, as in Spenser, *result*, and sometimes in Shaksp. under the simple form *as*, Tam. of Shrew, Ind. i. 70; Winter's Tale, v. 3, 68. This use of *because* is rare, but it is found also in Acts 20, 16, because he would not spend etc. (*ὅπως* with subjunct.); that he might not have to spend etc., Rev.; and in Spenser's State of Ireland, because they shall not take etc.—that they may not take etc., p. 669, Globe ed. *cried out*, after Rh.; *cried*, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest.—v. 32. *stood still*, supplying but not italicizing *still*; so A. V. stood still. The word is well supplied. Verbs of *standing*, *sitting* (and kindred words, as *to abide*, *remain*) and of *lying*, are sometimes used absolutely in Greek and Latin, where our idiom requires a modifying word. This modification has commonly been supplied and italicized by A. V. and the Rev.; as, Acts 15, 33; 16, 15; 18, 11; but sometimes supplied by both and not italicized; as, 26, 73; S. Mark 10, 49; S. Luke 7, 14; it is supplied by A. V. and italicized, and supplied by the Rev. and not italicized in Acts 22, 12; in S. John 19, 29 it was not supplied by A. V., but was supplied but not italicized by the Rev.; in Acts 14, 3 it was not supplied by A. V., but was supplied and italicized by the Rev.; it was neglected by both in S. Luke 18, 40, Jesus stood (*στάθησις*); better, —*stood still*, after Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; and in S. John 20, 5 and 6, he seeth the linen cloths lying (*κείμενα*); better, —*lying there*, after de Wette. So above v. 6, standing (*έσταρας*, by an omission from the text) Rev.; better, standing *idle*. Compare in classical Greek: *στῆναι*, to stand *still*, Aristoph. Av. 1308; *κείμενος*, lying *dead*, Thuc. vii. 75; and in Latin: stare, to stand *by*, Juv. 7, 11; sedere, to sit *still*, Cic. pro Sest. 15; and Hor. Ep. i. 17, 37; jacere, to lie *sick*, Cic. ad Fam. ix. 20; to lie *dead*, Virg. Aen. i. 99. *should do*, correctly, after Tynd. and Gen.; shall do, A. V., incorrectly, after Cran.; do, also correctly, Wycl. and Rh.—v. 34. *And*, rendering the Greek particle (*δέ* continuative) strictly, after Wycl., Gen., and Rh.; So, A. V. freely, after Cran. *being moved*

and compression closer to the Greek after *Gen.* moved with compression; had compression *reversed*, A. V. after Tynd. Cran. and the rest *overruled* by a new rendering; immediately A. V. after Tynd. and the rest; this is the subscription of an English for a Romance word; see in 4. 12. they *reversed* by an omission from the text after Lachmann, Tischendorf and Tregelles, and so Wycl. and R. after the Vulg., *Ind. Ant.* — their eyes removed A. V. after Tynd. and the rest.

Ca. XXI. 1. *came* to preserve the Greek after Wycl. were come A. V. after Tynd. and the rest; see in 2. 2. *now* *Saints*, by a new rendering; in 3. A. V. after Wycl. and all the rest — *in* *the* *city* *now* *was* in common to the order of the Greek after Sir John Denece and R. — their sent Jesus A. V. after Wycl. and the rest; the Reversers are not consistent in this matter; there shall be *one* *name*. 2. *Then* *troubled* *he* *the* *town* 2. 2. *but* *then* *he* *arose* *and* *walked* *out* *of* *the* *town*, also 2. 5. 22. — 3. *in* *the* *village*, *and* *in* *the* *village* *to* *preserve* *the* *time* *in* *the* *second* *action* *in* *the* *Greek* *after* *Wycl.*, *Tynd.*, *Cran.*, *Gen.*, and *R.* *village* *over* *against*; A. V. after Sir John Denece — 2. 5. *or* *me* *closer* *to* *the* *Greek* 2. 6. after Dr. Nyses Mr. Darby and Dr. Davidson *very* *near* A. V. after Wycl. and all the rest. *sought* *after* Dr. Campbel, Dr. Nyses, and Dr. Garrison *night*; 2. 7. *after* *Tynd.* and the rest; see in 2. 5. 22. — 3. 1. *Now* *preserving* *the* *Greek* *participle* 2. 1. *after* Dr. Campbel and Dr. Nyses And R. All this, 2. 7. *omitting* the participle after Wycl., Tynd., Cran. and Gen. *that*, *in* *an* *omission* *from* *the* *text* *after* *Lachmann*, *Tischendorf* and *Tregelles*, and so R. after the Vulg., *Ind. Ant.*. All this, 2. 7. *after* *Wycl.* and the rest, *is come* *to* *pass*; *that* *is* *being* *it* *overruled* *by* *a* *new* *rendering*; was done that *etc.* 2. 7. *after* *Tynd.*, *at* *Gen.*, and *R.* *was* *done*, *that* *that* *thing* *should* *be* *infilled*, *Wycl.* so Sir John Denece Dr. Nyses and Mr. Darby *have* *come* *to* *pass* *that* *it* *may* *be* *infilled*; *Gen.* *and* *R.* *have* *come* *to* *pass* *that* *it* *may* *be* *infilled*; Dr. Garrison *2. 5. 22.* *not* *so* A. V. *after* *Cran.*, *at* *Gen.*, and *R.* *that* *thing*—*that* *Wycl.* *that* *which*, *that* *is* *in* *2. 1.* — 2. 5. *being* *overruled* *by* *a* *new* *rendering* *after* Sir John Denece Dr. Campbel and Dr. Nyses *overruled* *now*, Mr. Darby and Dr. Garrison *setting* *upon*, 2. 7. *after* Wycl. and all. *and* *now* *by* *a* *change* *in* *the* *text* *after* Lachmann, Tischendorf and Tregelles *and* A. V. *after* Wycl. and the rest *and* *so* the Vulg., *Ind. Ant.*. — 2. 1. *that* *is* *by* *a* *new* *and* *older* *rendering* *in* *the* *Greek* *text* *but* *not* *in* *A. V.*

after Wycl. and the rest. *appointed*, by a new rendering, closer to the Greek (*συνέραγεν*) ; commanded, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest. — v. 7. *garments*, to conform to v. 8 ; and so Rh. ; clothes, A. V. after Cran. and Gen. *he sat*, after Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson, after Stephens' text (*ἐπεκάθισεν*) ; they set *him*, A. V. after Wycl. and all, according to Beza's text (*ἐπεκάθισαν*) ; and so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*). — v. 8. *the most part of the multitude*, by a new and closer rendering ; most of the multitude, Dr. Davidson ; very many of the multitude, Dr. Noyes ; the greater part, Dr. Campbell ; many of the people, Tynd., Cran., and 1st Gen. ; a very great multitude, A. V. after Rh. *and others*, preserving the Greek particle (*δέ*), after Gen. and Rh. ; others, omitting the particle, A. V. after Wycl. and Cran. — v. 9. *before him*, by an addition to the text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles ; before, A. V. after Wycl. and all ; and so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*). — v. 10. *was stirred*, after Wycl. ; on a stirre, Sir John Cheke ; was moved, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. — v. 11. *the multitudes*, close to the Greek, after Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, and Dr. Davidson ; the multitude, A. V. by a new rendering ; the puple, Wycl. and the rest. *This is the prophet, Jesus*, by a change of order in the Greek, after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles ; *This is Jesus the prophet*, A. V. after Wycl. and all ; and so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*). *from Nazareth*, after Dr. Noyes and Dr. Davidson ; *who cometh from N.*, Sir John Cheke ; *of Nazareth*, A. V. after Wycl. and all. — v. 12. *entered into*, after Wycl. and Rh. ; went into, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest ; this is the substitution of a Romance for an English phrase ; see on 1, 24. *the doves*, preserving the Greek article, after Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson ; doves, omitting the article, A. V. after Wycl. and all. — v. 13. *saih*, close to the Greek, after Wycl. and Rh. ; said, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. *a house*, omitting the definite article after the Greek ; and so Wycl., Sir John Cheke, Dr. Campbell, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson ; the house, supplying the definite article, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest ; and so Dean Alford. *make*, by a change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles ; have made, A. V. after Wycl. and all ; and so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*). *robbers*, more correctly, after Dr. Campbell, Dr. Noyes, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson ; *thieves*, A. V. after Wycl. and all. — v. 15. *But* (*δέ* adversative), after Wycl. and 2d Gen. ; And (continuative), A. V. after 1st Gen. and Rh. *the scribes*, retaining the second Greek article, after Sir John Cheke, Dr. Camp-

bell, Dr. Noyes, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; scribes, omitting the article, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest; and so Dean Alford; and it may well be omitted; see on 8, 11. *children that were crying*, by a change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tre-gelles; *children crying*, A. V. after Wycl. and all. *were moved with indignation*, by a new rendering; *hadden indignacionoun*, Wycl.; and so Rh.; *were sore displeased*, A. V. by a new rendering; so Dean Alford. — v. 16. *are saying*, by a new rendering in the progressive form; *say*, A. V. after Wycl. and all. *did ye never read*, to preserve the Greek aorist, after Sir John Cheke, Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, and Dr. Davidson; *read ye never*, Gen.; *have ye never read*, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest; see on 2, 2. *thou hast perfected*, a perfect for the Greek aorist; and so A. V. after Wycl. and all; see as before. — v. 17. *went forth*, to give the verb fully, after Wycl. and Rh.; *went*, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. *to (eis) Bethany*, as more appropriate here, after Dr. Campbell, Dr. Noyes, and Mr. Darby; *unto B.*, Tynd., Cran., 2d Gen.; and so Dean Alford; *into B.*, A. V. after Wycl. and Rh.; and so Dr. Davidson; and so in the next verse. — v. 19. *seeing*, closer to the Greek, after Sir John Cheke, Rh. and 2d Gen.; *when he saw*, A. V. by a new rendering. *by the way side*, excellently, after Rh.; *bisidis the weie*, Wycl.; *in the way*, A. V. after Tynd. Cran., and Gen.; see on 5, 25. *saith*, close to the Greek, after Rh.; *said*, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest. *Let there be no fruit from thee*, closer to the Greek, after Dr. Noyes; and perhaps closer still, *Never fruyt come forth* (*γίνηται*) *of thee*, Wycl.; or, *Never grow there fruite of thee*, Rh.; see on 15, 28. *immediately*, after Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; *presently*, A. V. by a new rendering, but now antiquated. — v. 20. *How did the fig tree immediately wither away?* by a new rendering, making the introductory particle (*πῶς*) interrogative; so probably the Vulg., *Quomodo continuo aruit?* *How is it withered incontinent?* Rh.; so de Wette, Germ. Rev., Holl. Rev. and Weitzsäcker; *How* (exclamatory) soon is the fig tree withered away! A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; and so substantially Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson, taking *πῶς* as exclamatory, as in S. Mark 10, 23, 24; and *Quomodo* may be so taken with the verb in the rendering of the Vulg.; comp. Cic. Att. 8, 16; Lact. 2, 9. — v. 21. *And Jesus*, preserving the Greek particle (*δέ*), after Wycl. and Rh.; *Jesus*, omitting the particle, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. *what*, after Dr. Noyes and Mr.

Darby; this which, A. V. by a new rendering; this that, Cran.; that which, Tynd. and Gen. *even* (*kai* emphatic), after Dr. Campbell, Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; also, A. V. after Wycl., Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *Be thou taken up*, closer to the Greek, after Dr. Noyes; *Take up—thyself*, Rh.; *Be thou removed*, A. V. by a new rendering; *Remove*, Cran. *and cast*, for the unification of the sentence, after Dr. Noyes; see on 5, 11. —v. 24. *one question*, after Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, and Dr. Davidson; a question, Dr. Campbell; a certayne question, Tynd. and 1st Gen.; one thing, A. V. by a new rendering. *likewise*, after 2d Gen.; *in like wise*, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and 1st Gen.—v. 25. *from—or from*, close to the Greek (*ξ—ξ*), after Rh.; *from—or of*, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; and so again in the next verse. *Why then did ye not*, to preserve the order of the Greek, after Wycl. and Rh.; *Why did ye not then*, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. — v. 26. *the multitude*, after Rh.; *the people*, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest. — v. 27. *We know not*, close to the Greek, after Wycl. (*We witen not*) and Rh.; *We cannot tell*, to correspond in form with what follows, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. *He also*, close to the Greek, after Rh.; *And he*, incorrectly, A. V. after Wycl., Cran., and Gen. — v. 28. *A man*, after Wycl. and Cran.; *A certain man*, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. *the vineyard*, by an omission from the text, after Tischendorf and Tregelles; *my vineyard*, A. V. after Wycl. and all; and so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*). — v. 29. *And he*, preserving the Greek particle (*δέ*), after Wycl. and Rh.; *He*, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and 1st Gen. *repented himself* (reflexive pronoun), after 2d Gen.; *repented him*, Sir John Cheke; *repented*, A. V. after Tynd. and Cran. — v. 30. *and went not*: so A. V. after Wycl., Cran., and Rh.; it is better to take the particle here (*kai*) as adversative, yet *went not*, after Tynd. and Gen.; so, but *went not*, Dr. Campbell; see on 1, 25. — v. 31. *Whether (τις)*: so A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; *Who*, Wycl.; *Which*, Rh.; see on 9, 5 and 23, 17. *of the twain*, after Wycl.; *of them twain*, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *his father*, not italicizing *his*, the article being here used as a possessive pronoun; see on 1, 24; *his father*, A. V. *They say*, by an omission from the text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; and so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*); *They say unto him*, A. V. after Wycl. and all. — v. 32. *saw*, to preserve the Greek aorist, after Wycl., Tynd., and Gen.; *had seen*, A. V. after Cran.; see on 1, 24. *did—repent yourselves*, to conform to v. 29, after Sir John Cheke; *repented*, A. V.

by a new rendering; *not even*, by a change of text after Lachmann and Tregelles; and so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*); not, A. V. after Wycl. and all; on *not even* see on 27, 14. — v. 33. *a man that was a householder*, by a new rendering; a certain householder, A. V. after Tynd. and Gen.; *a householder*, by an omission from the text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; a certain householder, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *householder, which*: and so A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; h. that, Wycl.; h. who, Rh.; see on 2, 6. *set a hedge about it*, after Sir John Cheke; so Dr. Noyes and Dean Alford; hedged it round about, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; heggide it aboute, Wycl. *went into another country*, by a new and closer rendering; *went into a far country*, A. V. by a new rendering. — v. 34. *the season* (*καιρός*), conforming to v. 41, after Dr. Noyes and Dr. Davidson; the time, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest. *the fruits*, to preserve the Greek plural, after Wycl. and Rh.; the fruit, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. *to receive*, close to the Greek form, after Tynd., Gen., and Rh.; that they might receive, A. V. after Cran. — v. 36. *in like manner*, after Wycl.; and so Dean Alford and Mr. Darby; and so the Rev. render the Greek adverb here (*ὡσαίτως*) in 25, 17; but they render it *likewise* in 20, 5; 21, 30; likewise, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. — v. 37. *afterward*, close to the Greek, after Sir John Cheke; so Dr. Noyes and Dr. Davidson; last of all, A. V. freely, after Tynd. and the rest. — v. 38. *the husbandmen, when they saw the son, said*, nearer the Greek form, after Dr. Noyes; when the husbandmen saw the son, they said, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *take*, by a change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; but so Tynd. and Gen.; seize on, A. V., by a new rendering. — v. 39. *took*, close to the Greek, after Wycl., Sir John Cheke, and 2d Gen.; caught, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and 1st Gen. *forth out of*, to give the Greek fully, after Rh.; out of, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest. *killed*, after Rh.; slew, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest. — v. 40. *When therefore the lord*, closer to the order of the Greek, after Gen. and Rh.; When the lord therefore, A. V. after Cran. *shall come*, close to the Greek, after Wycl., Gen., and Rh.; cometh, A. V. after Tynd. and Cran. — v. 41. *miserable men*, to preserve the paronomasia (*miserably—miserable*), after Dr. Davidson; so, but in different ways, it is preserved by Wycl., Sir John Cheke, Rh., and Dr. Campbell; wicked men, neglecting it, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *the*, close to the Greek, after Dr. Campbell, Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr.

Davidson ; *his*, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest, which is also correct, only it need not be italicized ; see on 1, 24. *husbandmen, which* : so A. V. after Wycl., Tynd., Cran., and Gen. ; *h. that*, Rh. ; see on 2, 6. — v. 42. *was made*, after Wycl., Gen., and Rh. (*is made*), but preserving the Greek aorist ; *is become*, A. V. after Cran. *This was from the Lord*, close to the Greek, by a new rendering ; *cometh from the Lord*, Sir John Cheke ; *from the Lord did this come*, Dr. Noyes ; *this is the Lord's doing*, A. V. freely, after Cran. — v. 43. *shall be taken away*, more exactly, after Rh. ; *shall be taken*, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest. *and shall be given*, more fully for the sake of dignity, after Wycl., Tynd., Gen., and Rh. ; *and given*, A. V. after Cran. — v. 44. *he that*, closer to the Greek, after Wycl. and Rh. ; *whosoever*, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. *falleth*, closer to the Greek, after Cran. and Rh. ; *shall fall*, A. V. after Wycl., Tynd., and Gen. *shall be broken to pieces*, more exactly, after Cran. *nearly*, shalbe broken in peces ; *shall be broken*, A. V. after Wycl., Tynd., Gen., and Rh. *will scatter him as dust*, closer to the Greek, after Sir John Cheke *nearly*, wil drive him lijk dust awai ; still closer in idea, *will scatter him to the winds*, Dr. Robinson (Lex. N. T.) ; *will grind him to powder*, A. V. after Tynd. and Gen. — v. 45. *the Pharisees*, preserving the second article, after Dr. Campbell, Dr. Noyes, and Mr. Darby ; *Pharisees*, omitting it, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest ; and so Dean Alford and Dr. Davidson ; and it may be omitted ; see on 8, 11. *heard*, to preserve the Greek aorist, after Tynd. and 1st Gen. ; *had heard*, A. V. after Wycl., Cran., 2d Gen., and Rh. ; see on 1, 24. — v. 46. *And (καὶ) when*, after Wycl. and the rest ; *But when*, A. V. taking the particle here as adversative ; so Dr. Campbell ; see on 1, 25. *the multitudes*, to preserve the Greek plural, after Rh. ; *the multitude*, A. V.

CH. XXII. v. 1. *And Jesus answered and spake* : and so A. V. and the rest ; better, *And Jesus spake and said*, after Diodati and de Wette, nearly ; *And Jesus spaak*, Sir John Cheke, simply ; see on 11, 25. *again in parables unto them*, by a change of order in the text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles ; and so Wycl. and Rh. after the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*) ; *unto them again by parables*, A. V. after Cran. *in parables*, closer to the Greek, after Wycl., Rh., and 2d Gen. ; *by parables*, A. V. by a new rendering. *saying*, close to the Greek, after Tynd., Gen., and Rh. ; *and said*, A. V. after Wycl. and Cran. — v. 2. *is likened*, closer to the Greek, after Rh., and conforming to 13, 24 ; *is made like*,

Wycl.; is like, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. *king, which*: so A. V. after Tynd. and the rest; *kyng that*, Wycl.; see on 2, 6. *a marriage feast*, more correctly, after Sir John Cheke; a marriage, A. V. after Cran. and Rh.; and so in vv. 3, 4, 9. — v. 3. *and (eal) they*: so A. V. after Wycl. and the rest; but the particle is better rendered as adversative here, but they, after 2d Gen. and Dr. Campbell; see on 1, 25. — v. 4. *them that*, after Cran., 1st Gen., and Rh.; *them which*, A. V. after Tynd. and 2d Gen.; see on 2, 6. *I have made ready*, after Wycl.; *bave prepared*, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest; this is the substitution of an English phrase for a Romance word; see on 1, 24. *my fallings*, supplying but not italicizing the pronoun; *my fatlings*, A. V.; see on 1, 17. *to*, after Wycl. and Rh.; *anto*, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. — v. 5. *his own*, to distinguish *duos*, which is commonly emphatic, from the simple genitive, as in the next clause, after Sir John Cheke; so Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; *his*, A. V. after Wycl. and all the rest; so Dr. Campbell and Dr. Noyes; and so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*) here and in S. John 1, 41 renders *duos* by a simple *suis*. — v. 6. *the rest*, the usual form now, after Rh.; the remnant, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. *laid hold on*, closer to the Greek, after Dr. Davidson nearly, *laid hold of*; *laid hands upon*, Rh.; *took*, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. *shamefully*, after Cran.; *spitefully*, A. V. after Rh. *killed*, after Dr. Campbell, and conforming to 21, 39; *slew*, A. V. after Wycl., Tynd., Cran., and Gen. — v. 7. *the king*, by an omission from the text after Tischendorf and Tregelles; when the king heard *thereof he*, A. V. after Cran.; so substantially the rest; and so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*). *sent*, close to the Greek after Wycl. and Rh.; *sent forth*, A. V. freely, after the rest. *burned*, after Wycl. and Rh.; *burned up*, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; and so de Wette; more closely, *set on fire*, as the Vulg. *succidit*, and Germ. and Holl. Rev. — v. 8. *they that*, after Wycl. and Rh.; *they which*, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest; see on 2, 6. — v. 9. *to*, correctly, after Dr. Davidson; *into*, A. V. freely, after Wycl. and all. *the partings of the highways*, by a new rendering; the highways, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest; the cross-ways, Dr. Davidson. — v. 10. *And*, close to the Greek, after Wycl., Cran., 1st Gen., and Rh.; *So*, A. V. freely, after 2d Gen. *was filled*, close to the Greek, after Rh.; *was furnished*, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. — v. 11. *But (ðe) when*, taking the particle in an adversative sense, after Sir John Cheke; *And*, A. V. after Wycl. and Rh. *to behold*, by a new rendering, to distinguish the Greek

verb used here from the one in the next clause; to view, Dr. Noyes; to look at, Dr. Davidson; to see, A. V. after Wycl., Cran., Gen., and Rh. *a man which*: so A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; a man who, Sir John Cheke; and so Dr. Noyes and Dr. Davidson; see on 2, 6.—v. 12. *And* (*&*), after Wycl., Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; but it may well be taken here as adversative, But, after Rh.; and so Mr. Darby.—v. 13. *Then the king said*, by a change of order in the text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; and so Wycl. and Rh., but against the Vulg.; Then said the king, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. *and cast him*, with an omission from the text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles, and being supplied, after Wycl. and the rest, but not italicized; so Wycl. and Rh. after the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*); take him away, and cast him, A. V. after 2d Gen. *cast him out into*, close to the Greek, after Dr. Noyes, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; cast him into, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., Gen., and Rh. *the outer darkness*, preserving the Greek article, after Rh.; outer darkness, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest. *there shall be the weeping and the gnashing of teeth*, after Mr. Darby and Dr. Davidson; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, A. V. after Wycl. and all; and so Dr. Campbell, Dr. Noyes, and Dean Alford; see on 8, 12.—v. 14. *chosen*, for unification of the sentence, *are* omitted, after Rh. and 2d Gen.; see on 5, 11; are chosen, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest; so Dean Alford; and this is more euphonious.—v. 15. *ensnare*, closer to the Greek, after Dr. Noyes and Mr. Darby; entrappe, Rh.; and so Dr. Campbell; entangle, A. V. by a new rendering.—v. 16. *send to*, correcting the tense, and after Wycl. and Rh.; sent out (*ἀποτέλλω*) unto, A. V. after Cran. *and carest not*, after Dr. Noyes nearly, and carest for no one; and so Dr. Davidson; neither carest thou, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *any one*, by a new rendering, nearer to the Greek (*τις*); any *man*, A. V. after Wycl. and all.—v. 18. *ye hypocrites*, supplying but not italicizing *ye*; *ye hypocrites*, A. V.; see on 4, 17.—v. 21. *Render therefore*: so A. V. and all; Render then, Dr. Campbell, Dr. Noyes, and Mr. Darby, which well suits the connection. *the things that*, to conform to the next clause, after Wycl. and Rh.; the things which, A. V. after Cran.—v. 22. *And when*, preserving the introductory Greek particle (*Καί*), after Wycl., Rh. and 2d Gen.; When, A. V., omitting it, after Tynd., Cran., and 1st Gen. *heard*, to preserve the Greek aorist, after Wycl., Tynd., and Gen.; had heard, A. V. after Cran.; see on 1, 24. *it*, supplied but not italicized, after Rh.; *these words*,

A. V. after Cran. — v. 23. *On that day*, close to the Greek, after Mr. Darby; In that day, Dean Alford and Dr. Davidson, after Wycl.; The same day, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *there came*, after Rh.; came, A. V. after Cran. Sadducees, which say, after Wycl. nearly, S. that seien; and Mr. Darby, S. who say; and so de Wette, and Germ. and Holl. Rev.; as if the article were used in the Greek ($\Sigma. \alphaι λέγοντες$), but the Rev. omit the Greek article after Lachmann, Tischendorf (8th ed.), and Tregelles, with MSS. N, B, and others, and so the Curetonian Syriac; the article is read in the *Text. Rec.*, seems to have been read by the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*), S. *qui dicunt*, and was read by Tischendorf in his previous editions on the authority of MSS. E, F, G, and others; Meyer (*Com. ad h. l.*) reads the article and considers it as indispensable here; comp. Σαδδουκαῖοι, οἵτινες λέγονται in the parallel passage in S. Mark 12, 18; the S. which, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest; S. saying, Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, Dr. Davidson, and the Rev. in the margin. — v. 25. *married*, to preserve the Greek aorist, after Wycl., Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; when he had married, A. V. by a new rendering; see on 1, 24. *seed*, to conform to v. 24. after Wycl.; issue, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. — v. 26. *in like manner*, after Rh.; Likewise, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. — v. 27. *after them all*, by a new rendering; last of all, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., Gen., and Rh. — v. 28. *In the resurrection therefore*, by a change of order in the text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; and so Rh. after the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*); Therefore in the r., A. V. after Cran. — v. 29. *But Jesus*, preserving the Greek particle ($\delta\epsilon$ adversative), after Dr. Davidson; And Jesus, Rh.; and so Mr. Darby; Jesus, A.V. — v. 30. *angels*, omitting the article as in the Greek, after Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; the angels, A. V. after Wycl. and all; and with an omission from the text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; the angels of God, A. V. after Wycl. and all; and so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*). — v. 33. *multitudes*, close to the Greek, after Rh.; multitude, A. V. by a new rendering. *it*, supplied after Rh. and 2d Gen.; *this*, A. V. after Cran.; *that*, Tynd. and 1st Gen. *teaching*, as more suitable here, after Wycl.; doctrine, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. — v. 34. *the Pharisees*, *when*, by a new rendering; when the Pharisees, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *heard*, to preserve the Greek aorist, after Wycl.; had heard, A.V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; see on 1, 24. *gathered themselves together*, after Sir John Cheke, taking the passive voice as a middle; came together,

Wycl. and Rh.; were gathered together, A. V. by a new rendering and literally. — v. 35. *And*, close to the Greek, after Wycl. and the rest; Then, A. V. by a new rendering and freely. *a lawyer*, after Dr. Noyes, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; *which was a lawyer*, supplied by A. V., Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *asked him a question*, supplying but not italicizing the last three words; *asked him a question*, A. V. *tempting him*, with an omission from the text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; and so Wycl. and Rh. after the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*); *tempting him, and saying*, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. — v. 37. *And*, preserving the Greek particle, after Dr. Noyes, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; A. V. omits it, after Wycl. and all. *he*, by a change in the text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; *Jesus*, A. V. after Wycl. and all; and so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*); see on 4, 12. — v. 38. *the great and first*, by a change of order in the text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; and so Rh., *the greatest and the first*, after the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*), *maximum et primum*; *the first and great commandment*, A. V. after Cran. — v. 39. *a second like unto it is this*, by a new rendering, supplying and italicizing *unto it*; *ther is another lyk unto this*, Tynd.; There is a second like it, Dr. Noyes; the second is like unto it, A. V. after Cran. — v. 40. *hangeth the whole law and the prophets*, after 2d Gen. *hangeth*, after Wycl. and 1st and 2d Gen.; *dependeth*, Rh.; the singular verb seems to have been adopted here by the Rev. to represent the change in the text (*κρέμαται*), after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; *the whole law*, after 2d Gen. and Rh.; *hang all the law and the prophets*, A. V. after Tynd. and Cran. — v. 41. *Now while*, preserving the introductory particle (*δε* continuative), by a new rendering; Wycl. and Rh., *And*; it is omitted by A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *asked them a question*, by a new rendering, and supplying but not italicizing *a question*, to conform to vv. 35 and 41; *asked them*, A. V. after Wycl. and all. — v. 42. *the Christ*, preserving the Greek article, after Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; and so de Wette and Holl. Rev.; *the Messiah*, Dr. Campbell; *Christ*, omitting the article, A. V. after Wycl. and all; and so Germ. Rev.; see on 1, 17.—v. 43. *in the Spirit*, after Dr. Noyes; and so de Wette, Germ. and Holl. Rev.; *in spirit*, A. V. after Wycl. and all; and so Dean Alford and Dr. Davidson. — v. 44. *put—underneath thy feet*, by a change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; *make—thy footstool*,

after Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; and so nearly Wycl. and Rh. after the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*) — v. 13. *If—ever*, after the Greek form; so Sir John Cheke and Wycl. *legit*; and so Dean Alford and Dr. Davidson *call*; c. A. V. after Tynd. and the rest; and so Dr. Noyes and Mr. Darby; see on 4, 3. — v. 16. *no one*, close to the Greek (*νίκας*), after Dr. Noyes, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; *none*, Tynd. and Gen.; and so Dr. Campbell; *no man*, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest.

CH. XXIII. v. 2. *on Moses' seat*, closer to the Greek (*εἰς c. gen.*), after Wycl. and Rh. (*upon*); in M. *seat*, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. — v. 3. *all things*, supplying but not italicizing *things*, after Wycl. and Rh.; Ali. A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. *bid you*, with an omission from the text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; and so Wycl. and Rh. after the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*); *bid you observe*, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. *these*, newly supplied and conformed to the preceding; *that*, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *do and observe*, by a change of order after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; *observe and do*, A. V. after Wycl. and all; and so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*). — v. 4. *yea*, after Tynd. and Cran., and with a change of text (*γάπ* to *&*) after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; and so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*); *And*, Wycl. and Rh.; *But*, Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; perhaps *Now* would be better as giving an instance of the foregoing (Meyer, *Com. ad h. l.*); *For*, A. V. after Gen. *them*, supplied but not italicized; *them*, A. V.; see on 1, 17. *themselves*, by change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; *themselves*, supplied and italicized by A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *their finger*, close to the Greek, after Wycl.; with one of their fingers, A. V. freely, after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. — v. 5. *for to be seen*: and so A. V. after Tynd., Gen., and Rh.; *to be*—, Dr. Campbell, Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; *on for to*, see on 26, 45. *for they make*, by a change of text (*&* to *γάπ*) after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; *for*, Wycl. and Rh., against the Vulgate (*vero*); and so Gen.; *they make*, A. V. omitting the particle (*&*) after Tynd. and Cran. *of their garments*, supplied and italicized, being omitted from the text by Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; omitted also by Wycl. and Rh. after the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*); *of their garments*, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. — v. 6. *the chief place*, closer to the Greek, after 2d Gen.; *the uppermost rooms*, A. V. by a new rendering, but after Cran. nearly, *the uppermost seates*. — v. 7. *the salutations*,

preserving the Greek article, after Dr. Davidson ; A. V. omits it after Wycl. and all ; and so Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, and Mr. Darby. *salutations*, after Wycl. and Rh. ; greetings, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest ; this is the substitution of a Romance word for an English ; see on 1, 24. *the marketplaces*, after Rh. (*market-place*) ; the markets, A. V. after Tynd. and Gen. — v. 8. *Rabbi*, with an omission from the text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles ; and so Wycl. and Rh. after the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*) ; and so Tynd. and Cran. ; *Rabbi*, *Rabbi*, A. V. after Gen. *teacher*, with a change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles, and to distinguish from v. 10, where a different Greek word is used ; after Dr. Campbell, Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, and Dr. Davidson ; and so 2d Gen. nearly, *doctor* ; *Master*, A. V. after Wycl. and all the rest. *teacher*, with an omission from the text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles ; and so Wycl. and Rh. after the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*) ; *Master*, *even Christ*, A. V. after Cran. — v. 9. *no man*, supplying but not italicizing *man* ; *no man*, A. V. ; see on 1, 17. — v. 9. *on*, after Wycl. ; *upon*, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. *Father, which* : so A. V. ; *fadir, that*, Wycl. ; see on 2, 6. *the Christ*, preserving the Greek article, after Dr. Noyes, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson ; so Dr. Campbell, the Messiah ; and so Holl. Rev. ; *Christ*, A. V. after Wycl. and all ; and so de Wette, Germ. Rev., and Dean Alford ; see on 1, 17. — v. 12. *shall be humbled*, after Rh. and to conform to the next sentence ; *shall be abased*, A. V. after Sir John Cheke. *whosoever*, to keep close to the Greek and to conform to the preceding sentence, after 2d Gen. ; *he that*, A. V. — v. 13. *because*, close to the Greek (*ὅτι*), after Gen. and Rh. ; *for*, A. V. after Tynd. and Cran. *shut*, close to the Greek, after Rh. ; *shut up*, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. *ye enter not in*, closer to the Greek, after Wycl. nearly, *ye entren not* ; *ye neither go in*, A. V. after Cran. ; this is the substitution of a Romance word for an English ; see on 1, 24. *yourselves*, supplied, as the pronoun here (*ὑμεῖς*) is emphatic, but not italicized ; *yourselves*, A. V. *are entering in to enter*, to keep close to the Greek, and to conform to the preceding clause, after Wycl. nearly, *entrynge to entre*. — v. 14. omitted after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles ; and so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*) ; *Woe unto you—the greater damnation*, given by A. V. after Wycl. and all ; and so the Curetonian Syriac. — v. 15. *when he is become so*, by a new rendering, but after Cran. *nearly*, *is become one* ; *is become such*, Mr. Darby and Dr. Davidson ; so the Vulg., *cum fuerit factus*, but Sir John Cheke, it

being done ; is made, A. V. after Wycl. and Rh. *a son*, omitting the definite article after the Greek, and so Wycl. ; the child, A. V. supplying the article after Tynd. and the rest. *son*, close to the Greek, after Wycl. ; child, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest.—v. 16. *guides, which* : and so A. V. after Tynd. and Gen. ; guides, that, Wycl. (*leders, that*) and Rh. ; see on 2, 6. —v. 17. *Ye fools and blind* : supplying *Ye*, but not italicizing it as A. V. does ; so Wycl., Tynd., Cran., and Gen. ; Ye foolish and blind men, Sir John Cheke ; Ye foolish and blinde, Rh. ; Foolish and blind, Dr. Campbell ; and these forms, avoiding the combination of a noun and adjective, are less harsh than the first. *whether is greater* : and so A. V. by a free and idiomatic rendering of the Greek (*τις*), after Tynd., Cran., Gen., and Rh. ; but the use of *whether* as a pronoun seems to have been rare ; it occurs eight times in A. V. of N. T. and the Revisers have retained it in all these cases. It occurs but once in the O. T., Eccles. 11, 6. It is found in Shakespeare : as, Whether dost thou profess thyself, a knave or a fool? All's Well, iv. 5, 23 ; and in Jeremy Taylor : as, Whether is worse, the adultery of the man or the woman ? Holy Living, ch. ii. §3. The Revisers have inconsistently left *which of them* [two], in S. Luke 7, 42 (Whether, Rh.), and *whom* [of the two] in S. Matt. 27, 17 (Whether, Tynd., Cran., and Gen.) ; and *which* was not unfrequently so used ; guiche of thaim, Life of Davison, p. 71 ; which [of the two] shall hearken unto other, Hooker, v. 7 ; which of the two, *ib.* v. 42 ; which of these two opinions, *ib.* v. 62 ; lets try which [of us two] can catch the first fish, Walton, Angler, p. 124 ; You shall chuse which [of the two] shall be your angle, *ib.* p. 120. So again in v. 19 ; see also on 9, 5. *hath sanctified*, by a change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles, rendering an aorist by the perfect, after Dean Alford ; but Dr. Davidson, close to the Greek, sanctified ; sanctifieth, A. V. after Wycl. (*halewith*), and all ; and so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*) ; see on 2, 2.—v. 18. *is a debtor*, after Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson ; owith, Wycl. ; is bound, Rh. ; is guilty, A. V. after Cran. —v. 19. *Ye blind*, with an omission from the text after Tischendorf and Tregelles, and supplying but not italicizing *Ye*, after Wycl. (*Blynde men*) and Rh. ; and so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*) ; *Ye fools and blind*, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. —v. 20. *He—that*, closer to the Greek, after Wycl. and Rh. ; Whoso, A. V. after Cran. *sweareth*, rendering an aorist participle as present, after Wycl. and the rest ; *shall swear*, A. V. freely and by a new

rendering ; and so in vv. 21 and 22. — v. 22. *the heaven*, preserving the Greek article, by a new rendering ; heaven, A. V. after Wycl. and all ; and so Dr. Campbell and all ; and this seems better ; see on 6, 26. — v. 23. *Ye tithe*, after Wycl. and the rest ; Ye pay tithe of, A. V. by a new rendering. *have left undone*, to conform to the last clause of the verse, after Sir John Cheke nearly, leve undoon ; and so Tynd. and 1st Gen. ; have omitted, A. V. by a new rendering ; this is a case of the substitution of an English for a Romance word ; see on 4, 12. *matters*, supplied, after A. V., but not italicized ; see on 1, 17. *and mercy*, preserving the Greek particle, after Wycl., Rh., and 2d Gen. ; mercy, A. V. omitting it, after Tynd., Cran., and 1st Gen. *but these*, by an addition to the text after Lachmann and Tregelles ; these, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest ; and so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*). *ye ought*, by a change of order after Rh. ; ought ye, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest ; and so Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, and Dr. Davidson ; and this seems better. *to have left*, by a change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles ; and so Tynd., Gen., and Rh. — v. 24. *guides, which* : and so A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. ; guides, that, Rh. ; see on 2, 6. *strain out the gnat*, after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. ; strain at a gnat, A. V. probably by a misprint (Archbp. Trench on Revision *ad h. l.*). *the gnat—the camel*, preserving the Greek article, after Sir John Cheke ; and so Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson ; a gnat—a camel, A. V. omitting it, after Wycl. and all ; and so Dr. Campbell and Dr. Noyes. — v. 25. *cleanse*, to conform to v. 26, and after Wycl., Tynd., and Cran. ; make clean, A. V. after Gen. and Rh. *from extortion*, by a new rendering close to the Greek (*ἐξ*) ; of e., A. V. after Wycl. and all ; and so Dr. Campbell and all ; pleni sunt rapinâ, Vulg. — v. 26. *Thou blind Pharisee*, supplying but not italicizing *Thou* ; *Thou blind P.*, A. V. ; see on 1, 17. *the inside of*, closer to the Greek, after Tynd., Gen., and Rh., and to conform to the preceding verse, and to the succeeding clause ; that *which is* within, A. V. after Cran. *thereof*, by a change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles ; of them, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. ; *may become* (*γίνεσθαι*), after Rh. ; be made, Wycl. ; may be, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. ; see on 15, 28. *also*, a case of good but free order ; and so A. V., this word belonging to *the outside* ; see on 2, 8. — v. 27. *outwardly*, omitting the Greek particle (*μέν*), after Wycl., Tynd., Gen., and Rh. ; outwardly indeed, Dr. Noyes, exactly ; outward indeed, Dr. Campbell ; which indeed, A. V.

preserving the particle, but adopting a free order, after Cran. ; and so in v. 28. outwardly, after Rh. ; outward, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *inwardly*, after Rh. and to conform to the preceding ; within, A. V. after Wycl. and all ; and so in v. 28. — v. 29. *for* (*ὅτι*), after Sir John Cheke and Gen. ; and so Mr. Darby and Dr. Davidson, they making *ὅτι* and *ἵπα* interchange ; because, A. V. after Rh. ; and so Dr. Campbell, Dr. Noyes, and Dean Alford. *sepulchres*, after Wycl. and Rh. ; tombs, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *tombs*, after Sir John Cheke ; sepulchres, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. — v. 30. *should not have been*, after Wycl. and correctly ; would not have been, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. — v. 31. *ye witness to*, after Dean Alford nearly, *ye witness unto* ; *iou witness* of, Sir John Cheke ; *ye be witnesses unto*, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *sons*, close to the Greek, after Wycl. and Rh. ; the children, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *them that*, after Wycl. and Rh. ; *them which*, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *slew*, after Wycl. ; killed, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. — v. 33. *ye serpents, ye offspring*, supplying but not italicizing *ye—ye* ; *ye—ye*, A. V. ; see on 1, 17. *offspring*, after Sir John Cheke ; and so Dr. Campbell and Mr. Darby ; generation, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *shall ye escape* (*φίγητε*, deliberative subjunctive) ; will you flee, Rh. ; shuld ye scape, Tynd. and Gen. ; can ye escape, A. V. by a new rendering. *the judgement of hell*, after Rh. ; and so Dean Alford and Dr. Davidson ; the doom of helle, Wycl. ; helles ponischment, Sir John Cheke ; the punishment of hell, Dr. Noyes ; the damnation of hell, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. The verb *to damn* and its derivatives *damnation* and *damnably* were used 15 times in N. T. by A. V., but these words have been utterly excluded by the Revisers, even in cases where the terms of the original must be taken in their fullest and strongest sense : as, S. Mark 16, 16, He that believeth—shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned ; and S. John 5, 29, the resurrection of life—the resurrection of damnation. If any passages in which these words were used by A. V. mean merely *moral judgment* concerning what is evil, in such passages *to condemn* and *condemnation* would be properly adopted ; but for such passages as those just adduced, *to damn* and *damnation* are the technical and established terms, and they seem harsh words simply because they are the technical and established terms for this dreadful idea, and no human influence nor length of time would be able to banish the use of them. Moreover, were *to judge* or *to condemn* to become

the technical and established term for this dreadful idea, the word would in the course of time take upon itself the dreadful association which to *damn*, originally used in the ordinary sense of to *condemn*, has now in the course of time taken upon itself. — v. 34. *Therefore*, closer to the Greek, after Wycl. and Rh.; Wherefore, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *some*, by an omission from the text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; and so the Vulg. (*Cod. Am.*); so Dr. Campbell; and *some*, A. V. after Wycl. and all. *some—some*, supplied but not italicized; *some—some*, A. V.; see on 1, 17. *shall ye kill*, by a new order to conform to the next clause; *ye shall kill*, A. V. after Wycl. and all. *persecute*, after Wycl., Tynd., Gen., and Rh.; persecute *them*, A. V. supplying the pronoun after Cran. — v. 35. *on the earth*, after Wycl.; upon the earth, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. *Abel the righteous*, by change of order, close to the Greek, after Rh., Abel the just; righteous Abel, A. V. after Wycl. (*just Abel*) and all. *Zachariah—Barachiah*, to conform to the Hebrew; Zacharias-Barachias, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest; see on 1, 2. *the sanctuary*, by a more exact rendering here, after Dr. Campbell; the temple, A. V. after Wycl. and all. — v. 37. *which killeth the prophets, and stoneth them that are sent unto her*, preserving the 3d person of the Hebraism in the Greek, after Dr. Noyes and Mr. Darby; *thou* that killest—and stonest—sent unto thee, A. V. changing the person to make it agree with what follows, after Wycl. and all. *Jerusalem, which*, after Tynd., Gen., and Rh.; *J. that*, A. V. after Wycl. and Cran.; see on 2, 6. *them that*, after Wycl. and Rh.; *them which*, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest; see as above. *her wings*, the article having here the force of a possessive; *her wings*, A. V. not recognizing this usage; see on 1, 24.

CHARLES SHORT.

II.—PHILLIPPS GLOSSARY.¹

O

Obodrunus amator.

Obuaricator dicitur qui alicui
occurrens a recto eum itinere
declinat.

Obesus pinguis. Obesat in-
pinguat.

5. Oblixus summissus.

Oblisus illis.

Obstringilli dicuntur quedam
calciamenta per plantas consuta
et ex superiori parte corrigia
constricta unde et a constringen-
do obstringilli vocantur qui
ulglo scapini dicuntur.

Obsicus turpis ludus et impu-
dicus.

Obtutus fixus et immobilis in-
tuitus.

10. Oblegatum iniunctum
mandatum.

Oblegat contradicit contra
legem uenit.

Obit moritur contrauadit Sen-

eca non sum tam superbus ut
curationes eger obeam i' im-
probe damnam.

Obsonat discordat dissonat
absonat.

Obsonitat conuiciatur.

15. Obsolefactus dicitur qui
per neglectum deprauatur trans-
lato nomine a domibus que per
incuriam situ obsolete dicuntur.
Obsoleta enim loca domus que
non habitata sordescunt uel ea
que per neglectum non emun-
dantur.

Obiurare iuramento sese ob-
stringere.

Oculissimus carissimus quasi
oculus.

Oculit abscondit debet autem
per duo cc scribi licet eius
primitivum i' oculus per unum.
Nam propter oculum omnia oc-
culuntur.

20. Ocines dicuntur aues que

¹ The following misprints in the former excerpts from the Phillipps Glossary (VI., pp. 451-461 of this Journal) should be corrected :

M 13. Maugeo for mango.

M 14. Malaxatus for malaxater, malaxare for malaxan.

M 27. Mactina gida for machama quida.

M 37. Macianum for maliarum.

M 41. Malleorum for malleonum.

M 70. Perhibetur for pertubitur (?).

M 88. Nevius.

M 108. Monimentum.

M 113. Mortinum morticinum for matinum morticorium.

N 11. Noctiosus for noctiorus.

N 13. Noviplum for noniplum.

ore et cantu auspicium faciunt ut coruus cornix picus.

Ocliferia quedam ornamenta que in fronte suspenduntur.

Occiduo multorum occisio.
Occiduo occiduonis.

Ocinum siue ochinus est herba de qua emilius macer ait Inter preteritas numerabitur ochinus herbas.

25. Octauia dicitur porticus priuata.

Octauiana uero publica.

Occatio dicitur cum ruricola satione completa bobus omissis glebas ligone comminuit. dicitur que occatio quasi obcecatio eo quod operiat semina. Inde dicitur occa ager non procul ab opidis ligonibus magis utens quam vomere uel aratris.

Oceanus est mare magnum mediam diuidens terram ipsamque circumdans ac reciprocis estibus in se reuertens. dicit autem quidam in profundis oceanii quosdam esse meatus uentorum uelut quasdam mundi nares per quas emissi anhelitus et retracti alterno accessu et recessu nunc euaporante spiritu efflent maria nunc sorbente reducant. Sunt qui dicant lunari incremento crescere oceanum, ut tanquam quibusdam eius spirationibus rursum trahatur et iterum eiusdem impulsu ac retractu in mensuram propriam refundatur. Alii dicunt solem et sydera aqua(m) de occeano haurire ignibus suis et circa

omnia sydera fundere ad sui temperamentum. Inde est inquiunt quod cum aquas haurit erigit oceanum. Vnde Lucanus (IX 313, 4) Et rapidus Tytan ponto sua lumina pascens Equora subduxit zone uicina peruste. Sed utrum uentorum spiritu an lunari cursu increscant aque an sole attrahente aquas ille decrescant soli deo cognitum est. (More of this, which is here omitted.)

Offerumenta dicuntur ea quae offeruntur.

30. Officiperdi est nomen indeclinabile compositum ab officio et perdo is significans officium perditum.

Odidoscos (l. Odoidocos) latro uiarum obsessor.

Ollic antiqui dicebant pro illic et olli pro illi Virgilius olli subridens diuum pater atque hominem rex.

Onolyras interpretatur asinus ad lyram.

Oppiter diues dicitur uel qui diuitiis praeest. Hic oppiter huius oppiteris. Oppiter dictus est Saturnius quasi opum pater. Oppiter etiam uocatur cuius pater mortuus est auo superstite. Oppiter enim dicitur eo quod auum ob patrem habeat.

35. Optomoyci dicuntur qui quantum recipiunt tantum emitunt.

Opiparium dicitur magnarum opum apparatus.

Opire ditare nobilitare uel

opulentum conuiuum instruere.

Oppipare post planctum epulari opipare delicate. Opizare est minuere a greco opizin. Inde opici dicuntur qui quasi frangendo uerba minuant. Quidam autem dicunt hoc nomen ab ope sumptum i' terra quae corpora cuncta minut.

40. Opitularia auxilia.

Oppedere est contra ire pedem contra ponere.

Oriundus dignus ortu significans eum qui ortus est suis natalibus optime conuenire.

Orcus dicitur mors sive infernus et interpretatur iurans uel capiens quia animas quas semel ceperit sic retinet quasi iurauerit se numquam eas in perpetuum redditurum.

'Orbus cecus orbus filii quasi orbibus i' oculis privatus Orbatus proprie dicitur patre aut matre aut uxore aut filia sive alialibet cara persona priuatus quasi amissio lumine oculorum.

45. Orbus quoque dicitur quoddam genus leguminis. Orbus etiam dicitur sulcus aratri.

Orculus presagium.

Orcius vas quoddam ab orca dictus (l. dictum). Orca enim genus anphore est. Inde minori uocabulo orcius. diminutiuo orcellus et orceolus.

Ordeolus dicitur paruissima et purulenta collectio in palpebris ordei grano similis. (Here

follows a long extract from a grammarian showing that *ordeicius* is wrongly written by some *ordeaceus*.)

Orcista (l. orcestra) pulpitum erat scene ubi saltator agere posset ac duo inter se disputare. Ibi enim poete comedti et tragedi ad certamen considebant hisque canentibus alii gestus edebant.

50. Os ossis quod nos modo dicimus antiqui declinabant hoc ossum huiusossi. Quidam tamen dicebant hoc ossu ab hoc ossu sicut hoc cornu ab hoc cornu Vnde etiam consequenter genitium pluralem dicebant horum ossuum iuxta regulam nominum quarte declinationis. Quecumque enim nomine ablatiuo casu singulari in u fuerunt terminata genitium pluralem in uu sillabas mittunt.

P

Pater patrinus (*sic*) dicitur qui patrem habet cum et ipse pater sit.

Patriaster patrens (l. parens) i' uitricus dictus eo quod loco patris esse debeat filastro.

Parricida dicitur non solum qui patrem sed etiam qui matrem fratrem aut sororem occiderit.

Pagario princeps pagi.

5. Panagericum (l. Panegiricum) dicitur quoddam genus diciendi in laudibus regum licentious et laciniosum mendaciis et adulacionibus plenum.

⁴ Here it is obvious the Glossary has preserved far more of the original than does the Latin version, p. 183, 2, 3.

Paleatus ueste pulla indu-tus.

Pandus apertus a pando dis-pandus componitur repandus i: recurruis conuexus sinuatus.

Patapolos (l. Pantopoles) grece dicitur negotiator qui latine se-plassurus (? seplasiarius) uocatur.

Pacifer legatus pacis.

10. Plancus dicitur qui supra modum planos habet pedes. Plance enim sunt tabule late et plane.

Patrus seductor.

Paticus mollis catamita concubinus.

Prauicors sive prauicordius dicitur homo proui cordis.

Particus negotiator.

15. Plagiarius dicitur mancipi-orum uel servorum alienorum distracto Plagarius uero est cirurgus i: plagarum curator.

Pantomimus iocularis i: qui per omnia corporis membra ges-ticulatur ita ut totus uideatur compositus ad ioculum.

Parasitus dicitur glutto quasi ad ingluuiem semper paratus a quo diminuitur parasitaster (l. parasitaster).

Parte ferox dicitur capite mi-nax.

Pacomus infirmus uel deiectus.

20. Pallex grece dicitur adoles-cens. Pallex dicitur pellex i: adulter.

Pallens luridus i: pallidus.

Patromissus patronus patro-nissa patrona.

Patrocinor illi et illum dicitur i: protego.

Palpo cecus a palpando dictus palpo nis.

25. Palpare est manu attrec-tare. Palpare tangere.

Plautus (filled in subsequent-ly) languens pedes.

Parabata cupidus.

Palestrita pugil qui in palestra pugnat qui et palestrites dicitur uel per sincopam palestres. Pa-lestra enim grece lucta.

Patagium est illud quod ad summam tunicam assuitur ex purpura et auro uariatum unde et ipsa patagiata dicitur et pata-giarius artifex.

30. Pannulie dicuntur que per telam discurrent eo quod inde panni texantur.

Panus lignum in quo trame sunt.

Palpe sunt membra dorsi emi-nentia dextra levaque.

Patulum et patens hoc diffe-rent quod patulum dicitur quod claudi non potest patens vero quod apertum (l. opertum) re-cludi potest.

Pratum dicitur quasi paratum a subtracta Nam in araturis sege-tum et culturis *uinearum* [this word filled in later] et virgul-torum multum laboratur ante-quam fructus proueniat quod prata sibi non exigunt.

35. Paries a parilitate dicitur quia duo sunt parietes in lateri-bus domus altrinsecus sibi ex equo respondentes.

Parietina parietum ruina sine domo et habitatore.

Palumbis (*is* after an erasure) generis est feminini palumbes masculini Virgilius. In uiridi ramo gemine sedere palumbes Lucius uero ait macrosque palumbos.

Parias est serpens inflexuosus et in sola cauda incedens. Unde lucanus Et contentus iter cauda sulcante parias.

Platasan grece dicuntur montium altitudines.

40. Plante et plantaria hoc distant plante sunt rapte de arboribus.

Plantaria uero dicuntur que ex seminibus nata sunt et cum radicibus euulsa alibi transplantantur.

Palate sunt masse que de fricorum fructibus fieri et conpingi solent quas in palis ad solem siccant ut seruentur in annum est autem nomen grecum.

Palmula est extrema pars remi a similitudine palme dicta de qua Virgilius Litus ama et leuas prestringat palmula cautes.

Phale et phalarice sunt bellice turres uel machine que muris applicite frequentibus eos pulsan balistis.

45. Psalterion grece dicitur sambuca inde psalmicen et

(37) Some error has got in here. Vergil is quoted both by Charisius 106 K. and Nonius 219 as using *palumbis* feminine; and in both the masculine *palumbus* is ascribed to Lucilius with the quotation *macrosque palumbos*.

(43) Aen. V 163, where *stringat sine* takes the place of *praestringat*.

(55) Aen. III 126, where Ribbeck's MSS give *terris*.

¹A word occurring in the glosses of the Bodl. Persius, Auct. F. 1, 15, fol. 86a.

psalmista quod est idem et psalmus et psallo lis li Vnde Bassus Calliope princeps sapienti psallerat ore.

Palates lateres.

Pancrion planatorium.

Pangatorium plantatorium.

Platoma tabula lapidea.

50. Plangula est frenum.

Patilla (filled in later) receptaculum ignis cum manubrio quo portatur longior quam rotundior.

Pancratium locus ubi pugnatur ad bestias.

Pancratarius pugil.

Pancratari tormentari uel bestiis tradi.

55. Parium est marmor candidum a paron (l. paro) insula dictum unde uenit de quo poeta. Olearon niueamque paron sparsaque per equor Cycladas et crebris legimus freta concita uentis. Paron niueam dixit ob niueum marmor quod mittit.

¹ Paracaraximus falsus numerus.

Patrium nomen est quod a patria sumitur ut romanus thebanus.

Patria autem dicitur quantum sub unius ciuitatis dictione continetur.

Pauire ferire inde pauimentum.

60. Paragoge est appositio quedam ad finem dictionis littere uel sillabe ut magies pro magis dicier pro dici. Perseus (l. Persius) ut pulchrum est digito ostendi et dicier hic est.

Pax quando nomen est a uocalem producit quando aduerbiū corripit et significat statim uel ut alii dicunt tantummodo. Pax autem ideo singulariter tantum declinatur quoniam si diuidatur non erit pax.

Pandus apertus recuruus a pando dis. Inde per compositionem repandus da dum i' reflexus.

Pargo spargo parsa sparsa.

Parumper ualde parum.

65. Panaretos dicitur ecclesiasticus quasi totus uirtutibus plenus. Pan enim grece totum ares uirtus.

Pandectes dicitur codex nouum ac uetus continens testamentum.

Plaustrit quod de plaustro sonat.

Plausible et plausibile idem i' fauorable.

70. Paragorizat mitigat oblectat temperat.

Pseudographus scriptor mendax pseudo enim grece falsus grafia scripture. Pseudomeni mendaces.

Precupidus preproperus immaturus preceps prefestinus pre-rapidus preuelox.

(82) Charis., p. 85 K. Penitus penitior. Apuleius in I Hermagorae Visus est et adulescens honesta forma quasi ad nuptias exornatus trahere se in penitorem partem domus.

75. Pres fideiector pres dans predam (? predem) pres dis.

Preditus sublimatus.

Pretor dicitur quasi preceptor uel quasi preitor qui preest urbi qui et edilis uocatur eo quod edibus presit.

Preopimus ualde optimus (l. optimus).

Prestigiator incantator ludificator prestigiare ludificare a prestringendo dictum eo quod huiusmodi fantasia intuentium oculos prestringat ut species eis quedam appareant que non sunt sed esse uidentur prestigium ii et prestigia e i' fantastica ludificatio.

80. Pernix uelox omnis generis pernix tior simus perniciter tius sime Dirivatur autem a uerbo quod est pernitor eris uel ut alii dicunt a uerbo quod est perneo es unde pernities.

Petula meretrix.

Penitus secretus penitus tam Vnde Apuleius Visus est ei adolescens quasi ad nuptias trahere se in penitorem partem domus i' secretorem.

Prestes presul.

Pedissequa communis generis est quamuis et pedissecus dicitur i' sequipes quod similiter commune est.

85. Preuius predecessor.

Perduellis hostis ad bellum pertinax perduellio bellum dicitur autem perduellio et per-

duellis interdum indifferenter is qui bello pertinaciter insistit sicut rebellis et rebellio idem dicitur.

Precluus dicitur precellens a uerbo quod est precluo i precello.

Pellicator fraudator.

Pellitus pellibus induitus Vnde Xtianus quidam poeta ait. Pellitos habitus sumpsit uenerabilis adam.

Pelletarius pellifex utrumque a pellibus dictum licet alterum per unum i scribant alterum per duo.

Petus guejcus habens oculos aliquantulum declinatos de quo oratius At pater ut nati sic nos debemus amici si quod sit uitium non fastidire strabonem appellat petum pater.

Pedidus sordidus obsoletus a pueris dictus quod a sordibus abstinere nesciant in tali etate pedes enim grece pueri dicuntur.

Pedalis cursor.

Peculator peculii fur peculiari enim est de publico peculio furari.

Peticus sive petilius appetitor alieni.

Peritus doctus a uerbo quod est perior periris.

(90) Prudent. Psych. 226, where *Pellitosque*.

(98) Priscian. I, p. 50 K. In compositis tamen quibusdam inuenio r in l conuerti, ut intellego et pelliceo pro interlego et perlico, pellego pro perlego, pelluceo pro perluceo. Plautus in asinaria Agedum istum ostende quem ~~conscriptisti~~ syngraphum Inter me et amicam et lenam, leges pellege. *Conscriptisti* is, of course, *conscripti*; but the MSS of Plautus, as well as Nonius 225, all write *conscriptisti*. Then follows Idem in eadem Ita pellucet quasi lanterna Punica.

Pelices dicuntur tam mares quam feminine aliis ad stuprum succumbentes. pelices riuales. dicitur autem pelex a uerbo quod est pelliceo ces sive pellicio tercie coniugationis quod idem est. pellicere est illicere circumuenire illecebrire. Pelliceo autem dicitur pro perliceo r in l conuersa sic pellego pro perlego pelluceo pro perluceo unde plautus Agedum istum ostende quem lenam conscripsisti syngraphum inter me et amicam et leges pellege. Idem Ita pellucet quasi laterna punica. Pellicio autem dicitur quasi pelli (altered half to pelle) illicio. Inde pellex meretrix dicitur quasi pellens componens. dicitur etiam pellex sive pellax dolosus.

Preripium locus super ripas.

100. Pecudes tantum oues dicimus pecora autem mixturam omnium animalium hec pecus dis hoc pecus uel pecor ris. pecua pecus femina. pecuaria pecudum greges. pecuarius pecudum custos pecusius hoc ipsum. pecuinus stultus a pecude dictus. pecuatus similiter stolidus.

Peculatus dicitur furtum publicum a pecude sicut et a pecunia eo quod antiqui nichil nisi pecora habebant.

Perdix auis perdix quoque perditio dicitur. pro aue hic perdix cis pro perditione hec perdix cis.

Pennirapus uelociter uolans.

Pessus morbi corruptio.

105. Perpendium est plumbum uel linea cementarii unde materies perpenditur. Inde per diminutionem perpendiculum et perpendiculator i' cementarius.

Plecta cratis.

Pellicidium tesorium lacrimarum.

Pegma pars capitii. Pegma genus machinamenti in theatris unde iuuinalis Et pegma et pueros inde ad uelitaria raptos.

Pedum baculus recuruus pugilum fustis Vnde Virgilius. At tu sume pedum.

110. Pectenatum dicitur tecum instar pectinis in duas partes diuisum ut testudinatum in quatuor.

Pelium templum diane.

Pergula parua tuguris in alto posita.

Peculium proprie dicitur pars substantie domini seruo separata ex ipsius domini arbitrio ad negotiandum.

115. Plebiscitum dicitur quod prius senatores constituunt et

postea ad plebis noticiam et approbationem desertur.

Plebiscitat plebem alloquitur.

Peripsima est grecum nomen et dicitur peripsima uilis metallorum rasura uel quicquid illud de qualibet materie terebrando uel dolando uel scabificando abicitur.

Perfluiies est sordium effusio.

Penuria paupertas dicta eo quod pene minus sit quam necesse est.

120. Pheos grece claritas dicitur Inde phebus i' sol et phebe i' luna Lucanus Iam phebe toto fratrem cum redderet orbe terrarum subita percussa expalluit umbra dicunt enim stoici omnem terram montibus circumcludi quorum umbra fieri ut subito luna non appareat.

Pedic(?)tatus filiorum uel nepotum propagatio.

Pedor squalor unde Lucanus longusque in carcere pedor. Pedor pedum fetor. Pedora auerum sordes.

Propria palma uictoria.

Periculum ad discrimen pertinet Periculum ad experimentum.

125. Perpera macula uel mala fama Perperus peruersus perperam peruerse.

Percunctatio et interrogatio ita distinguuntur quia ad percunctionem multa responderi pos-

(108) Juv. IV 122.

(109) Ecl. V 88.

(120) Luc. I 538, 9.

(122) Luc. II 73.

sunt ad interrogationem uero est et non.

Peredia edendi audiitas.

Perdax fallax.

Pepulum speculum.

130. Petilansura alba equi unguila.

Peda humanum uestigium.

Perfunctorium dicitur quasi
— iam expleto non sit inmorandum a uerbo quod est perfungor geris dictum quod est peruti
Perfunctorie transitorie negligerent imaginarie.

Perifrastici dies dicuntur dies hiberni.

Presagmina dicuntur partes corporis incise.

135. Penera dicuntur res necessarie ad cotidianum uictum.

Penarius locus ubi reposuntur.

Penetrale domus interior ut et dedit terra eorum ranas in penetralibus r. i. ubi male quidam inpenetrabilibus r. i. Virgilius At regina pyra penetrali in sede sub auras.

Periodus est tota sententia
Inde faustus in commentariis
Voluitur hec longis sententia sub periodis.

Presulat epulatur.

140. Plemmi (? Plemini) sunt callosi in pedibus uel manibus.

Pilosi qui grece panite latine
incubi sine incubones uocantur
satyri sunt siluestres uidelicet

homines uel potius hominum monstra quorum forma ab humana quidem specie incipit sed in bestiale finitur. qui adeo sepe improbi in mulieris existunt ut cum illis concubant. hos galli dusios uocant quos romani faunos appellant unde oratus Faune siluarum *to* incedas.

Psilli (under this a long passage of Lucan is quoted which fills 1½ columns, nearly).

Pinnipotens dicitur gladiator fortis a pyn greco quod est acutum.

Piraterium habitaculum piratarum.

145. Piraterium quoque dicitur experimentum.

Polimitarii consiliarii multi.

Pileta fur.

Pititia siue pitatia dicuntur palestra sulcatacones membranularum incisure Inde per diminutionem pitaciola.

Pirus arbor pirum eius pomum Inde dicitur pirula extrema pars nasi eo quod piro forma similis sit.

150. Ptisana est cortex querulus que in pila contunditur ad coria confitienda Ptisana etiam dicitur ordeum pila contusum Ptisanarium uas in quo contunditur.

Pyri sunt turrita quedam edificia.

(139) Aen. IV 504.

(148) A gloss, *Palestra s. luctationes*, seems to have got in in a corrupted form.

Piramide(s) sunt quedam sepulchra quadrata et fastigiata ultra omnem altitudinem que manu fieri potest.

Pilum genus teli uel hasta. Vnde lucanus. Signa pares aquilas et pila minantia pilis Idem umbone repellitur umbo et clipei clipeis et pila minantia pilis Inde pinulus dicitur qui primum telum portat i' signifer qui et primipilus et primipilaris nuncupatur.

Primipilares quoque dicuntur qui primum pilum secuntur.

155. Pilanus pistor.

Plica decipula dolus a plicas Inde per compositionem simplex quasi sine plica.

Psicomachia est pugna inter uirtutes et uitia que fit in anima.

Pignate sunt plage retis uel uincula quibus capiuntur ferre uel aues.

Pinnirapus retiator uel gladiator.

160. Pircus uas in quo tessere currunt. unde et pircus dicitur quasi pericus unde oratius Mitteret in pircum talos mercede diurna Pirgi quoque dicuntur signa alearuin in quibus alee ponuntur.

Primacerces (? Prima technes) fundamenta artis.

(153) Luc. I 7. The following extract is from Stat. T. VIII 398: *Iam clipeis clipeis, umbone repellitur umbo, Ense minax ensis, pede pes et cuspide cuspis.* For *pinulus* perhaps *primulus*; cf. M. Warren's S. Gallen Glossary, P 341, *primulum numerus milie primo probatus*.

(158) Psychomachia is the name of one of Prudentius's poems.

(168) Verg. G. I 261, durum procudit arator Vomeris obtuasi dentem.

(171) Verr. III 78.

Pinnula summa pars auris pinnum enim greci dicunt acutum. Pinnula quoque dicitur bipennis.

Pinna fastigium templi quod per diminutionem pinnaculum dicitur.

Propaginare est propagines i' flagella uitis terre summissa sternere et quasi pretendere.

165. Propago cum ad homines pertinet corripit primam cum uero ad alias res producit.

Procare sive procari est instanter petere. Inde et nuptiarum petitores proci uocantur et procaces meretrices i' importune petentes.

Procudit fabricat Virgilius durum procudit aratum.

Promulgare novum aliquid statuere in commune et quasi prouulgare.

Poetria ars poetandi Poetida qui dat poetandi precepta poeta qui agit secundum artem.

170. Proserpere germinare crescere.

Postulo et posco ita distinguuntur postulatur modeste poscitur improbe unde Cicero Incipiunt postulare poscere minari primo uidelicet postulare honeste deinde procaciter poscere non impetrantes minari.

Popularis arrogans superbus
populo semper admixtus.

Proheres dicitur qui loco
heredis fungitur.

Proscos uicinus Proscos pros-
pector uel provisor rerum Inde-
per diminutionem Prosculus.

175. Propudosum rubore et
confusione plenum.

Propino uapa elluo.

Propina meretrix iuuenal is
qui meminit calide sapiat quid
u. po Popina quoque dicitur
culina exculentior.

Popisma est nouissima pars
coitus.

Protus citus.

180. Plotus dicitur qui planos
et latos habet pedes.

Proteruus improbus contumax
Inde proteruo is quod est con-
tendere. tullius in rethoricis
quare sic proteruis?

Polilogus multiloqus uer-
bosus.

Prosceude (filled in later) mer-
etrices que ante stabula sedent
sed earum lupanaria prosceuda
(filled in later) uocantur.

Prodigiator dicitur prodigio-
rum interpres.

185. Poliorchetes dicitur cuius

(177) It is doubtful whether the quotation from Juv. XI 81 is meant as an illustration of *properia meretrix*, in which case it would be a v. l., so far as I know, not found in MSS; or *poperia* has fallen out before the quotation. The fact that in this citation the word is written *po.* need only prove that it was accommodated to the ordinary text.

(178) Observe this follows immediately after *Propina*. Both were taken from Juvenal.

(181) This fragm. of Cicero I have not been able to find.

(183) For *Prosedae*.

(190) Ecl. IX 24, VII 11.

destructe urbis polis enim ciuitas
orche destruere uel excidere.

Prostibulata prostituta.

Pollis farina aqua conspersa
hic pollis pollinis et hoc pollen
huius pollinis.

Popa crassa caro.

Postela dicitur ornamentum
equi post sellam sicut antela
ante sellam.

190. Potus interdum ponitur
pro potatus sicut lassus pro las-
satus lacerus (*sic*) pro laceratus
saucius pro sauciatus uel ut aliis
placet poto tas facit supinum
tam potum quam potatum unde
consequenter uerbale nomen
tam potor quam potator parti-
cipiale autem tam potus quam
potatus Virgilius Tyture (*u. m.
sec.*) dum redeo breuis est uia
pasce capellas Et potum pastas
age tyture Idem Huc ipsi pot-
um uenient. Oratius Potores
bibuli media de nocte falerni.

Pomones custodes pomorum.

Polumum locus sacrorum.

Propine grece dicuntur sta-
tiones nundine argisteria. est
autem locus iuxta balnea ubi
post lavachrum a fame et siti
reficiuntur. unde et propina

locus hic dicitur eo quod famen tollat.

Prorostra dicuntur fora eo quod captis nauibus Cartaginem rostra inde ablata sunt et in foro romano prefixa ob insigne victorie.

195. Profundum dicitur quod longe habeat fundum.

Postica et posticum et posticum idem Oratius Atria servantem postico falle clientam. Est autem posticum cuniculus ostium latens et a publico removitum.

Propostus forum statio mercatorum ubi uenalia proponuntur.

Progestum suburbanum.

Proscenia dicuntur pulpita ante scenam.

200. Proscenia theatalia Vnde Virgilius ueteres ineunt prosenia ludi.

Promurium spacium circa murum.

Procestria dicuntur que procedunt in muro. Procastria uero que ante castra sunt.

Postes dicuntur eo quod post fores stent.

Pronexium est funis quo nauis in litore ad palum ligatur.

205. Pons in nauali certamine dicitur scala nauium.

Portemia genus nauicule.

Pontonium quoddam genus nauigii latum et graue.

Prosuumia genus nauigii.

Pupula est media pars oculi in qua est uis tota uidendi cuius diminutivum est pupilla.

210. Procerium sporta manuialis.

Pople siue poplites dicuntur eo quod postplicam faciant. hic poplis poplitis. poplites hominum sunt. suffragines animallium.

Postliminium reuersio de exilio ut qui ante eliminatus fuerat iterum intra limina recipiatur. unde et postliminium dicitur quasi post limen.

Podex anus.

Podex impetus qui fit per anum.

215. Posculus tenebre noctis.

Proutium facile planum.

Pulices dicuntur quod ex puluere maxime nutrientur. Inde pulicari quod est pulices occidere et per compositionem ex pulicor aris quod est idem.

Pulpa dicitur caro trita et mollis pulpa est caro macra dicta a palpitando sepe enim resilit; uel ut aliis uidetur pulpa a pulte dicitur quia cum pulte conmixta olim edebatur. Pulmentum quoque et pulmentarium quod idem est dicitur a pulte. siue enim sola pultis siue quod eius permixtione sumatur pulmentum dicitur. Pulita quoque dicitur a pulte.

Putus dicitur ferrum quo vites putantur.

220. *Pultare est pulsare. Vnde Terentius Quid iam cessas pultare ostium vicini?*

Pumili molles et eserues a pumice dicti Pumex enim lapis spongiosus unde libri poliuntur dictus quod spume densitate concretus fiat tante frigiditatis ut in uase mistus cum musto mustum faciat non feruere.

Publui apud romanos vocabantur qui post mortem parentum remanent publui quasi pusilli.

R

Ramex dicitur a ramo de quo poeta lacet exiguus cum ramice neruus.

Rauium antiqui raucitatem dicebant unde et uerbum fit rauio rauias.

Raucedo et raucitas sunt idem. est autem amputacio uocis que et artheriasis dicitur. quia fit ab artheriarum iniuria.

Rauceo cis et rauceo ces idem Raucio cis facit preteritum rausi Raucus autem est nomen ton meson. dicitur enim raucus et male et bene canens Vnde et rauaciones cigni in italia dicuntur.

5. *Raua dicitur uox rauca Inde causidicus loquax et litigiosus rauilla siue raula nuncupatur.*

Rabula rabidus proteruus litigiosus.

Raubirius latro.

Refractor refragator i: reluctans contradictor pericax.

Reses remissus ignauus ociosus piger Resides proprie dicuntur qui milicie detrectantes domi resident.

10. *Resupinus superbus retrorsum capite inclinato se gerens quod est signum superbie.*

Regium proprie dicitur quod regis est Regale quod regi dignum.

Remascellatum i: uiriliter resumptum.

Retica ligna dicuntur quibus uites retinentur.

Rebulus est una de quinque speciebus mirobalanorum.

15. *Regelatum plumbum liquantum.*

Remorbescere est in morbum recidere.

Redimie dicuntur res que a predonibus redimuntur.

Repetundarum iudicio accusatur qui pecunias a sociis cepit. In hoc iudicio reus si ante moriatur in bona eius iudicium reddit. unde et bona eius olim reca bona dicebantur quasi rei bona.

Remora dicitur a remorando sicut mora a morando. unde lucilius que nam uox ex te resonans meo gradui remoram facit? Remiligo similiter dicitur mora. hec remiligo huius remiliginis.

(220) *Heaut. III 1, 1. Cesso pultare ostium Vicini?*

(223) *Juv. X 223.*

(19) *Paulus, p. 276 M. For *exte* Lachm. conj. *extemplo*. Perhaps *ex aede*.*

20. Reapse hoc est reipsa
Vnde Pacuvius si non est ingratis
reapse quod fecit.

Reclaudio et recludo idem
Recludere est uel clausum apere
uer uel apertum claudere.

Retilat aperit reuelat.

Reueracit reuehit.

Regiescit crescit.

25. Reluere est soluere re-
pignerare hoc est pignus recipere.

Recensio (*i faint*) recensis-
antiqui dicebant a quo recensi-
tum recensitu producit penulti-
mam. Prudentius stirpe recen-
sita numerandus sanguinis heres
Nunc autem dicimus recenseo
es recensum su uel recensitum
tu correpta penultima.

Redostire gratiam reddere et
quasi beneficium beneficio ade-
quare. ostire enim equare est.

Reprocare est ultro citroque
impotune poscere.

Recrastinare de die in diem
prolongare.

30. Ricinium est quoddam
matronale operimentum ideo sic
uocatum quod dimidia eius pars
retro reiciatur quod uulgo mavor-
tem dicunt uel ut alii pronun-
tiant masfortem. Ricinium quo-

que uocatur omne uestimentum
quadratum Vnde et ricinati di-
cuntur mimi.

Rica palliolum capitis *i* par-
uum ricinium Inde rica(?) uala *i*
mitra capitis uirginalis.

Risce dicuntur fenestre pari-
etis.

Riscus cumera corticea siue
uas viminibus contextum.

Ritus est consuetudo a maior-
ibus tradita. ritus sequella ex-
emplum.

35. Romipeta Romam petens.

Rorsus insensatus.

Rosata dicitur uestis coccinea
i rubea quia in bello quondam
tunicatus erat ordo equestris ut
sanguinis fluxum color similis
celaret.

Rocus dicitur qui in ludo
scacorum habetur.

Rotabulum dicitur ciueria (?)
siue rutabulum a promendo
stercora siue carbones in cibano
ad coquendos panes.

40. Rumigerulus dicitur ad-
rumator qui rumores apportat.
Inde rumigeror aris et rumito-
tas. Vnde Neuius Simul alias alii
rumitant inter se.

Ruriginentia rure nascentia.
Ruba sorbiciuncula.

(20) Paul., p. 279, where MSS have *fecit*.

(24) Paul., p. 279, where MSS give Regiescit as our Glossary.

(26) Prudent. Apoth. 1001.

(30) Paul., p. 276, where see also for *Rica*.

(40) Paulus 271. Rumitant rumigerantur. Naeuius Simul alias aliunde
rumitanter sese. Here our Glossary is nearer the original article of Festus
than Paulus; it is easy to see that the verse was a Saturnian and ended with
intervorse.

Rubea maior genus est portionis Rubea trociscata hoc est in truccos (i. truccos) redacta et rotundata.

Rubigo dicitur scabies ferri et dicitur rubigo quasi rodigo Rubigo quoque dicitur inuidia malitia mentem unde nascitur corruptio. rubigo etiam dicitur in geno quando in magno uirile & calore pluvia medica hirsuta insperata multas quas detegit ruderis tunc aquae inases.

et. Xypex et utrigeae parte carnis.

Rumor pars guttaris est proxima gurgi. non qui esse denaturato nato ut romane antiqui dicerent. quod non dicitur terminus.

Rupta carnis arterias liquores continet a cuius adstringere per-

rum reliquiae rudera vocantur. Ruder quando neutrum est lapis est impolitus hoc ruder huius ruderis quando autem masculinum est hic ruder huius ruderis dicitur sarmentum ut puta de sepe de vinea unde ruderis aui et per compositionem erudo as quod est expugnare.

Rudentes sunt natiuim funes a stridore ventorum dicti quod sonus feminine protulit plautus hunc quam trahit rudentem animalium [scilicet].

et. Rao ruis aliquid potius absoluim ut Virgilius ruit amnis in urbem Pastorum numerus aliquando actus ut idem incolumem suam sanguinem a sedibus suis. Vix curisque anchusque ruisse.

I have spoken at some length at the value of the Phillips library, especially in respect to Davis Thackom, in the Cambridge Review & Philologer I. & II. & III. and have given some other extracts from it in the I. & II. & III. and again in the III. & IV. of the same journal. From these extracts it will be seen that I consider Thackom a Latin poet as well as prose in answer to my reply above.

LAWRENCE ELLIS.

et. Ruler &c. Dicimus ut ruis ut. que non adstringere sed trahere possunt non ruderis.

et. Ruler &c. Ruler non ut. que ruderis. T. I. Dicimus ut. que trahere possunt non ruderis.

et. Ruler &c. Ruler non ut. que ruderis. T. II. Dicimus ut. que trahere possunt non ruderis.

et. Ruler &c. Ruler non ut. que ruderis. T. III. Dicimus ut. que trahere possunt non ruderis.

et. Ruler &c. Ruler non ut. que ruderis. T. IV. Dicimus ut. que trahere possunt non ruderis.

III.—CHRONOLOGY OF THE ΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΝΤΑΕΤΙΑ.¹

Thucydides, in cc. 98-117 of the First Book, gives an account of the chief events which took place in Greek history during the πεντηκονταετία, or about 50 years' time between the assumption of the ἡγεμονία by the Athenians and the occurrences connected with Corcyra and Potidaea, which were the ostensible causes of the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war. He tells us he is led to make this digression or ἐκβολὴ τοῦ λόγου because most writers who preceded him had omitted this period entirely, confining themselves to the Persian war, or the events antecedent to it; while Hellanicus, who did touch upon it in his Ἀττική or Ἀττικὴ ἔντυγχαφί, narrated the occurrences briefly and inaccurately in respect of dates, βραχέως τε καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἀκριβώς. This rebuke may probably have been deserved; though we are able to see, from the allusions Thucydides makes to Herodotus, that he was a very exacting critic of the performances of others. In regard to one of the points, indeed, of his indictment of Herodotus, Cobet goes so far as to assert that Thucydides did not understand what Herodotus really meant to say. However this may be, it must be confessed that Thucydides himself has not succeeded in narrating the events he records with so much clearness as to preclude grave differences of opinion on the part of his modern interpreters in regard to some particulars. He employs such phrases as μετὰ ταῦτα, χρόνῳ ὑστερον, etc., very seldom giving a precise interval; and accordingly, though there is a substantial agreement between Clinton, Grote, Curtius, Peter, and Duncker, Krüger, who in his Historisch-Philologische Studien examined

¹Among the papers of the late Professor C. D. MORRIS was found the MS of his discussion of Krüger's Chronology of the Ηεντηκονταετία. This paper was read before the Johns Hopkins Philological Association at their meeting Nov. 6, 1885, and a summary of it was published in the Johns Hopkins University Circulars, No. 45. It was the intention of Professor MORRIS to print the paper in full as a vindication of the chronology which he follows in his edition of the First Book of Thukydides, and although the essay cannot have the benefit of his revising hand, it has seemed, both to the senior editor of the series, Professor JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE, and to the editor of the Journal, that Professor Morris's views should be presented to the philological public, to whose judgment the thoughtful and careful scholar had made this appeal.—B. L. G.

that period, with great minuteness reached results very different from those which appear in what we may call the accepted chronology. Krüger's system was examined and rejected by Arnold Sommer, a man I have not seen, and as Sommer's results do not differ widely in any consequential degree from those adopted in the Diskordia, it might seem reasonable to repeat Krüger's arguments as having failed to demonstrate decisively in the most important respects the theory held by him as an editor of *Chronologiae* in his own personal chronology. It seems to Krüger's argument that the connection of the several elements in a date is such that it is not possible to determine accurately the time and nature of each. In this view, Krüger says, the several elements of a date are independent of one another. And though I admit the validity of Krüger's principle of *discretio*, yet I do not consider it necessary to suppose the possibility of such complete independence of the several elements of a date as to render the determination of the date impossible. That elements are often of independent importance is true; but there is no reason why they should not be dependent upon one another. If the date of birth of a child is known, it is evident that the date of birth of the parents must also be known. If the date of birth of a man is known, it is evident that the date of birth of his father must also be known. If the date of birth of a man is known, it is evident that the date of birth of his son must also be known. If the date of birth of a man is known, it is evident that the date of birth of his wife must also be known. If the date of birth of a man is known, it is evident that the date of birth of his children must also be known. If the date of birth of a man is known, it is evident that the date of birth of his parents must also be known. If the date of birth of a man is known, it is evident that the date of birth of his brothers and sisters must also be known. If the date of birth of a man is known, it is evident that the date of birth of his wife's parents must also be known. If the date of birth of a man is known, it is evident that the date of birth of his wife's brothers and sisters must also be known. If the date of birth of a man is known, it is evident that the date of birth of his wife's children must also be known. If the date of birth of a man is known, it is evident that the date of birth of his wife's parents' brothers and sisters must also be known. If the date of birth of a man is known, it is evident that the date of birth of his wife's parents' children must also be known. If the date of birth of a man is known, it is evident that the date of birth of his wife's parents' brothers' and sisters' children must also be known. If the date of birth of a man is known, it is evident that the date of birth of his wife's parents' brothers' and sisters' parents' brothers and sisters' children must also be known.

died after a reign of over 20 years, ἐτη πλείω τῶν εἴκοσι, and that Artaxerxes succeeded him and reigned 40 years. If these statements be accepted—and it is on them that the received chronology is based—Artaxerxes must have succeeded Xerxes in 465 or the beginning of 464; and the siege of Naxos and the flight of Themistocles must have been nearly coincident with this in time. I leave out of sight Clinton's calculation of the precise months. We reach the same result for the beginning of Artaxerxes' reign if we go in the opposite direction. The accession of Darius is well determined to have taken place in 521, and his reign to have lasted 36 years. This will place his death in 485. If, then, Xerxes reigned for 20 years, he must have died in 465, as before said. Plutarch, Them. 27, says, indeed, that Themistocles, according to Thucydides and Charon of Lampsacus, had his interview with Artaxerxes, but that Ephorus, Dinon, Clitarchus, Heraclides, and several more, ἐπὶ δὲ ἄλλοι πλεῖον, maintain that he met Xerxes himself. Plutarch himself thinks that the account of Thucydides is to be preferred, though there is some uncertainty, τοῖς δὲ χρονικοῖς δοκεῖ μᾶλλον δὲ Θουκυδίδης συμφέρεσθαι, καίτερον οὐδὲ abrōis ἀτρέψα συντεταγμένοις. This slight variation in the accounts, which is paralleled by the statement in some of the authorities that Xerxes reigned 21 years and not 20 only, is explained by Clinton, after Dodwell, by the assumption that the seven months during which Artabanus, the assassin of Xerxes, maintained himself were by some added to the last year of the reign of Xerxes, and by others included in the first year of the reign of Artaxerxes. Whether this be the true account of the matter or not, the discrepancy is slight and would introduce no disorder into the chronology of Thucydides, for the sake of which only it is here referred to. All the above dates are confirmed by the Eusebian canon. But Krüger places the siege of Naxos and the coincident flight of Themistocles eight years earlier, that is, in 473; and we have now to see what are the grounds which have induced him to vary so considerably from the chronology accepted, to all appearance unanimously by all other authorities, and based upon statements so direct and positive. It is not an easy matter to present his arguments in a lucid and consecutive way. His reasoning is, as it seems to me, on several occasions of an eminently circular character; and I fear I shall hardly succeed in placing it clearly before you. It must be admitted, I think, that what we may call the *prima facie* aspect of the time of these occurrences is unusually distinct; and if it is

to be upset, it ought to be done by the help of statements equally precise and authoritative, and not by doubtful inferences from remarks of a vague and incidental character.

Krüger begins by admitting the probability that Thucydides was right in asserting that it was Artaxerxes and not Xerxes whom Themistocles found on the throne. But that Artaxerxes ascended the throne in 465, as Diodorus asserts, is, he says, an error of that very fallible writer. For we learn from Pausanias I 8, 2, *καὶ Καλλίας, δὲ πρὸς Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Σέρξου τοῖς Ἑλλησι, ὡς Ἀθηναῖον οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν, ἐπράξε,* where he mentions a monument in honor of Callias, who negotiated the so-called Cimonian peace between the Greeks and Persia, that the peace was made with Artaxerxes ; and as this peace was, as we are compelled by the overwhelming preponderance of authority to assume, an immediate consequence of the battles of the Eurymedon, which Kr. dates in 469, it is clear that Artaxerxes must have ascended the throne before that time.

Now, upon this it may be remarked, first, that Thucydides places the Eurymedon battle after the reduction of Naxos (*ἐγίνετο δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἡ ἐπ' Εὐρυμέδοντι ποταμῷ πεζομαχία καὶ ναυμαχία*), and Krüger in no case doubts the order of the events reported by Thucydides ; but he has not yet attempted to show that the Eurymedon affair took place in 469, and not, as all the other chronologers represent, at the end of 466 or beginning of 465 ; second, that Krüger himself argues later, at great length, that the so-called Cimonian peace, or the peace of Callias, had no existence at all except in the fervid and patriotic imaginations of the orators ; thirdly, that those who, like Grote and Curtius, believe in the existence of the treaty, agree in connecting it not with the battle of Eurymedon, but with the results of Cimon's victories at Cyprus in 449, as Diodorus represents it. I do not, of course, mean to imply that there are no difficulties connected with the treaty in question, the chief of them being the fact that Thucydides makes no mention of it. But plausible reasons for his silence about it are offered by the historians ; and if, as is generally assumed, in accordance with Diod. II 4, the negotiation of it was the business which took Callias and other Athenian ambassadors to Susa, as Herodotus reports (VII 151), it is much more likely to have been connected with the successes near Cyprus in 449 than with the Eurymedon battle ; since Herod. says the event he speaks of took place (*πολλοὶ τετοι ὄστερον*) many years after the battle of Salamis, which accords much better with the later than with the earlier date.

Krüger next proceeds to confirm his previous argument by attempting to ascertain approximately the birth-year of Themistocles. He accepts from Plutarch the statement that at his death he was 65 years old. But instead of agreeing with Plutarch in the same chapter that his death was directly connected with the successes of Cimon in 449, he passes at once to a story in Aelian, in his *ποικίλη ιστορία*, that Themistocles was returning from school one day, and, meeting Pisistratus, was directed by his παιδαγωγός to make way for the despot to pass; but he answered πάντα ἀλευθερίας, "Hasn't he got room enough?"¹ If we assume, says Krüger, that this took place in the last year of the tyrant, B. C. 529 (rather 527) and that Themistocles was then six years old, he must have been born in B. C. 535, and then his death would have occurred in 470 (468). He then notices the opposing statement of Plutarch² which I have just mentioned, and also that the same biographer asserts that at the battle of Marathon (490) Themistocles was young; and also that Justin says that at that battle *Themistoclis adolescentis gloria emicuit*. He refers, however, to his essay on the life of Xenophon for the proof that an age of 45 years is in no way inconsistent with the character of νεότης, saying that we might be inclined to gather from these expressions that he was 25 or 26 years old at that battle, if there were not so many and so weighty reasons opposed to such a conclusion. The first of these that he mentions is that we are told that Themistocles and Aristides were brought up together by the same instructor; but we learn from Plutarch that Aristides was one of the most influential generals at Marathon, and he could certainly not have held such a command at the age of 25 or 26 in the good old times, but must have been a man of mature years; and so, accordingly, must Themistocles.

We must, of course, admit this with regard to Aristides, who, moreover, is said by Plutarch³ to have been a friend (*έραίπος*) of Cleisthenes, the legislator of 510. But of what value is the story which connects Themistocles with him in this way? It is mentioned, indeed, by Plutarch in his life of Aristides, but only as one of the explanations offered for the constant political rivalry between him and Themistocles; some people say, he says, ἵνα μὲν φασιν, that they were boys and brought up together, and from their infancy were always at variance with each other in all their words and actions, as well serious as playful. And then he goes on to say that another authority, whom he names Ariston of Ceos, says that the first

¹ αὐτη γάρ, εἰπεν, αὐτῷ οὐχ ἤκαντι δόδος;

² Them. 3.

³ Aristid. 3.

origin of their enmity was a love-affair. In his life of Themistocles he mentions the latter story on the authority of the same writer; but he evidently lays more stress on fundamental differences in temperament between the two men as the ground of their political hostility. Aelian also, in one of the isolated anecdotes of his *Varia Historia*,¹ says that Aristides and Themistocles had the same guardians, and consequently were brought up by the same teacher; and were, notwithstanding, in continual rivalry all their lives. Aelian's authority may probably be the same as the unnamed writer from whom Plutarch took his account; but it is evident that he conceived the causal relation differently; and what is said about the parentage of the two men renders it quite unlikely that they would have been controlled by the same guardians.

Krüger goes on to say that a few years later than the battle of Marathon we find Themistocles possessed of great popular influence, and able to induce the people to spend on the construction of a fleet the proceeds of the mines at Laurium, instead of dividing the money among the citizens, as heretofore. This is true; but at the time Krüger himself assumes this advice to have been given, Themistocles would have been thirty years old, on the basis of Plutarch's statement as to his age and the time of his death; and there is no improbability that at that age a person of such force and talent as Themistocles is described as possessing would have already secured a preponderating influence.

The only other argument adduced by Krüger is that a certain Iunkos, of whom nothing is known except that he wrote a book on old age, from which Stobaeus makes extracts, said that the Athenians chose Themistocles general in the Persian war when he was πλησίον τοῦ γήρας. This must go for what it is worth. Anybody who chooses may believe that, on this authority, Themistocles was verging on old age when he manifested the vigor and resource which won the battle of Salamis.

Having thus proved that Themistocles must have been born as early as 535, and was consequently 55 at the battle of Salamis, Krüger infers that Plutarch was in error in connecting his death, at 65 years old, with Cimon's operations off Cyprus in 449, and that his mistake was in all likelihood caused by his confusing these operations with the earlier land and sea victories at the mouth of the Eurymedon. Krüger insists again that Thucydides' representation must be accepted which makes the flight of Themis-

¹ XIII 44.

tocles coincident with the siege of Naxos, and both anterior to the Eurymedon battles, as if there were any dispute as to the order of these events. He refers to the narrative in Diodorus¹ as confirming this order, but says that Diod. is in error in compressing all the last fortunes of Themistocles into a single year, B. C. 471. This is a misrepresentation of Diod. in more than one respect: (1) Diodorus mentions under this year the ostracism of Themistocles, which was followed by his residence at Argos, his flight to Corcyra and thence to Admetus, of the duration of which events no indications are given; (2) he makes no allusion at all to the siege of Naxos, the whole of this part of the story being summed up in the words *κατήνησεν εἰς τὴν Ἀρίαν*; (3) he devotes six chapters to his whole account, and apologizes at the end for the digression, *εἰ καὶ πεπλεονάκαμεν παρεκβάτες*, on the score of the great fame Themistocles had deservedly acquired. I cannot see how any "unbefangene Leser" could peruse these chapters and conceive that Diodorus intended to represent anything as occurring in 471 except the ostracism of Themistocles.

Another argument which Krüger adduces in proof of his contention that Themistocles died in 471 is as follows: In De Am. 12 Cicero says, *Themistocles, cum propter invidiam in exilium missus esset, ingratae patriae iniuriam non tulit, quam ferre debuit; fecit idem quod viginti annis ante apud nos fecerat Coriolanus.* Now, as Coriolanus was banished from Rome in 491, Themistocles must have been so in 471. This notice is probably trustworthy, since it is likely that Cicero was indebted for it to the *Liber Annalis* of Atticus, who, we know from Cicero² and Nepos, had taken great pains in reducing to chronological order the events of Roman history as well as notices *imperiosorum populorum et regum illustrium*. But, assuming its entire accuracy, it tells us nothing more than that Themistocles, when he was banished, followed the example of Coriolanus, twenty years earlier, in going to reside in a foreign city (Argos) which was, if not an active enemy of his own country, at least on good terms with the recently defeated Persians; and so far, therefore, it agrees with Diodorus, who also places the banishment of Themistocles in 471. If we suppose Cicero to be referring to the time of his flight from Argos to Corcyra, when pursued by the emissaries of Athens and Sparta, there is no parallel between his case and that of Coriolanus; nor can the parallel be found in their respective deaths; for Corio-

¹ XI 54-59.² Orat. §120; Brut. §42.

lanus died, as Kr. says, in 488, and he endeavors to show that Themistocles died in 471 or shortly after. If, again, the parallel is to be found in the flight of Them. to Persia, then, as his banishment, even according to Kr., took place two or three years earlier, the case of Coriolanus remains quite dissimilar.

There is yet another way in which Krüger seeks to show that Themistocles' flight must have taken place at about the time he has fixed for it. The order of the events as recorded by Thucydides being taken as unquestionable, and this giving us (1) the capture of Eion, (2) the conquest of Scyros, (3) the reduction of Naxos, and (4) the battle of Eurymedon, if it can be shown that the battle of Eurymedon took place in 470 or 469, Themistocles' flight, being coincident with the siege of Naxos, must be put as early as 472 or 471. And we now get what is to fix the date of Eurymedon for us, though that date has been assumed as known and certain, to lend additional probability to the inferences touching Themistocles. We find in Plutarch, Thes. 36, that in the Archonship of Phaedon, B. C. 476, the Athenians were bidden by the Delphian oracle to bring to Attica the bones of Theseus, which were buried in some unknown spot in the island of Scyros, and that Cimon, after taking the island, discovered the sepulchre by the miraculous agency of an eagle and brought the bones to Athens. But in the Life of Cim. 8 we read that Cimon drove out the Dolopian inhabitants of Scyros on account of their piratical practices; and that he made a search for the grave of Theseus, and at last discovered it. Then he transported the bones to Athens with much ceremony; and on that occasion he and his fellow-generals, entering the theatre of Dionysus, were constrained by the Archon Apsephion (B. C. 469) to act as judges in the dramatic contest between Aeschylus and Sophocles, in which Sophocles was awarded the prize. Now, these two passages are in evident need of reconciliation. In the former passage we have the oracular order and apparently the fulfilment of it placed in 476; in the latter we have no mention, indeed, of the oracle, but the recovery of the bones placed in 469. Bentley, Phal. p. 301, argues that in the former passage Φαῖδρος is a false reading for Ἀφεψίων. To which Kr. objects that this would place the taking of Scyros after the battle of Eurymedon, contrary to the order of Thucydides. This is true if Kr.'s date for the battle of Eurymedon is assumed, but this has not yet been independently established. Clinton thinks there is no need of any change, but that the accounts

may be harmonized by assuming that the island was reduced in 476, though the oracle was not given till 469, when Kimon made a special expedition for the purpose of recovering the bones; and that Plutarch by mistake has, in his life of Theseus, transferred what really took place in 469 to the year of the original conquest of the island. Grote, V 413, accepts the statements as we find them; assuming that the oracle was given in 476, and that the Athenians attempted to fulfil it; but the unsocial manners of the Dolopians prevented any effectual search till Cimon had taken the island in 469, when he found, or pretended to find, the body. This account appears to me the most probable. It so happens that Diodorus, in his account of these events, is in serious confusion, placing the siege of Eion and the subsequent capture of Scyros, as well as the battle of Eurymedon, in 470, under the Archon Demotion; while he makes the successor of Demotion to be Phaeon or Phaedon, instead of Apsephion. I do not find Krüger's reconciliation of all these perplexities at all lucid; but this seems to be the result: The conquest of Scyros and the removal of the bones of Theseus to Athens occurred under the Archon Phaedon in 476; and the victory, in consequence of which Cimon and his fellow-commanders received the singular honor of serving as judges in the tragic contest between Sophocles and Aeschylus, was not the successful recovery of Theseus' bones, but the victory of Eurymedon, which must, therefore, have taken place at least as early as the Archonship of Apsephion, Ol. 77.4 = B. C. 469-8, under which we know, from the *διδασκαλίαι*, that this tragic contest took place. So here we have another proof that the siege of Naxos, preceding the battle of Eurymedon, must be placed some time before 470 or 471. Krüger argues at a later page (52), on the basis of this consideration, that the Eurymedon battle must have taken place in the spring of Ol. 77.3 = say March, B. C. 469, since, he says, in this way we get the return of the generals sufficiently near to the time at which Sophocles gained the prize to allow us to receive without question the statement that Apsephion prevailed upon the generals to act as judges in that contest. But Krüger strangely does not seem to have noticed that since Apsephion was Archon in Ol. 77.4 = 469-8, though he would have entered on his office in July, 469, the Dionysiac festival, over which he presided, must have taken place in Elaphebolion = March, 468; and thus the victory would have occurred nearly or quite a year before the time at which this distinguished honor was,

according to him, paid to Cimon and his companions. Whether this interval is not so great as to discredit Krüger's whole assumption as to the connection of the victory of Sophocles with the Eurymedon battle, I leave to your judgment. But it cannot escape notice that the connection of the honor paid to Cimon and his fellow-commanders with the battle of Eurymedon is solely due to Krüger's imagination, and has not the slightest warrant in our authorities. In that age the recovery of the bones of the hero-patron of Athens must have seemed a service quite as conspicuous and as deserving of extraordinary honor as the winning of even so considerable a victory as that at the mouth of the Eurymedon. A little further on, p. 46, we read that the siege of Naxos has its date fixed to B. C. 473 by the fact that the flight of Themistocles to Asia was contemporaneous with it. This, however, is only another instance of the way in which he employs one fact, which itself sadly stands in need of support, to buttress another which has been itself previously employed as one of the elements in the foundation on which the supporting fact rests.

But the testimony of Thucydides, which Kr. accepts, assures us of the coincidence of two facts—the escape of Themistocles to Asia and the recent accession of Artaxerxes after the death of Xerxes; and it will be of little use to establish the probability that Themistocles crossed the Aegean in 473 or 472 if it remains certain that Artaxerxes did not succeed his father till 465. It is, therefore, indispensable for Krüger to upset the evidence on which other chronologers have founded their conclusion that Xerxes was assassinated and Artaxerxes came to the throne in 465 or 464. He begins his argument upon this point by admitting that all the writers who give us any precise chronological statements agree that Artaxerxes ascended the throne in Ol. 78.4 = B. C. 465-4; and in a note he tells us that a certain Herr Kleinert, who in the interest of Biblical chronology had opposed his views in one of the theological journals, adduced no less than thirty ancient testimonies in confirmation of the dates given by Diodorus. But, he says, this assumption is not only inconsistent with the fully trustworthy notices which have been adduced as to the time of the flight of Themistocles, but leads to conclusions which are in plain conflict with calculations that are perfectly certain and founded on evidence which cannot be assailed.¹ The first of these necessary

¹ Allein diese Annahme ist nicht nur mit den völlig zuverlässigen Nachrichten über die Zeit der Flucht des Themistokles unvereinbar, sondern sie

but inadmissible inferences has respect to the connection of the story of Pausanias with the flight of Themistocles, about which I will speak later. Next, he says it will follow that the Eurymedon battle must be placed later than 465, the improbability of which has been shown above, "beweist zur Genüge." I think it will be admitted that this is arguing in a circle. We are not helped at all, he says, by the assumption of an interregnum between the death of Xerxes and the accession of Artaxerxes. We must assume, he maintains, that Thucydides and Charon of Lampsacus, who, according to Plutarch, gave the same account, conceived the accession of Artaxerxes as occurring two Olympiads or eight years earlier; and the testimony of Charon must be regarded as most weighty, since he lived under Artaxerxes, and was, as an Asiatic, accustomed to base his calculations on the years of the Persian reigns; and Charon could not possibly have placed the accession of Artaxerxes in 465 if he had before him the story of Themistocles and Pausanias arranged even approximately as it is given by Thucydides and Diodorus. We may therefore assume that both Thucydides and Charon placed the accession of Artaxerxes in 473. We have, then, for this date "zwei vollwichtige Gewährsmänner"; and hereafter Krüger writes as if the testimony of Thucydides and Charon was distinctly in favor of the earlier date, and might be used, therefore, to controvert whatever opposing statements he finds elsewhere. He proceeds: "Plutarch says that the statement of Themistocles and Charon appears to him to harmonize better than that of the other authors he names with the chronological tables, though these are not quite precise; but this does not give us much additional certitude, since Plutarch, as has been mentioned, connected the death of Themistocles with Cimon's battles off Cyprus in 449, and may very well have supposed that statements which placed Artaxerxes' accession in 465 were in harmony with Thucydides." It will be observed how Krüger now takes it for a thing established that Thucydides recognized the year he has fixed upon as the date of that event. It is true, says Kr., that Diod. XI 69 gives the year 465, Ol. 78.4, for that of the accession of Artaxerxes, and it is well known that he largely follows Ephorus; but though he praises that historian's arrangement of his material,

führt auch zu Folgerungen mit denen sehr sichere, auf nicht anzutastende Zeugnisse gegründete Berechnungen im offenbarsten Widerspruche stehn (p. 53).

¹ V 1, 4: Ἐφόρος τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις ἀναγράφων οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴν λέξιν ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμενικὴν ἐπιτέτευχε.

he does not specially commend his chronological exactness, and we are not justified in assuming that either in Ephorus or in any other of the historians named by Plutarch did Diodorus find the year 465 set down as that of Artaxerxes' accession. "If," he proceeds, "we may assume that these writers, as is indicated by the vague character of Plutarch's statement, gave their narrative of Themistocles' adventures without definition of years, it is very possible that their chronology agreed rather with the notice of Thucydides and Charon than with that of Diodorus." Here, again, it is assumed without shadow of proof that Thucydides is an authority for the earlier date, and also that Diodorus found no dates assigned in the writer he followed. If it were really the case, Kr. goes on to say, that Ephorus and the other authors referred to by Plutarch really made Artaxerxes succeed in 465, then we must attribute to Thucydides great carelessness of statement, and we shall be compelled to assign to the reign of Xerxes the Eurymedon battle and the so-called peace of Cimon. (This, be it observed, will be necessary only if we accept Krüger's dates for these events.) But if this were true, how can we account for the fact that Athenian orators did not insist on the circumstance that the *same* king had *twice* made enormous efforts to subdue Hellas and been twice foiled? It is true that Plutarch¹ represents the preparations made against Greece under the guidance of Themistocles to have taken place in the reign of Artaxerxes, and attributes the death of Themistocles to his despair of being able to fulfil his engagements to the king; and Thucydides² also mentions the same connection as assigned by some authorities. But it has been proved above that these events took place shortly before the battle of Eurymedon. And yet Plutarch asserts in the most distinct way that Themistocles lived long and peacefully in Asia, and that it was not till the interference of the Athenians in the revolt of Egypt, and the subsequent successes of Cimon off Cyprus, which Kr. himself dates in 449, that the king called upon him to fulfil his engagements and reduce Greece under the Persian power. Kr. concludes this part of his argument in these terms: "We find it the prevailing tradition that Themistocles died before Eurymedon and under Artaxerxes; and there is no trace of important deviation from this on the part of Ephorus, Dinon, Clitarchus, Heracides; and, therefore, we may assume that these writers in regard to the time of Artaxerxes' accession varied only slightly, if at all, from the date

¹ Them. 31, Cim. 18.

² I 138, 4.

to which Thucydides has led us; and certainly they cannot be quoted in support of the statement of Diodorus and the Canon that Artax. came to the throne in 465." Here, again, it will be seen that Kr. assumes that Thucydides is distinctly in favor of his determination; whereas it is upon the testimony of Thucydides chiefly that other chronologists have based the ordinarily accepted date. It will be remembered that we know no more of Charon's testimony than this—that, according to Plutarch, he agreed with Thucydides in making Artaxerxes the king at the time of Themistocles' arrival in Asia. But Kr. has by this time convinced himself that both Thucydides and Charon give distinctly the date which he has fixed upon for the accession of Artaxerxes. Even if we suppose, says Kr., that these late and derivative writers did support the date of Diodorus, how can we venture to set their authority against the opposing statement of Charon, an Asiatic, who lived under both Xerxes and Artaxerxes, and against that of Thucydides, who must have gained his information about Themistocles from members of his family, and who has manifested his scrupulous attention to accuracy by the doubtful way in which he has referred to the story of the mode of his death? The date of Xerxes' death (in 473) therefore is far the best established, and can only be upset by the most positive and cogent arguments. But no such arguments are forthcoming; and we have much else which can be regarded as confirmatory of the earlier date. One of these additional supports is as follows, and one "von besonderm Gewicht" (p. 59). Ctesias, if the extracts of Photius are to be trusted, was able to report only one tale of adultery as occurring in the Persian royal family after Xerxes' return from Greece. But certainly if Xerxes had lived till 465, he must have had to narrate several more of the same sort. It is true, he goes on to say, that Ctesias states that Artaxerxes reigned 42 years—agreeing, it will be observed, nearly with the 40 of Diodorus—and that this would place the death of Xerxes in Ol. 78.3 (B. C. 466), and so invalidate the inference he has just drawn; but it is hazardous to oppose mere numbers, which are often falsified, to reasons of another sort.

Krüger assumes now, in his manner, that Ctesias has told us that Xerxes reigned only a short time after his return from Greece; and thinks it worth while to cite other points of evidence to the same effect, though he admits that by themselves they would deserve little attention. It is not worth while to give these in detail; one, which he speaks of as "erheblicher," is this of Justin:

*Artaxerxes. Hororum terror ante gentium, bello infelix est geste.
ultum autem contemptus esse coepit; and another is that Justin says
Artaxerxes was suer admodum when Artabanus killed Xerxes, and this leads to a speculation as to the time at which Xerxes probably
entered Armenia, which it is not worth while for the present pur-
pose to examine, though it gives Krüger another opportunity of
examining the irreconcilable discrepancy between Diodorus and
the Jonathan Canon on the one side, and Thucydides and Charon
on the other.*

The contradiction, however, it is assumed, does exist; and it is
probably due to a corruption in the numeral letters, as is unquestion-
ably the case in many instances. We might assume in this
particular case that a α has been removed from the figures giving
the reign of Artaxerxes and attached to that of Xerxes; but this
would leave only eleven years for the reign of Xerxes, which is
opposed to another statement. On the other hand, we may, with
greater probability, suppose that the letters $M\bar{I}$ (in Diod. only M)
in $M\bar{I}H$ (read), which we find given for the length of Artaxerxes'
reign, have been corrupted out of an original MH , or 48. If this
number 48 was the original and correct one, then since Artaxerxes
reigned in 473, his accession must have taken place in 473, the
year when he had already lived seven. This will indeed, make the
word of Arrian six or seven years shorter than is commonly
supposed. But if we suppose that these figures were derived from
Arrian, and that we may trust the extracts made by Photius,
then we must suppose in the length of Xerxes' reign—that the
number 48 was correct, or that these have been arrived at by
misinterpretation and not naturally. The years were given to him which
he had already spent over the reign of Artaxerxes.

We have now to consider the connection between the inscriptions. It was evidently a desire
of the author of the Jonathan Canon to ascertain at the task of
writing his history, that the reign of Artaxerxes was shorter than the com-
munity of the two kings. It is most unfortunate that it remains
to us only in fragments, and that they give us no exact date of the
time of their reign. The fragment of them which can be done now is
as follows:—
In the year of the Olympiad 100, probably in the year 473, Artaxerxes
and his brother Xerxes, who were then
in command of the Persian army, were
about to have begun a formidable
expedition against the Medes, when
they were informed that the Persians had

by the agency of the Eretrian Gongylus, dismissing without the consent of allies certain kinsmen of Xerxes who had been captured in Byzantium. In consequence of this evil report he was recalled to Sparta and put upon his trial; and though he was acquitted on the main charge of Medizing, he was not sent out again to exercise his command; but he made his way, οὐ κελευσάντων τὸν Δακεδαιμονίων, to Byzantium again in a ship of Hormion, and resuming his former practices, was forced by the Athenians to leave that city. He then took up his abode at Coloneae, in the Troad; and it was reported at Sparta that he was still carrying on his intercourse with the Persians and certainly doing no good there, καὶ οὐκ' ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τὴν μονῆν ποιούμενος.¹ Accordingly, he received a peremptory order to return with the messenger to Sparta; and wishing to avoid suspicion as far as possible, and trusting that by the help of money he would be able to extricate himself from any serious danger, he did not disobey this command. He was at first imprisoned by the Ephori, but succeeded after a time in being again set at large, ἐπειρα διαπραξάμενος ὑστερον ἔξηλθε. The authorities at Sparta had by no means got rid of their suspicions, but they had secured no evidence of his treason sufficiently direct and convincing to justify them in proceeding summarily against him. There was no question, Thucydides assures us, that he was actually tampering with the Helots, holding out to them the bait of liberty and citizenship if they would aid him in carrying out his plans; and though some of the Helots informed the authorities of these intrigues, such was their slowness and reluctance to deal harshly with a man of the rank and dignity of Pausanias, that no final decision was taken till that Argilian slave to whom Pausanias had intrusted his last letter to Artabazus had given the Ephori the means of hearing his treasonable practices recounted by his own lips. Now, as I have said, in all this narrative there is not a single intimation of a date. It connects itself, however, directly with our main question—viz. the time of the escape of Themistocles to Asia, because we are told that the Spartans asserted that they had discovered that Themistocles was implicated in the treasonable designs of Pausanias; and that it was in consequence of these representations that Themistocles, who had been ostracized, and had lived at first at Argos, found himself compelled

¹ A. Pierson, Philol. XXVIII, p. 56, writes: τὴν μόνην ποιούμενος heißt
icht: er war vereinzelt, sondern er trennte sich vom allgemeinen griechischen
teresse und nahm seinen eigenen weg.

to flee first to Corinth, and then to the court of Admetos, and finally to make his escape to Asia. The ostracism of Themistocles is placed by Diodorus and the chronologers generally in 471.

I think as I have indicated that Krüger's reason for reconstructing the chronology of this period was his desire to harmonize these accounts. He found in Diodorus the whole narrative of the later fortunes of Pausanias placed under the year 477; and he seems to have convinced himself that in this and other similar cases Diodorus intended to represent all the events which he thus narrates under a single date as occurring in one year. In the same way Diodorus gives the whole story of Themistocles, beginning with his ostracism, under the year 471. It is clear, says Krüger, that these occurrences in the lives of the two men cannot have been separated by an interval of six years. They must in some way be approximated. Accordingly, he finds, by making a very modest estimate of the probable duration of the several stages in the downward career of Pausanias, that his death may be brought as low as 473. But, as he thinks he can get no lower, it is indispensable that the flight of Themistocles, which was certainly connected as a result with the fall of Pausanias, be carried backward some years above the date which the ordinary chronology fixes for it. There is no doubt that Krüger's assumed motive was a reasonable one. He should, however, have felt that the region in which he might safely stretch things somewhat was in the story of Pausanias, where we are left absolutely without guidance as to the details of time. The period he passed in intrigues at Colonae may very likely have been longer, and that which was so spent after his second recall must almost certainly have been very much more extended than Krüger estimates. We are not told how many communications passed between him and the king through the intervention of Artabazus; but we may infer that there were several, from the words in which the Argilian informer is described, οἱ μὲλλων τὰς τελευταῖς βιωσέι ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς Ἀράβαζον κομιᾶν, and from the terms in which the man reproaches Pausanias—that, though he had always been faithful ἐν ταῖς πρὸς βασιλέα διακονίαις, προτιμηθεῖν ἐν ἵσῳ τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν διακόνων ἀποθανεῖν. It may also be observed that there is not a word to show that the charge brought by the Lacedaemonians against Themistocles followed immediately upon the condemnation of Pausanias. We are told that after his ostracism Themistocles lived at Argos and visited other parts of the Peloponnesus, ἔχων διαταν μὲν ἐν Ἀργει, ἐπιφορτῶν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Θῆραν

Πελοπόννησος; and it may very well have been the case that it was not until the Spartan authorities had discovered that these movements of Themistocles were dangerous to their supremacy that they decided to take active steps to have him put out of the way. There are indications in some casual notices in Herodotus (IX 35) that the Spartans had, in the two decades succeeding the Persian war, much trouble to secure their predominance in the Peloponnesus; and the readiness of the Helots to avail themselves of the confusion caused by the earthquake in 464 and rise against their masters, indicates that the treasonable promises of Pausanias may have had an enduring effect which the Spartan authorities may not unreasonably have judged might be dangerously fostered if Themistocles were permitted to continue the practice, which Thucydides says he adopted when residing in Argos, of making excursions into various parts of the Peloponnesus. It seems to me that it is in the fact that the connected stories of Pausanias and Themistocles, reported to us as they are without the slightest indication of the time during which each particular phase lasted, admit of indefinite stretching or expansion at the points I have indicated, that the real solution of the difficulty which Krüger felt is to be found. Since the greater part of this paper was written I have received Schäfer's criticism and Krüger's reply to it. I have just had time to read Schäfer's program, and to glance at Krüger's answer. I see that Schäfer, with the purpose no doubt of causing an approximation between the end of Pausanias and that of Themistocles, assumes that the capture of Eion, which Thucydides mentions as the first action of the Athenians in their Hegemony, did not take place till 469. This appears to me quite as improbable as is the scheme which he opposes. Krüger naturally fastens upon this as a supposition at once unwarranted and unlikely; though it is not, as he represents, the keystone of Schäfer's system, which cannot be touched without bringing the whole into confusion. I mention it only to show that the real difficulty in the situation lies in the connection of the two stories of Pausanias and Themistocles, and to insist once more that the only thing needed for bringing them into harmony is that we leave out of our calculation anything approaching to a determination of the exact time consumed during the several stages of the narratives, seeing that all such calculations must be due solely to our own estimate of what is probable, and have not in any case an iota of evidence to rest upon. I have not been able to do more than glance at Krüger's reply to Schäfer. It

is characterized by a tone of great confidence and still greater acerbity; but I have not been able to discover that he has adduced any, even the smallest, additional evidence in support of his position. It is almost comical to see how he continues to pose as the defender of the authenticity of the statements of Thucydides which he assumes are the objects of attack on the part of his opponents. He says,¹ "Either the Canon and company"—meaning the crowd of witnesses adduced by Kleinert to confirm the statement of Diodorus that Artaxerxes reigned 40 years—"all of them witnesses of the second or third rank, are in error, or Thucydides has made a false statement as to the accession of Artaxerxes." And again: "I must again insist that a single witness like Thucydides, a contemporary, appears to me of unquestionably greater weight than all these thirty." This affectation of jealousy for the credit of Thucydides takes a comical aspect when we remember that Thucydides gives us the date of Artaxerxes' death only; that Diodorus and the despised thirty witnesses say he reigned for 40 years, which will put his accession at the end of 464; that Ctesias alone gives 42 years, which will fix his accession in 465; and that it is only Krüger himself who, by turning Ctesias' 42 into 48, thrusts it back to 473.

There is another matter—the revolt of the island of Thasos—the time of which is exactly defined by statements of Thucydides, and which, if admitted, will serve to keep the Asiatic voyage of Themistocles at the date usually assigned to it. I will not go into the particulars of this, but will just quote what Clinton says as to the way in which Krüger gets over it. It must be remembered that Krüger translated into Latin the second volume of Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*, making corrections and other changes. Krüger says: "Neque vero Thucydidis rationes Clintonis computationi favere alio loco monstrabo." Clinton remarks: "At 465, where Thucydides is quoted, I find only this remark: 'Ex meis rationibus Thasii anno quadringentesimo sexagesimo septimo defecerunt: vide tabulas meas.' At 437, where I again treat the subject, the translator is silent."

There is one other point in Krüger's chronological system which has produced grave results, but which I can only just mention. It will be remembered that Thucydides finds fault with Hellanicus because he had treated of matters in his *'Ἄρδις, Βραχέως τε καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἀκριβῶς*. Krüger bases upon this one of his

¹ Krit. An. p. 28.

most vital principles. If Thucydides rebuked Hellanicus for inaccuracy in his chronology, it may be taken for granted that Thucydides imposed upon himself the rule of never stating any event or portion of an event out of its exact chronological order. In order to force the narrative to conform to this canon, he is compelled to alter in one chapter δεκάτη into τετάρτη in defiance of all MSS and of the evidence of Diodorus, making the so-called third Messenian war end in its fourth and not in its tenth year. In this, so far as I can see, he has been followed by no editor except Classen. In another case, c. 109, §2, where Krüger himself admits that a certain occurrence must have taken place probably a year before that which precedes it in the narrative, the difficulty is surmounted by insisting on the fact that that occurrence did not have its intended result. Only the failure of the attempt was of importance; and accordingly it is mentioned where this failure was operative—in causing the sending of a Persian army to drive the Athenians out of Egypt.

C. D. MORRIS.

IV.—THE AO NAGA LANGUAGE OF SOUTHERN ASSAM.

The numerous tribes of the widely-extended Naga people are distributed over the irregular ranges of mountains which lie south of the Brahmaputra valley. Roughly speaking, their country extends between 93° and 97° E. long. and between 25° and 27° 30' N. lat.

The Ao Nagas, whose language forms the subject of this paper, correspond to the Central Naga group in Capt. Damant's classification, and may be more exactly defined as lying on the southern edge of the Sibsagor District, having as their eastern boundary the western branch of the Dikho River, and thence following westward the curve of the hills to about 26° 20' N. lat.

The name Ao, by which they call themselves, will not be found on any of the older maps or in publications on the hill tribes of Assam, but, instead, are used certain Assamese designations—as Hatigorias, Dupdorias, Assiringias, and a few others—given them in the time of the old Assamese kings. They have more than forty villages, and their number is estimated at about one hundred thousand.

No grammar or considerable vocabulary of the Ao Naga has hitherto been published—a fact true, indeed, of the speech of all the Naga tribes, up to the present time.

The language of this tribe is spoken in two dialects, called, respectively, Zwingi or Zungi and Mungsen. Tradition relates, in explanation of these two varieties of their speech, that when the section of the tribe calling themselves Zwingi occupied only a single village, they conquered the neighboring village of the Mungsen, and that thenceforth the two became one people. Though both dialects are current in most Ao villages, the Zwingi is the dominant one, and the one represented in these pages.

None of the brief lists of words published in Mr. Hodgson's works, and purporting to represent Naga speech, exactly corresponds to the Zwingi Ao. What he calls "Khari Naga" is mainly the Mungsen dialect, and "Tengsa Naga" is a mixture of Ao and the language of the tribe lying next east.

It may be said, in passing, that these vocabularies were collected many years ago, before the relations of the tribes were well under-

stood, and from natives whose only mode of communication with their questioners was through imperfectly understood Assamese; hence confusion of dialects and other inaccuracies were almost sure to occur.

In Sir George Campbell's Specimens of the Languages of India, the dialect which he calls Deka Haimong, the Assamese name of a prominent village, appears to be identical with the Ao Naga, making some allowance for difference in mode of phonetic representation.

Probably no foreigner has a better acquaintance with the language of the Ao tribe than the Rev. E. W. Clark, who for ten years has resided among this people, in the service of the American Baptist Missionary Union. In the year 1879 there was obtained from Mr. Clark, and published in the Jour. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XI, Part II, a brief vocabulary of what he called the Zungi or Zwingi dialect of Naga, which is clearly the language under consideration, though the spelling of words is, in some instances, not accordant with later usage. To the same missionary belongs the honor of reducing this language to writing, and translating into it portions of the Scriptures, thus bringing it within reach of scientific investigation.

In the year 1884 he printed at Molung, his mission station at that time among this people, John's Gospel, and the life of Joseph as contained in eleven chapters of Genesis. To these was added, in the following year, a revised edition of Matthew's Gospel, which had before been issued by the same press in a tentative form. It is from these considerable specimens, supplemented by the explanations which Mr. Clark has had the kindness to communicate to me privately, that I have been able to prepare this paper, which contains, so far as I can learn, the first extended and systematic account of the structure of the Zwingi Ao language that has anywhere been published.

I.—THE ALPHABET.

The number of characters which Mr. Clark uses, single or combined, to represent Ao sounds is twenty-nine. They are as follows:

Vowels, a, i, e, o, u, ü.	Labials, p, f, b, m.
Gutturals, k, q, g, ng.	Semivowels, y, r, l, v, w.
Palatals, ch, j.	Sibilants, s (c), sh, z.
Dentals, t, d, n.	Aspiration, h.

These letters all occur finally, except i and v, which last letter seems scarcely to have a place in the language, being used mostly in transliterating Hebrew proper names, and occurring in only one Ao word, *ma*; but the sounds are of very different degrees of frequency at the beginning of syllables, the most frequent being t, a, m, s, k—and in this order. The least frequent in order of infrequency, are ug, g, w, h, q, d, u, e, j. The final sounds of Ao words are, in a great majority of instances, vowels or nasals; and, among the latter, the guttural *nasai* is extremely common. The letters k and r, in this position, are not infrequent: but t, p, b—the only other finals noted in pure Ao words—are seldom heard. Other languages of the Tibeto-Burman group make restrictions as to initial or final letters; thus, in Garo, k, ng, t, p, y, l never occur as initials; the Lepcha allows as finals the vowels and k, ng, t, n, b or p, m, r, i only, but does not object to any of its sounds at the beginning of syllables; the Tibetan permits at the end of syllables, besides vowels, the consonants g, ng, d, n, b, m, r, l, s.

The vowels in Mr. Clark's scheme have in general the Italian sound, and, except the so-called long and short u, are not marked for quantity. The vowel a is heard as in 'ah'; i as in 'pin,' 'pique'; e as in 'met,' 'they'; o as in 'not,' 'note'; u as in 'boot'; û as in 'but.' For the last character, which I employ for convenience in printing, Mr. Clark uses a looped v. This sound is very common in the language.

Of the pronunciation of the consonants, it is only necessary to remark that ch is heard as in 'church'; g as in 'go'; and that c, which occurs only after s, is used to "prolong and slightly aspirate" that letter. It may be noted that c has the sound of s in Assamese, which may have determined its use here. Certain of the mutes are used interchangeably, according to taste or euphony, as t, d; p, b; g, k.

A prominent feature of Ao phonetics is the absence of the aspirate mutes, which occur more or less in the Sanskritic languages of India. Not only are the sonant aspirates wanting—a characteristic of the Tibeto-Burman group in general—but the surd aspirates are wanting as well; thus, one finds Rut for Ruth, Bethlehem for Bethlehem, etc.

II.—NOUNS.

(a) *Gender.* The distinction of gender is made only where the quality of sex actually exists, and is indicated in one of three

ways: firstly, and most commonly, by special sexual names, as *lebu* or *bu* 'father,' *tezü* or *tzü* 'mother,' *taei* 'boar,' *tin* 'sow'; secondly, by added words for 'male' or 'female,' which differ somewhat according to the class of beings spoken of; thus, *tebur* (*bur*) and *tezür* (*tzür*) are 'male' and 'female,' respectively, of human beings; and *tebong* (*bong*) and *tezür* (*tzür*), of the lower animals; e. g. *nabong* 'goat' in general, *nabong tebong* 'he-goat,' *nabong tezür* 'she-goat'; thirdly, by suffixes, *ba* for masculine and *la* for feminine; e. g. *alar* 'servant' in general, but *alarla* 'maid-servant.' These suffixes, however, are not in common use as indicative of gender.

The words *ginungpo* (for *kinungpo*) 'husband,' and *ginungtzü* (for *kinungtzü*) 'wife,' seem to illustrate how a syllable originally a noun may become virtually a gender-forming suffix. These words are compounded of *ki* 'house,' *nung*—perhaps for the longer *nunger* 'one who is in,' from the postposition *nung* 'in'—and *po*, an old word for 'man,' and *tzü* 'woman.' They mean, therefore, respectively, 'house-in-man' and 'house-in-woman'; or, as we often say, 'the man of the house,' 'the woman of the house.'

Many names of animate beings, as in other languages, convey in themselves no distinction of gender; e. g. *chir* 'child,' *tanur* 'boy' or 'girl,' *ak* 'swine.'

(b) *Number.* It is a rule of the language that number is not indicated by any special sign when the context renders this unnecessary; otherwise, a plural suffix is used, or one of several nouns of multitude serves as a substitute. The suffix is *tüm*, which is used more often in books than in ordinary conversation; e. g. *chir* 'child,' *chirtüm* 'children.' The more common nouns used for the same purpose are: *telok* or *lok*; *terong* or *rong*; *arogo*, shortened to *rogo*. The first means properly 'flock'; in a slightly different form it enters into the plural of the personal pronouns; e. g. *nenok* 'the flock of you.' The second means 'a clump,' as of bushes, and is commonly used when the postposition *nung* follows. The third corresponds most nearly to the English 'mess,' as the following interesting explanation by Mr. Clark shows. When the Ao Nagas start out on the war-path, one person carries for three or four others a basket of provisions. This is called *arür-ku*. In course of time the name of this essential part of the *impedimenta* was transferred to the group of persons dependent upon it; it was next contracted to *arogo*, and finally to *rogo*.

A rudimentary dual number is perhaps seen in such expressions

as *tebur aser tetzürna*, lit. 'male and female-two,' *Andria aser Filipna* 'Andrew and Philip-two.' Here *na* is for *ana*, the numeral 'two.'

(c) *Case-Relations.* It is hardly correct to speak of declension in Ao Naga, using that term in the sense which it has in the inflecting languages.

Though there appears some tendency to case-formation, the relations of nouns and pronouns to other members of the sentence are ordinarily expressed by position, or by words used like prepositions, but always placed after the word governed. Though, on a plan like this, the number of "cases" is limited only by the different relations expressed, the following table of the more frequent combinations will serve to illustrate the subject. We take the word *tebu*, which also has the form *bu* 'father.'

	SING.	
Nom.	<i>tebu(e)</i>	'a father.'
Acc.	<i>tebu dak</i> or <i>dang</i>	'a father.'
Inst.	<i>tebu age</i>	'by a father.'
Dat.	<i>tebu dange</i>	'to a father.'
Abl.	<i>tebu nunge</i>	'from a father.'
Gen.	<i>tebu</i>	'of a father.'
Loc.	<i>tebu nung</i>	'in a father.'
Voc.	<i>ina</i> or <i>O tebu</i>	'O father.'
	PLUR.	
Nom.	<i>tebutüm(e)</i>	'fathers.'
Acc.	<i>tebutüm dak</i> or <i>dang</i>	'fathers.'
Inst.	<i>tebutüm age</i>	'by fathers.'

This scheme must be taken as a rather rough survey of the manner in which the relations of case are expressed, since not only are the postpositions not restricted to the meanings given above, but they, to some extent, interchange in office according to the words with which they happen to be used in the sentence.

The suffix *e*, which appears with the nominative, is not a constant sign of that case, but is used only when the relation might be confused with that of other words in the sentence. The same letter is appended to a noun or verb in a variety of other uses: 1. It denotes the place in which motion ends; e. g. *kotak ime matutsü* 'shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven,' *Yirusaleme tonga ashi* 'having come to Jerusalem, said'; 2. By a somewhat similar use it forms a substitute for a purpose-clause, when added

to a verb-root; e. g. *ozoe pa külüme aru* 'we have come to worship him,' for which *külümtsü* or *tekülümtsü* is the ordinary expression—as will be noted hereafter; 3. It expresses manner of acting; e. g. *Yohan meziunge mezüme aru* 'John came neither eating nor drinking'; 4. It denotes cause; e. g. *nenok Tebue meshilete* 'because your Father knoweth not.' It is possible that these verbal forms in *e* are corruptions of the participle in *a*, and the last example should be read 'your Father knowing not.' The relation of direct object, if sufficiently indicated by the context, may dispense with the postposition. The relation of possessor—which we have called genitive—is expressed solely by position before the governing noun. The other relations which are grouped under the genitive in the classic languages are otherwise expressed in Ao. The vocative is simply the root-word preceded by either of the interjections *ina* or *O*.

In case the noun is modified by a following adjective or pronoun, the postposition is placed after the latter; or, as one is accustomed to say in regard to some other languages of this group, the adjective or pronoun is inflected instead of the noun.

(d) *Structural Character.* There is no complete formal distinction between nouns, adjectives and verbs. Each in its root-form is indistinguishable from the others; and even the suffixes of derivation, which nouns often assume, are in great part common to all three. Thus, the suffix *er* forms the present indicative of verbs, verbal adjectives or participles, and nouns; e. g. the root *zilu* 'write,' taking on *er*, forms by contraction *zilur*, which means 'I,' etc., 'write,' 'writing,' or 'writer,' according to the connection.

Nouns are formed with great facility from other parts of speech; e. g. from the postposition *nung* 'in' is formed the noun *nungür* (better *nunger*), which means 'one who is in,' 'inhabitant.' Both nouns and adjectives very often take a prefix, which has the form *te* before consonants and *t* before vowels. With these parts of speech it appears to have no formative significance, but is rather intensive in character, and may be assumed or thrown off at pleasure; thus, one may say *tebu* or *bu*, *tezün* or *zün*, *tazung* or *azung*. The same prefix, apparently, is used with the prohibitive imperative of the verb, where it virtually has a formative value, whatever may have been its original force.

III.—ADJECTIVES.

(ii) *Nounification.* These have no declension, except in the sense referred to above. As already noted, the naked root may be used in an adjective sense; but many adjectively-used words add a suffix to the root. The most common suffix is *ba*, said to be a slightly altered form of *aa*, the third personal pronoun.

This suffix has a prevailingly relative sense, and stands in situations where we ordinarily employ a relative clause. Examples of its various uses are: In a transitive sense, *tanir tefsetsu bushiba* (tanir) who sought (busibiba) to slay the boy has died'; in an interrogative sense, *Isaya bortsu asuba long ali* 'where is (he) who is born (asuba) King of the Jews?'; in a passive sense, *Isaya bortsu asuba nra* 'the word spoken (zimibiba) by the prophet bortsu' it may also form an abstract noun, as *zenok* (zenok) the son's understanding strong 'like your faith (zenegba) be-

I have said that words formed by this suffix are properly verbal adjectives, but also notice that derivation from verbs is still so prevalent as to make it the greater that they may take a subject, & the verb *as* a subject, *as* in *as* *comes amar* 'like what the wind or God said' (ascribed). Here again takes the *e* of the nominative as subject of the verb *as*. We should have expected *as* in the example above.

A suffix usually identified in form and use occurs in Lepcha; this form *gut* "to read" is formed with "a reader"; from *gut* "to be in" yields "one who is odd"; from the "to place," *thumuk*

It is curious also to observe that a verb like *be* has both the relative pronoun and the adjective-forming prefix in Khas, a language which, though deriving from the Nagari languages, is supposed to be non-inflectional.

The second effect is exemplified by the speech by the Then-Prime Minister in which from the earliest of his days he has been, usually by the side of the Queen, the right-hand man of the Queen. Examples are numerous, but one will suffice. The "memorandum" of 1939, in which the Queen

the first example the suffix *ba* is supposed to be identical with the personal pronoun *pa* 'he, she, it'; in the second example, *idakzi* is *i*, the pronominal element, *dak* the postposition, and *zi* a suffix often appended to pronouns and nouns, and seemingly having an intensive force.

Comparison on a similar plan is seen in the following sentence in Garo : *ia ácákna bâle ua ácák canbâta* 'that dog is smaller than this dog,' lit. 'this dog-to that dog small (is).'

The superlative is expressed by singling one out of the whole number of individuals as possessing the quality *par excellence*; e. g. *nenok rong nung shiba tuluba* 'whosoever is greatest among you,' lit. 'your group in who great-one (is).'

IV.—NUMERALS.

(a) *Cardinals.* The Ao has distinct names for the digits and a part of the tens. The compound terms from eleven to fifteen are formed by placing the smaller after the larger number, without a connective; thus, *teri-ka* 'ten-one,' *teri-asum* 'ten-three,' *teri-pungu* 'ten-five.' From sixteen to twenty, twenty-six to thirty, and so on, a new method is adopted ; e. g. *metsü maben trok* 'twenty not-brought six,' i. e. 'sixteen.' The explanation of this singular combination seems to be as follows: When the middle point between ten and twenty is reached, the mind forsakes ten, and, ceasing to add digits to that, runs forward to the second ten, and completes the calculation from that standpoint, saying 'six not yet brought to twenty,' etc. From twenty to thirty, thirty to forty, the same twofold procedure is repeated. 'Seventy' is *tenem ser metzü* 'fifty and twenty'; 'eighty' is *lir anasü* 'forty-twice'; 'ninety-nine' is *telang maben* 'hundred not-brought,' i. e. the number just short of a hundred.

The following table will illustrate the system of cardinals up to one hundred :

1 <i>ka</i>	11 <i>teri-ka</i>	21 <i>metsüri-ka</i>
2 <i>ana</i>	12 <i>teri-ana</i>	26 <i>semür maben trok</i>
3 <i>asum</i>	13 <i>teri-asum</i>	30 <i>semür</i>
4 <i>pezü</i>	14 <i>teri-pezü</i>	40 <i>lir</i>
5 <i>pungu</i>	15 <i>teri-pungu</i>	50 <i>tenem</i>
6 <i>trok</i>	16 <i>metsü maben trok</i>	60 <i>eokür</i>
7 <i>tenet</i>	17 <i>metsü maben tenet</i>	70 <i>tenem ser metsü</i>
8 <i>ti</i>	18 <i>metsü maben ti</i>	80 <i>lir anasü</i>
9 <i>tuko</i>	19 <i>metsü maben tuko</i>	90 <i>telang tuko</i>
10 <i>ter</i>	20 <i>metsü</i>	100 <i>telang or noklang</i>

(1) *Ordinals.* The ordinals are formed by adding to the cardinals the suffix *-ya* or *-ba*; e. g. *asayuba* (-*buba*) 'second,' *asimuba* 'third.' An exception is *tamapuba* 'first,' which is not formed from the corresponding cardinal. To form ordinal adverbs a suffix *-ben* is added to the cardinals; e. g. *asimben* 'thirdly.' The same suffix forms multiplicatives, as *semurben* 'thirty-times.' This is literally 'thirty-bringers,' if, as seems likely, *ben* is the common verb-root 'bring.' These forms may take at will the familiar prefix *te* / ; e. g. *tamapuba*, *tasimben*.

V.—PRONOUNS.

The Ao Naga has most of the classes of pronouns common to other languages. Whenever their case-relations are to be particularly defined, it is done by postpositions, in the same manner as with nouns.

(a) *Personal Pronouns.* These show some irregularities, both in their roots and in the formation of their plurals. Their forms are as follows:

NOM.	OBlique.	SING.	PLUR.
1st <i>ni</i>	<i>kutang</i> (<i>dang</i>), etc.	{ <i>ozonok</i> , <i>ozo</i> , <i>onok</i> ,	
2d <i>na</i>	<i>netang</i> , etc.	{ <i>asenok</i> , <i>asen</i>	
3d <i>pa</i>	<i>pa-</i> or <i>badang</i> , etc.	<i>nенок</i>	<i>parcnok</i> , <i>pare</i>

The nominative forms may take the suffix *e* under the same circumstances as do nouns. As already noticed, the plural suffix *nok* is for *lok* 'flock,' 'troop.' I have discovered no evidence of the so-called "inclusive" and "exclusive" forms of the 1st person plural.

(b) *Possessives.* It is doubtful whether the language has a formal possessive pronoun, since *kü* and *ne*, though used in a possessive sense before nouns, are also used with postpositions in other relations.

(c) *Demonstratives.* These have the following forms: *ya*; *aba*, *abazi*, *azi*; *iba*, *ibazi*. The first is commonly used as a near demonstrative, 'this'; the others—especially *azi*—as remote demonstratives, 'that.' They are used both adjectively and substantively, without change of form. Not infrequently they are employed—most often *iba*—for the third personal pronoun and for the definite article, for the expression of which there is no

other provision in the language. We have already referred to the syllable *zi*. Mr. Clark conjectures that it is identical with *ji* 'true'; hence *azi* would mean 'that indeed, truly.' It is most often appended to nouns which have just before been used in the discourse, and is about equivalent to 'the before-mentioned.'

The numeral *ka* or *kati* is often used to represent our indefinite article or the indefinite expression 'a certain.'

(d) *Interrogatives.* These are: *shir* or *shiba*, referring to persons; *kechi*, referring to things; and *koba*, relating to persons or things.

(e) *Relatives.* There is no distinct relative pronoun in the language, but the interrogatives are used in that sense. Relative clauses are not a favorite construction in Ao Naga, but occur oftener than in some other languages of this group, and more frequently in the colloquial than in the written language.

By the addition of certain intensive syllables, indefinite relatives are formed, as *kechisa* 'whatever,' *kechisarena* 'whatsoever,' *shiresa* 'whoever.'

(f) *Indefinites.* Besides the use of *ka*, referred to above, there are two indefinite pronouns, *shinga* and *kecha*, distinguished in the same manner as the interrogatives.

(g) *Reflexive.* The reflexive pronoun for all persons and numbers is *pei*.

VI.—VERBS.

It is hardly necessary to say that the Ao verb has no elaborate array of forms. It makes no distinctions of person, number or voice; it is poor in modes; but it fairly expresses relations of time, and enters freely into composition with other root-words of various character, by which its central idea is modified.

We will now take up in order the various forms of the Ao verbal system, and illustrate their uses.

(a) *Tenses.* 1. The present indicative is formed by adding to the root the suffix *er*.¹ This suffix is probably the verb 'to be' in one of its many forms; so that *ni bener* is literally 'I a bringer am,' or something like that. Roots ending in a vowel absorb the vowel of the ending; e. g. *ni zümbir* (*zümbi-er*) 'I speak,' *ni ngur* (*ngu-er*) 'I see.'

¹Throughout the Scripture translations this suffix is represented as *är*, but Mr. Clark informs me that he now considers the form written above more correct.

A progressive form of the same tense is produced by the suffix *dage* or *daka*, appended in like manner directly to the root; e. g. *ni bendage* 'I am bringing.'

2. A preterite tense is formed by prefixing the vowel *a* to the root, a quite unexpected correspondence with the "augment" of some inflecting languages; examples are: *ni aben* 'I brought'; *ni angu* 'I saw.' A few verbs do not take this prefix, but form their preterite by means of a helping-verb, of which construction we shall speak more fully hereafter; thus *ni zumbi aka* 'I spoke.' The auxiliary verb in this example, *aka*, is the past tense of a verb which means 'to be' or 'to have,' as some of its uses indicate. When the initial letter of a root is *a*, this suffers no change in forming the preterite; e. g. *ni ashir* 'I say,' and *ni ashi* 'I said.'

Another form, which we may call the preterito-present, unites the augment of the past and the ending of the present tense, signifying thereby that the action lies partly in the past and partly in the present; thus, *ni am abener* means 'I am bringing bread,' and more, 'have brought some before'; while *ni am bendage* means only that 'I am on my way with some bread.'

3. The suffix *ogo* forms a tense commonly denoting a remote past, but sometimes to be translated by our perfect; e. g. *ni benogo* 'I brought' (some time ago), *tanur tefselsü bushiba sügo* (*sü-ogo*) 'he has died who sought to slay the boy.'

4. A future tense is formed by either of the two suffixes *di* and *tsü*. The former is thought to refer to a near future, and in some connections is hardly distinguishable from the present; thus, *ni bendi* 'I am on the point of bringing,' *ni shidi* 'I am going to say.' The suffix *tsü* refers more indefinitely to the future; e. g. *ni zümbitsü* 'I shall say.'

(b) *Modes.* 1. A conditional mode is formed by adding to the root one of two suffixes, *ra* and *dir* (*di-ra*). They both denote future condition, and the difference in their signification is said to be that the former denotes a condition uncertain of fulfillment, while the latter looks forward to its realization. The second form is oftenest used in relative clauses. Examples are: *kechi-aser nenok meimerdang nenoke meimera*, *kechi azangzüktsü* 'for if ye love (meimera) them that love you, what profit is it?'; *zoko shirebenshidir aser saiyudir*, *pae kotak nütsung rong nung tambu ta azatsü* 'but who shall do (benshidir) and teach (saiyudir) (them), he shall be called great in the number of the citizens of heaven.'

A third form of condition, which, however, does not often occur, requires the suffix *rang* (*ra-ang*), and answers to our future-perfect; thus, *ni arurang* 'if I shall have come,' *azi surang* 'if that shall have been.' Sometimes the particle *bang* or *bangila* is added to *ra*; e. g. *nenok amang zibi zang tekatdanga surabang* 'if your faith be as even one grain of mustard seed.'

The conclusion of such a sentence may be introduced by the conjunction *azangla* 'then'; or the syllable *la* may be attached to the verb or some other word; or it may be marked by no special sign. A conclusion may be expressed with condition implied; e. g. *ni zumbila* 'I would speak.' With the future, *la* gives the idea of certainty or necessity; e. g. *ni zumbitsula* 'I shall or must speak.' The suffix *ba* may be used in the same connection, as *ni zumbitsulaba* 'I (am) he who must speak.'

2. An imperative mode, confined to the 2d and 3d persons, is formed by the suffix *ang*, when used affirmatively, but by the prefix *te* ('t') when used negatively; e. g. *na benang* 'bring thou,' *na teben* 'bring thou not.' The imperative is usually followed by a particle *ma* or *nei*, whose force is felt in softening the command.

(c) *Voice.* The Ao verb has no distinct passive form. This is a common fact of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Either the sentence is so constructed that there is no call for a passive, or the recipient of the action is made the object of the verb, and the latter is used impersonally; or a periphrastic form is constructed, the exact meaning of which is determined by the context. Much of the difficulty in regard to the expression of the passive idea in Ao Naga vanishes when one comes to clearly apprehend the fact that most of the verbs have both a transitive and an intransitive sense. This feature is familiar enough, though far less common, in English. We say the ship "drives" or "is driven" before the wind; it "breaks" or "is broken" with difficulty, and so on. Illustrations of Ao usage are: *Simon, shibadang Pitor azar* 'Simon, who is called Peter,' lit. 'whom (one) calls Peter'; *ibae indang o ya zilua-lir* 'concerning him this word is written,' where *zilua* is perf. ptc. (here used intransitively) of *zilu* 'to write,' and *lir* is present indic. of *li* 'to be'; *ya zumbi-akar* 'this is (customarily) said,' where *zumbi* is simple root 'to say,' and *akar* is "preterito-present" of *ka* 'to be'; *alümle nisungdang zumbia akaba o ya* 'this word which was said to men of old time.' Such combinations as in the second example are sometimes active, e. g. *ni ya azak benshia-lir* 'I have done all this.'

(d) *Infinitive and Participles.* The infinitive is properly the naked root in the simple verb, and so has no place in its system of "forms." Verbal nouns are constantly used in Ao in situations where the infinitive occurs in the inflecting languages. There are two forms which answer to participles. The first ends in *er*, and represents in general a present active participle; e. g. *bener* 'bringing,' *zumbir* 'speaking,' *zilur* 'writing'; the second ends in *a*, and ordinarily translates our perfect participle; e. g. *bena* 'having brought,' *zumbia* 'having spoken,' *zilua* 'having written.' However, this distinction is not strictly maintained, and they are sometimes used interchangeably, according to certain demands of style. From what has been said under the head of voice, it will now be quite plain that these forms correspond to passive as well as active participles in English.

The following examples will illustrate their uses: *tanuro letzuna anir Israel limae oang* 'taking (*anir*) the boy and his mother (lit. 'mother-two'), go into the land of Israel'; *kare tashi temetür Yirusaleme tonga ashi* 'certain wise men, having come (*tonga*) to Jerusalem, said'; *Yisue ano tetezutsu ka zumbia ashi* 'Jesus, uttering one more parable, said,' where *zumbir* would be more exact; *pa arur mena ashi* 'he, having come and taken his seat, said,' where *arur mena* is better style than *arua mena*, in this connection, though less exact.

(e) *Periphrastic Forms.* This subject has already been illustrated in part, and it will only be necessary to add a few more examples out of a considerable variety. *Iba Yohan ot zung age atakpa scū abena ali* 'that John wore (*abena-ali*) a garment woven of camel's hair.' If *aben* had been used, instead of *abena-ali*, it would not have implied habitual wearing, as does the latter, since *li* often means 'to abide,' 'to live.' *Ainkar mapa ayega meyanglu-ka ma* 'have we not done many mighty works?' *Temeshi pure kanga ngunu-aka* 'righteous people greatly desired to see.' *Idangyungzi pa shishi-adok* 'then she arose.' *Swarür-zi o Zumbia-adok* 'the dumb man spake.' In the last examples the verb *dok* properly means 'to appear,' but is often used where its original sense is not appropriate; in other words, it shows a tendency to become a merely formative element. It should be understood, however, that such expressions as these above are in general loose combinations, which are hardly entitled to be called "forms" of the verb, in the sense in which that term is understood in the inflecting languages.

(f) *Substantive Verbs.* As in other languages, existence is predicated by a variety of verbs, which doubtless originally differed in meaning, though this difference now in some degree eludes detection. Examples are : *ak* or *ka* ; *aet* or *et* ; *asü* or *sü* ; *er* ; *ali*, *li*, *le*, *la* ; *küm* ; *dok*. Of these, *asü* sometimes means 'to cause to be,' and so 'to build'; *li* or *le* 'to reside'; *ka* 'to have'; *dok* 'to appear,' etc.

(g) *Intensive Forms.* An action may be emphasized by doubling the verb; thus, *Rauhela pei chir indang zeba-zeba* 'Rachel weeping bitterly for her children.'

(h) *Verbal Modifiers.* It has already been remarked that the simple verb in Ao freely takes on syllables which modify in a variety of ways its original sense. Some of these form the familiar secondary conjugations of the inflecting languages. The following are examples : *daktsü* gives to a root a causative sense; e. g. *ni bendaktsür* 'I cause to bear,' i. e. send or send for; *tsü* determines an action as done for another; e. g. *ne nu nuk nunge anakzi endoktsütsü zungzunga angutsü* 'thou shalt see clearly to cast out (*endoktsütsü*) the mote from thy brother's eye'; *nü* forms desideratives; e. g. from *pala* 'to divorce' is derived *palanü* 'to desire to divorce'; *tel* or *ter* gives a potential sense, as *yanglutel* 'able to make'; *ma* signifies 'to finish,' as *zümbima* 'to finish speaking'; *tep* means mutually, as *meimtep* 'to love one another'; *tüm*, like *ma*, means 'to bring to an end'; *set* gives the idea of completeness, as *tefset* 'to thoroughly kill'; *to* gives the sense of an act done in part, as *chito* 'to eat some of'; *lok* 'to attach to,' as *azonglok* 'to lift up and fasten,' as a load on an animal's back; *den* or *ten* gives the idea of association, as *benden* 'to gather together'; *tok* is 'off,' 'away,' as *leptok* 'cut off'; *zük* has a variety of meanings; e. g. (1) to complete successfully, as *zümbizük* 'to talk to good purpose'; (2) it reverses the action of the verb, as *aküm* is to bring the animals up to the village, but *aküm-zük*, to let them loose; (3) to bring to an end, as *ruzük* to finish reaping; *zen* signifies repetition, as *tsunghu aruzen* 'the rain came continually'; *shia* alone is a prefix, and answers to the English prefix *re-*, as *shia-aru* 'come back' or 'revive,' *shia-agütsü* 'to give back,' 'restore.'

It seems probable that these modifying syllables are, in their origin, verbs; but I am unable to give a more exact account of them.

(i) *Verbal Synonyms.* The language is rich in verbs which

denote variations of the same general act ; thus, *shidok* denotes 'wash' or 'cleanse' in general, *meyi* 'to wash the face,' *metsuk* 'to wash the hands,' *trüsen* 'to immerse,' and so on.

In the foregoing brief outline of the Ao Naga verb, it has not surprised us to find that it has no full apparatus of forms to express nice shades of thought ; indeed, a people without letters, like the Nagas, would have little call to invent expressions for thoughts which had no place in their minds. It is not strange, too, that the forms employed are not used with absolute consistency, when we recall the failings of even cultivated languages in this respect.

VII.—ADVERBS.

These words might, perhaps, better be called adverbial phrases, since they are, in great part, abbreviated sentences or combinations of a pronominal element with a postposition. Below is a list of those in most common use :

<i>angnunge</i> , thence.	<i>kode</i> , in any way.
<i>angnungzi</i> , thence.	<i>kolene</i> , whither (interrog. and rel.)
<i>angzi</i> , there.	<i>kolen nunge</i> , whence.
<i>au</i> , yes.	<i>komama</i> , like what ?
<i>azage</i> , thither.	<i>kong</i> , where ?
<i>azi ode</i> , so.	<i>konge</i> , whither ?
<i>elengzi</i> , thither.	<i>kong nunge</i> , whence ?
<i>ibagütsüe</i> , then, after that.	<i>kopiga</i> , how far ?
<i>idangyongzi</i> , immediately.	<i>kün kün</i> , often, sometimes.
<i>idangzi</i> , then.	<i>lene</i> , toward.
<i>imamae</i> , thus.	<i>ma</i> (interrog. and softening particle).
<i>kaatsü</i> , why ?	<i>nunga</i> , no.
<i>kanga</i> , greatly, very.	<i>nungta</i> , no.
<i>kechiba</i> , why ?	<i>geiben</i> , how many times ?
<i>kechi koda</i> , how ?	<i>tamasa</i> , first.
<i>kechinung</i> , where ?	<i>tang</i> , now.
<i>kechiyong</i> , why ?	<i>tangyunge</i> , quickly.
<i>kechisa</i> , why ?	<i>yage</i> , hither.
<i>kechishi</i> , why ?	<i>yakte</i> , quickly.
<i>kechisüdang</i> , when ?	<i>yamae</i> , thus.
<i>kechisünung</i> , wherefore.	<i>yange</i> , here.
<i>keleme</i> , along with.	<i>yasür</i> , then, afterward.
<i>kena</i> , now.	<i>zungunga</i> , clearly.
<i>koda</i> , in any way, how ?	<i>kodanga</i> , at any time.
<i>kodang</i> when (interrog. and rel.).	

VIII.—POSTPOSITIONS.

The words which we are wont to call prepositions, because of their position relatively to the governed noun, may be called, for a like reason, postpositions in Ao Naga. The following are some of these words, with their ordinary significations :

<i>age</i> , by, with.	<i>kelene</i> , across.
<i>alüma</i> , beyond.	<i>madak</i> , upon, over.
<i>anüma</i> , against.	<i>madang</i> , before, in presence of.
<i>asoshi</i> , for sake of, in order to.	<i>madange</i> , before, to presence of.
<i>atüma</i> , by (in oath).	<i>melen</i> , in place of.
<i>dak</i> , in, at, etc.	<i>meyong</i> , against, for.
<i>dang</i> (<i>tang</i>), to, at, etc.	<i>nung</i> , at, in, to, on, by.
<i>dange</i> , into, to.	<i>nungdang</i> , onto, etc.
<i>den</i> (<i>ten</i>), with.	<i>sülen</i> , after.
<i>donga</i> , to, until, unto.	<i>tashi</i> , until, as far as.
<i>indang</i> , respecting.	<i>yong</i> , for (price).
<i>kelen</i> , after, beyond.	

Dak and *dang* are used in a variety of ways, according to the connection, and do not readily submit to precise definition. In compounds *dak* usually has the sense of 'place,' as *amendak* 'sitting-place,' *imtak* 'village-place.' *Dang* often governs a verb in the sense of 'while'; e. g. *Babel nung alidang* 'while (he) was in Babylon.' *Indang* occasionally means 'thing.'

The following are a few examples of the uses of postpositions : *Abenzi asong asoshi kanga tebilim* 'therefore be not anxious for the morrow.' *Herod tsuba aser pa den Yirusalem nungür azak* 'Herod the king and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem with him.' *Yisue Yohan indang telokdang o ya zümbi meso* 'Jesus began to speak this word to the multitude concerning John.' *Koba pur pei anüma küplepera* 'if any people are divided against themselves.' *Aser Yisue tzü kelene aotsü melar* 'and Jesus bids to go across the water.'

IX.—CONJUNCTIONS.

It is well known that languages of this type have no such elaborately articulated sentences, with their array of co-ordinate and subordinate clauses, as do the inflecting languages. Hence there is no such call for connectives; but prepositional phrases and participial expressions are favorite styles of structure. There

are however certain words—for the most part of very transparent origin—that serve as mere single words and clauses. The following are in most common use:

<i>abat</i> , therefore	<i>ka</i> , though
<i>as</i> , and more	<i>kechisær</i> , for, because.
<i>awang</i> , therefore	<i>kechisiang</i> , wherefore.
<i>azet</i> , yet	<i>masi-masi</i> , neither—nor.
<i>azet</i> , yet, perhaps.	<i>mesira</i> , or (if not).
<i>azage</i> , therefore	<i>nangzi</i> , so that.
<i>azapla</i> , then, in apodosis.	<i>sata</i> , but (antithetical).
<i>azage</i> , therefore	<i>sashia-sashia</i> , either—or.
<i>azatla</i> , but, nevertheless	<i>teser</i> , and so.
<i>azay</i> , then, afterward	<i>totorla</i> , but.
<i>baangtsü</i> , if, in conditional	

The origin of a great part of this list seems obvious at a glance; thus, *azage* and the fuller *azapla* are *azi* + *age* = 'by that'; *masi* is *me* + *as* = 'is not'; *mesira* is *me* + *su* + *ra* = 'if is not,' etc.

X.—SYNTAX.

The examples and explanatory remarks of the preceding pages have already given some insight into the structure of Ao Naga sentences.

For the reason stated above, and because we are dealing with the speech of rude mountaineers, the syntax of the language is marked by great simplicity. The order of the sentence is the inverted one, the verb standing last and the subject first, though much freedom as to position is allowed the latter. Interrogative pronouns and adverbs stand first less often than in English; e. g. *Krista kechi nung asotsü* 'Christ in what place will be born?' Nouns or pronouns standing in a possessive relation precede the nouns they limit. Adjectives—especially those signifying 'good' or 'bad'—as a rule follow nouns; but there are numerous exceptions.

Relative clauses and all constructions taking their place stand before antecedent clauses; e. g. *nenok kechi angu kechi angashi azi Yohandang oa shiang* 'what ye have seen, what heard, that, having gone to John, tell.' On this principle, verbal adjectives in *ba* stand before their nouns; e. g. *pae kidang aliba nisung azak sangwatsü* 'it lighteth all men who are in the house.'

The same fact is observed in the frequent construction where, instead of a clause introduced by a relative adverb of time, it is treated as a substantive and governed by some one of the ordinary postpositions. It may take a subject bearing the usual nominative sign, and a verb in any tense. Examples are: *pei zabaso am mishi nung tebue lung agütsütsü* 'if his son ask for bread, will a father give a stone?' lit. 'at his son asking for bread,' etc.; *Yisue parenokdange marudange* 'when Jesus had not come to them,' lit. 'at the not coming of Jesus to them.'

A purpose clause may be expressed in a similar way by the use of a postposition. To this end *asoshi* 'for the sake of' is employed; e. g. *nisunge angutsü asoshi nenoke parenok madang tim mapa teyanglu* 'in order that men may see (them), do ye not righteous deeds before them,' lit. 'for the sake of men seeing,' etc. However, the more regular form to express purpose is a verbal noun which takes the suffix *tsü* and, at pleasure, the prefix *te* ('t'), answering to our infinitive. As we have seen also, the verbal in *e* may be made to express the same idea. The copula is sometimes omitted.

I have now set forth in its principal features the structure of the Zwingi dialect of the Ao language, so far as I have been able to learn it from the sources named at the beginning of this paper. It would have been useful could I have pointed out the degree of relationship existing between the Ao and the other languages of this numerously divided people, particularly the Angami Naga; but the material for the comparison is not yet forthcoming, though it is reported that a grammar and vocabulary of the last-named tongue are ready for publication.

It is the well-nigh universal practice of writers on language, based, one may well suppose, on no very careful researches, to class all the rude tongues between Tibet and Burma among the monosyllabic languages, of which Chinese is the most prominent representative. But the tendency to combine roots, reducing some to a servile condition, is so marked, and has gone so far—as I have abundantly shown—that we shall be obliged either to enlarge our definition of a monosyllabic language, or to admit that this speech lies just over the border, among languages in the early stages of agglutination.¹ As compared with the Garo and the

¹ Mr. Clark's latest utterance to me on this subject is as follows: "I should say that the Ao Naga language, in its present state, is unquestionably dissyllabic or polysyllabic, so much so that it is difficult to find short words for

legends of which I recently gave an account, it does not seem to have advanced much in its toward the higher type of structure.

The traditions of the Ao tribe point to an earlier home farther to the northwest in the high ranges forming the watershed between Assam and Burma. There as the story goes they formed a single village, but in course of time as their numbers increased, they gradually worked their way west and south, conquering or driving the weaker tribes until they reached their present homes. The singular physical development and manly bearing of this people, compared with those of adjacent tribes of the same stock, give probability to this legend.

I am not without hope that when British control and missionary labor shall have brought these rude hill tribes into a condition to admit of more exact observation we shall be in a position not only to translate and classify the unprinted mass of tongues spoken in Northeastern India and Burma, but to obtain thereby some trustworthy hints as to the under historical relations and early wanderings of these interesting but hitherto little-known, peoples.

I have only to add that before making a final revision of this paper, I submitted it to Mr. Clark for examination. I have freely availed myself of the corrections and explanations which he had the kindness to make, and so have an added confidence that the general character of the language has been accurately represented.

SPECIMEN OF AO NAGA.¹

The Temptation.—Matt. iv. 1-11.

(1) Ibagtsde Mozinge Yisu atitangtsu asoshi, Tanelae padang areme anir ao. (2) Aser lir nū lir aunung lumiseta ali nung Yisu ya adok. (3) Idangzi tatitangbae pa anasae arua ashi, nae Tsungrem chir sūra azangla lung ya am kūmdakzang. (4) Angzi pae langzua ashi, nisunge am tesa age malitsū zokorla Tsungrem bang nunge adokba o azak; azi oda zilua lir.

(5) Idangzi Mozinge padang temeshi imti anir lungki kolak nung mendaktsūr, (6) padang ashir, nae Tsungrem chir sūra, nae sasa tsūkang; kechiaser azi oda zilua lir, na asoshi Tsungreme pei

sentences in making a primer for children learning to read. Yet the mono-syllabic base of the language is quite apparent." This is just the view to which my own study of the language has brought me.

¹ In making this extract I have not thought it important to change the connecting-vowel *ü* to *e*, as suggested on a former page.

teyartüm melatsü, aser na tetsung lung nung memetsätsü, parenok netang tekabo age azongzüktsü. (7) Yisue padang ashi, nü Bu anung Tsungrem mulung tatitang ma; ano ya mae zilua lir.

(8) Tana, Mozinge padang tenemti anir, alima nung im azak aser parenok nukshidaktsütsü azak sayua padang ashir, (9) nae aputaka ni külümüra bangila, ya azak ni ne nung agütsüdi. (10) Angzi Yisue padang ashir, teli tsükchir Mozing, kechiaser ya zilua lir, na pei Tebu anung Tsungrem külümang aser pa sa tenzükang. (11) Idangzi Mozinge padang toksür ao aser reprangang, kotak teyartüme arua yari.

VOCABULARY.

adok, imperf. indic. of *dok* 'appear,' 'become.'

adokba, verbal adj. from the same verb, sig. 'which appeareth, proceedeth.'

age, postpo. 'with,' 'by.'

agütsüdi, fut. indic. of *agütsü* (root *gū* or *kū*) 'give'; *di*, suf. of near future, 'will at once give'; apodosis of cond. clause.

ali, impf. indic. of *li* 'be'; used here as auxiliary verb.

alima, 'world.'

am, 'bread.'

anasae, 'near to'; derived from *ana* 'two,' hence lit. 'second to.'

angzi, (*a-dang-zi?*) 'then.'

anir, pres. indic. or pres. ptc. of *ani* 'lead.'

ano, 'again'; derived from *ana* 'two.'

anung, 'sky,' 'heaven.'

ao, impf. indic. of *o* 'go.'

aputaka, pf. ptc. of *aputak* 'prostrate,' 'kneel.'

areme, 'desert'; with suf. *e*, denoting end of motion.

arua, pf. ptc. of *aru* 'come.'

aser, 'and.'

aski, impf. indic. of *ashi* 'say'; *ashir*, pres. indic. of same verb.

asoshi, postpo. 'for sake of,' 'in order to.'

atilangtsü, from *atilang* 'tempt'; used as a verbal noun, governed by *asoshi*, but takes a subject and object; lit. 'for the sake of Satan tempting Jesus.'

aunung, 'night'; here plural.

azak, 'all,' 'every.'

azangla, 'then'; used sometimes, as here, with apodosis of cond. cl.

ati ade, 'done.'

asayzisü, in idea of *asayz* 'support'; composed of *asay* or *asay* 'raise' and *zisü* which gives the idea of complete or successive action, 'hold securely.'

baag, 'trust.'

baag is particle sometimes used in protasis of cond. clauses.

bu, 'father,' 'Lord.'

chir, 'child'; here 'son.'

ihagzisü, 'then': composed of pro. *ihag* 'this' + *zisü* 'give' + adverbial suf. *e*; it 'giving this.'

idangzü (*i-dang-zü*), 'then.'

im, 'town,' 'kingdoms' in v. 8; *si* is *imti* and *teneuti* explained 'great town,' 'city mountain.'

keckiaser, 'for.'

kolak, 'head,' 'pinnacle.'

kotak, 'heaven.'

kelémang, imperative of *ksilim* 'worship.'

kilémira, cond. mode of same verb; *ra*, mode-sign.

kumdakzang, imperative of *kim* 'become' with causative suf. *daktsü*, which contracts to *dakz* before ending.

langzüa, pf. ptc. of *langzü* 'answer': used here like pres. ptc.

li, pres. indic. of *li* 'be,' 'abide.'

lir, 'forty.'

lumisela, pf. ptc. of *lumiset* 'fast'; *set* gives idea of complete abstinence; with *ali* equivalent to plur. tense; both governed by *nung* in sense of 'when,' 'after.'

lung, 'stone'; plural in v. 3.

lungki, 'stone-house,' here 'temple.'

ma, a particle used to soften force of imperative.

mae, from *ma* 'front,' 'face,' with adverbial suf. *e*; *ya mae* 'in this manner,' 'thus.'

malitsü, fut. indic. of *li* or *ali* with negative prefix; 'shall not live.'

melatsü, fut. indic. of *mela* 'command.'

memetsütsü, 'in order not to dash'; the usual construction to express purpose; composed of neg. prefix *me* + verb *metsh* + "final" suffix *tsü*.

mendaktsür, pres. indic. or ptc. of *men* 'sit,' with causative suffix.

Mozinge, 'Satan,' with nominative suffix *e*.

mulung, 'mind,' 'heart.'

na, pronoun, 2d person; so *nae* with nom. suffix.

ne, oblique form of same pro.; so *netang* with postpo. *tang* for *dang*.

ni, pronoun, 1st person; both subject and object in v. 9.

nisunge, 'men,' 'mankind,' with nom. suffix.

nü, 'day'; from *anü* 'sun'; here plural.

nu, pro. of 2d person, in possessive relation.

nukshidaktsütsü, 'glory.'

nung, postpo. 'on,' 'against,' 'in,' 'to' in verses 5, 6, 8 and 9, respectively; 'after' or 'when' in v. 2.

nunge, postpo. 'from.'

o, 'word.'

pa, pronoun, 3d person, as object; so *padang*; *pae* nom.; *parenok*, plural of same, suf. *nok* for *lok* 'flock.'

pei, reflexive pronoun for all persons.

reprangang, imper. mode of *reprang* 'behold.'

sa emphasizes preceding word, here equivalent to 'only'; *sasa*, the same doubled, here equals 'self.'

saiyua, pf. ptc. of *saiyu* 'show.'

süra, cond. mode of *sü* 'be.'

tana, 'again'; derived from *ana* 'two,' with prefix *te* (*t*).

Tanelae, 'Spirit,' with nom. suffix.

tatitang, prohibitive imper. from *atitang*.

tatitangbae, 'tempter,' from *atitang* with prefix *te* (*t*) and suf. *ba*.

Tebu, same as *Bu*, with prefix *te*.

tekabo, 'hand'; here plural; suf. *bo* usually rendered 'as to'; here of doubtful force.

telí, prohibitive imper. of *li* 'be,' 'stay'; here 'stay not,' 'away!'

temeshi, 'holy.'

tenemti, 'mountain'; for suf. *ti*, see *imti*.

tenzükang, imper. of *tenzük* 'serve.'

tesa, 'alone'; emphatic *sa* with prefix *te*.

tetsung, 'foot.'

teyartüm, 'angels,' with plur. suffix.

toksür, pres. ptc. of *toksü* 'leave.'

tsükang, 'fall,' 'cast'; imper. of *tsük*.

tsükchir, 'enemy.'

Tsungrem, 'God.'

ya, 'this,' 'these.'

ya, 'hungry.'

yari, impf. of *yari* 'minister,' without prefix *a*.

Yisra, 'Jesus,' with nom. suffix.

zilaz, pf. ptc. of *zila* 'write'; with *bi* as auxiliary, 'is written.'

zakaria, 'but.'

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NOTES.

A PASSAGE IN THE ANGLO-SAXON POEM "THE RUIN," CRITICALLY DISCUSSED.

The little fragment of "The Ruin" (Exeter Book, 123^b-124^b) is one of the most charming specimens of Old English poetry, and has been praised by every critic. The remnant that is left makes us regret beyond measure that the greater part has been lost, and that even in the extant portion some passages are wholly corrupt through missing words. It is the purpose of this paper to discuss what is possibly the most difficult passage in the poem. The MS reading, as given by Prof. Walker (Bibliothek d. Ags. Poesie, Bd. I, p. 297), is as follows :

I. 22. for þon þas hofu dreorgiað and þæs teafor
geapa tigelum sceadeð hrost beages rof, etc.

The first clause is clear enough : Forþon þas hofu drēorgiað : "therefore these courts are desolate." *Dreorgiað* is a *ðnað λεύμενον*, but is evidently formed from the adj. *drēorig* (cf. *hāt > hātian*, *hālig > hālgian*), and means *to be sad, desolate, deserted*. Grein (Bibliothek I, p. 248, 1857) and Leo (*Carmen Anglosaxonicum, . . . quod inscribitur Ruinae*, Halle'sche Universitätsschrift, 1865) read *dreorgað* without either authority or reason. Conybeare (Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, p. 249) reads *hofa*. After *dreorgiað* he places a semicolon, and gives the next sentence as follows :

and ðæs teafor geapu,
tigelum sceadeð,
hrost beagas-rof
hryre wong gecrong,
gebrocen to beorgum.

The translation given is: et haec purpurea (regalis Domus) prona, tegulis divulsis, cubiculum annuliferi herois ruina in campum prolapsa est, inter urbis fragmenta. It would be sheer waste of space to examine this translation critically ; a first glance shows that Conybeare merely attempted to give the general sense of the passage. Thorpe (Codex Exoniensis, 1842, p. 477) ends the sen-

tence, as I have done above, with *rof*, and translates : "Therefore these courts are dreary and its purple arch with its tiles shades the roost, proud of its diadem." *Geapu* here then means *arch*, and *pæs* is gen. sing. referring to a plural antecedent (*sic!*). *Sceadeð* he derives from *sceadu*, shade (cf. *besceadeð*, Sol. and Sat. v. 339). By *purple* Thorpe understands *regal*, but what means "roost, proud of its diadem"? This is as dark as the Anglo-Saxon text itself.

Grein (Bibliothek) has *pæs teafor—gedpu*, and would probably translate, "and the red (colored) gates." *Tœfor* is a kind of coloring matter, *minium*, and answers to Old Norse *taufr*, O. H. G. *zoubar*, etc. (cf. *tiver*, where the *i* is, as I take it, a provincial shortening out of *ēē* (A.-S. *ea*). The history of these words has not yet been satisfactorily cleared up (*vid.* Schade, Altdeutsches Wörterbuch, and Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie), yet the meaning of the Anglo-Saxon word can hardly be disputed. In this case it seems to be used for the sake of alliteration. *Gedpu* Grein evidently considers as nom. pl., and identifies the word with O. N. *gap*. There is, however, no sufficient reason for changing the MS reading; *geapa* may be a weak nom. sing., and *pæs* (instead of *pes*) occurs also in verses 1 and 9. The only other instance I have seen of this form is in Crist and Satan, v. 100, where, however, a second hand has changed it into *pes* (*vid.* Sievers' Collation, Haupt's Zeitschrift, XV 456). Toller-Bosworth reads *gedpu*, *expansæ*; there seems to me, however, to be no doubt of the shortness of the first syllable in *geapa*, as also in *geapian*, and I know no reason why the adj. *geap* should not be included. The modern Eng. *gap* and *gape*; O. N. *gap*, *gapa*; M. H. G. *gaffen*; Low German *gappen*, all speak for *d*. Leo translates : "und darum diese rothen Lücken." What he means by these "rothe Lücken" is not perfectly clear, yet it seems to be an allusion to breaches in the walls. In the second volume of his Sprachschatz, Grein turns from his former interpretation, rejects the idea that *tœfor* in this passage is the usual word meaning *minium*, compares it rather with O. N. *toft* = "ein Hügelchen, ein für einen Bau bestimmter Platz," and gives as its meaning : "Baustätte mit den äusseren Wänden des Hauses."¹ However pleasant such an interpretation would be, it cannot be allowed. *Tœfor* and *toft*

¹ Grein thus makes two distinct words; *teafor* = *minium* (no etymology given), and *tedfor* = building lot, corresponding at the same time to O. N. *toft* and *taufr* = O. H. G. *zoubar*, etc.

cannot be identified; Anglo-Saxon *ea* calls for O. N., as for Gothic, *au*, and *tlafor* must be the same word as O. N. *taufr*, O. H. G. *zoubar*, etc. (cf. *rēad*, Got. *rauds*, O. N. *ravðr*; *bēag*, O. N. *baugr*).

In verse 31^b Grein (Bibliothek) reads:

tigelum sceardeð (?)
hrōst beágæs rof.

How he would translate this I am not perfectly sure, as he has not considered this reading at all in his *Sprachschatz*. In *sceardeð* he doubtless thought of a connection with *scearde* (v. 5). Afterwards (*Germania X*, p. 422) he returns to the MS reading *sceadeð*, makes *hrōst-bedges* a compound, and, instead of *rof*, reads *hrōf*. This last is no very violent alteration, since initial *h*, especially in union with *r*, *l*, and *w*, often falls away (cf. Sievers, §217, note). *Sceadeð* is here no derivative from *sceadu*, but is to be written *sceadeð*, and is the same as Gothic *skaidan*, O. H. G. *sceidan*, etc. *Hrōst* seems to be the old form of present *roost*, and is probably related to *hrōf*. In *Heliand* (70²³) the word occurs in the signification *roof*, which agrees with its dialectic use in Scotland (cf. Toller-Bosworth s. v.). What means, though, *hrōst-bedges*? *Bēag* signifies ring, bracelet, crown, etc. From this last meaning Grein makes the transition to *summit*, *gable*, and translates *hrōst-bedg* with *corona canteriorum*, i. e. "Karniess des Dachsparrens" or "Dachsparrenwerk." Such a transition seems to me both violent and unwarranted. Here again the MS reading, *hrōst beágæs rof*, seems to me better than any change. *Hrōst* I take to mean *roof*, yet here used synecdochically for *house*, *palace*, just as Lat. *lectum*. Similar cases may be seen in *ecg*—sword, *rand* and *bordhrēða*—shield, *sceaf*—spear, etc.

Bēages rōf I translate, then, *renowned for its treasures*, that is, for that dispensing of rings, bracelets, etc., to the followers of the princes. Compare the frequent allusion to this custom in *Bēowulf*, as seen in the words *bēag*, *bēag-gyfa*, *bēah-hord*, *bēah-sele*, etc. *Rōf* means *strong*, *valiant*, but also *renowned*. So Zupitza translates it, El. 50, and Grein, And. 473. The etymology is not perfectly clear. The word occurs in no other Teutonic dialect save Old Saxon, and there seems plainly to mean *renowned* (cf. Schade, *Altdeutsches Wörterbuch* s. v., and Diefenbach, *Vergl. Wörterbuch* s. *hropjan*). For this meaning in A.-S. compare further the compounds *sigerōf* and *dædrōf*. The use of the limiting gen. with *rōf*, as with other similar adjectives, needs no remark.

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tence, as I have done above, with *ros*, and translates: "These courts are dreary and its purple arch with its tiles shroost, proud of its diadem." *Geapu* here then means *þes* is gen. sing. referring to a plural antecedent (*sic!*). He derives from *sceadu*, shade (cf. *bescadeð*, Sol. and S). By *purple* Thorpe understands *regal*, but what is "proud of its diadem"? This is as dark as the Anglo-Saxon itself.

Grein (Bibliothek) has *þas teafor—geipu*, and translates, "and the red (colored) gates." *teafor* is the kind of coloring matter, *minium*, and answers to O. H. G. *zowbar*, etc. (cf. *tiver*, where the *i* is a provincial shortening out of *ēē* < A.-S. *ea*). The word has not yet been satisfactorily cleared up by the *Aldeutsches Wörterbuch*, and Grimm, Die altgermanischen Sprachen, yet the meaning of the Anglo-Saxon word can hardly be known. In this case it seems to be used for the sake of variety. Grein evidently considers as nom. pl., and not as gen. pl., as O. N. *gap*. There is, however, no sufficient reason for this. The MS reading: *geapa* may be a weak reading of *þes*, which occurs also in verses 1 and 9. The *þ* is omitted, as we have seen of this form in *Crist* and *Waldm.* (However, a second hand has changed it into *þ* in the *Haupt's Zeitschrift*, XV 456). To my knowledge there seems to me, however, no reason why the adj. *geaf* is not to be compared with the modern Eng. *gap* and *gape*; O. N. *gap* and *gapn*, Low German *gapen*, all speak of "breaches in the walls." V. "darum diese rothen Lücken." V. "darum diese rothen Lücken" is not perfectly clear, yet it is evident that it refers to breaches in the walls. In the second part of the sentence Grein turns from his former interpretation, and in this passage is the usual one. *tofl* = "an bestimpter Platz," and gives the *ausseren Wänden des Hauses*. What his interpretation would be, it cannot be known.

¹ Grein thus makes two distinct uses of *teafor*: *teafor* = building lot, *teafor* = gate. Cf. *zowbar*, etc. O. H. G. *zowbar*, etc.

ON HERODOTUS VII 162.

The words οὗτος δὲ ὁ νόος τοῦ βάματος τὸ ἔθελει λέγειν· δῆλα γὰρ ὡς ἐν τῷ ἐπιστρῷ ἐστὶ τὸ ἵαρ δοκιμάτατον, τῆς δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήρων στρατῆς τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν στρατῆς, which are found in all the MSS, have given editors of Herodotus much trouble. Some have rejected them all, holding them to have been a marginal note of a reader to the figure used by Gelon; others have regarded only τὸ ἔθελει λέγειν as an interpolation. But by striking out this clause we do not get rid of the whole difficulty; for it is by no means evident that εἰ τῷ ἐπιστρῷ ἐστὶ τὸ ἵαρ δοκιμάτατον, and even less so is it that Gelon's troops were the δοκιμώτατη στρατεύη of the Greek army. It is manifest, however, that that is just what Gelon meant. I think that this sense can be clearly brought out, and all trouble removed, if we agree to read the passage thus: οὗτος δὲ ὁ νόος τοῦ βάματος· δῆλα γὰρ ὅτι ἔθελει λέγειν ὡς κ. τ. λ. But how did the false reading get into all the MSS? This question I will endeavor to answer.

Stein, in the preface to his critical edition, p. 21, says that he believes all our MSS are to be traced to a common archetype and parent, which he calls α . Now, I suppose that in the MS of which α was a copy τ_0 (= $\sigma\pi$) ἔθελει λέγειν, omitted from the text by oversight, was added above the line; and that the copyist restored it to the text in α , but, reading τ_0 for τ_0 , placed it wrongly after βάματος. It will be conceded, I think, that the following ὡς easily led to the omission of ὅτι ἔθελει λέγειν, since the construction of δῆλα was not thereby interfered with, and more easily to the error made in putting it before δῆλα.

GEO. S. THOMAS.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

The Iliad, edited, with English Notes and Introduction, by WALTER LEAF,
M. A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Vol. I, Books I-XII,
XXVIII, 422. Macmillan & Co., 1886.

The rapidity with which editions of Homer are given to the world is, perhaps, no longer so adequate a criterion of the vigor of philological life as it was, for example, between 1525 and 1606, when no less than sixteen complete editions in Germany attest the zeal of the Humanists. The significance of this *magnus prouentus* is obvious when we contrast such a season of fruitfulness with that sterile age between 1606 and 1759 (the date of Ernesti's text), which gave birth to but a single edition. The last decennium has been more fruitful than perhaps any other in the history of Homeric investigation; and if we take into consideration the boldness of its criticism, aiming not merely at the reconstruction of a text antedating the supposed recension of Pisistratus, but even at the establishment of an Aiolic Homer, and the more cautious attempts at distinguishing the Aristarchean from the vulgate text, we must award to it the palm of superiority over many of its fellows. An eminent English scholar has even asserted that the ultimate influence of a recent edition will be comparable to the influence exercised by the *Prolegomena* of Wolf.

Some recent German editions, notably that of Fäsi, under the hands of the late Dr. Hinrichs, have gradually become the representatives of more special lines of criticism; and while English and American scholars have been waiting for the authoritative utterances of the best English criticism in an *editio critica* from the Provost of Oriel, Mr. Leaf has drawn his νῆα μέλαιναν (the *atramentum* of Lobeck) εἰς ἄλλα διαν, and produced an edition which professes allegiance to no single one of the many methods designed to initiate the neophyte into the mysteries attendant upon the critical study of the epopee. Though Mr. Leaf is not of the persuasion that the soul of Homer, after years of Pythagorean metempsychosis, transmigrated into the body of Aristarchus only to be subjected to a renewed birth in Lehrs, he is, nevertheless, an adherent of that form of Königsbergerism of which Ludwich is the πρόμαχος, honoring the memory of the "mighty master" by maintaining a vigorous warfare against that school of criticism which refuses to return from its *schwindelnden Höhen auf den festen Boden der Wirklichkeit*—a reality to be found in the utterances of tradition alone.

The probability of the critic's attaining his ultimate goal in the restoration of the primitive form of the Iliad appears to Mr. Leaf so far distant, that notwithstanding traces are manifest of an inclination to suffer the ingression of antique forms, he establishes the earliest tradition as the canon of criticism by which he estimates the value of every reading. This method, a commonplace among conservative critics, is tinged with an admixture of radicalism in the case of our editor, who is not content with an attempt at reproducing the text of Aristarchus, but aims at producing an Iliad approximately identical

with that from which Thucydides, Herodotus, or even Pindar drew their inspiration. He assures us that we are so fortunate as to be able to carry tradition back from our present vulgate to the text of Antimachus of Colophon, whose "floruit" lies in the middle or perhaps end of the fifth century. The text of the author of the *Thebais* he claims to be identical with the *vulgata* emended by Aristarchus, and holds that we may with safety draw the conclusion that the Antimachean text, differing from the vulgate to no greater degree than an indifferent MS differs from a good one, was approximately the same as that which was authoritative in the age of Pericles. While we would fain believe that the strength of the chain of evidence that makes for this conclusion has not been underestimated by us, we must take issue with our editor as regards the approximate certainty with which this pre-Euclidean text can be reproduced. The ultimate significance of Mr. Leaf's assertion that tradition, in preserving the name of Antimachus, has ensured our possessing a text upon which we may rely as the *vulgata* of the fifth century, may excuse a very brief discussion of a few arguments that serve to show that the practical possibility of establishing such a canon as the best tradition of the fifth century is far less than Mr. Leaf seems to imagine. These arguments, fortified by the results of some of the latest researches on the subject, deal with relations of Aristarchus to his sources, a problem bristling with difficulties, which in turn are enhanced by our ignorance of the exact position occupied by Didymus in regard to his sources. Recent research, in increasing our scepticism of the possibility of ever unveiling the mystery in which the pre-Aristarchean MSS are involved, has confirmed much that had been conjectured in a former period of Homeric investigation.

If Aristarchus actually made use of *ἡ κατὰ Ἀριμάχον*, as is generally supposed, it can never be proved that he possessed the original MS. *Gracia mendax*, in supplying the ever-growing zeal of the Alexandrians for a complete collection of codices, may have passed off on the unsuspecting Samothracian MSS of an unblushing lack of authenticity. This is, however, an uncontrollable factor for us moderns. It is at least doubtful whether Aristarchus had any knowledge of so important a codex as the *ἡ ἐκ νάρθηκος* of Aristotle and of the *ἐκδόσις* of Euripides, which was in all probability pre-Euclidean. Of the date and character of the *Μασσαλιωτική*, of which it is probable that but one text existed, and of the *Xia*, of the *Ἀργολική*¹ (perhaps the work of *philologunculi*) we know practically nothing, though it is possible that they were included in Aristarchus' *apparatus criticus*. Ludwich's statement that Aristarchus himself was unable to date these MSS has not been supported by its author. The Königsberg scholar has, however, done no mean service in attempting to raise a bulwark of negative facts against that *gaukelndes Spiel ausschweifendster Phantasie* which seeks *de suo* to determine the original source of the older editions in the possession of Aristarchus. Equally vain as in the

¹ Römer (Die Homerrecension des Zenodot, 1885) well says that these MSS appear consecrated by the centuries to the innocent layman on first hearing their names. *Wie würde unsre heutige Philologie diese heiligen Urzeugen . . . ausgenützt haben?* (p. 24). The course of Homeric research has proved that the antiquity of these MSS is very doubtful; and with this doubt disappears our veneration for their authority. Aristarchus was no believer in these mysterious MSS, adopting but five or six out of the twenty-nine readings cited from the *Massiliensis* and none from the *Xia*. Some of the MSS Römer thinks may not be antecedent to Zenodotus.

case of the *Μασσαλιωτική* are the efforts to date any of the κατὰ πόλεις editions. Duntzer imagined himself able to pierce the obscurity surrounding the earlier editions, and was led to the conclusion: *von den Abschriften des wohl im Perserkriege untergegangen Staatsexemplars waren die alexandrinischen Kritiker mittel- oder unmittelbar abhängig.* It would be difficult to find in the entire range of Homeric research an assertion less supported by facts than this. As well operate with the "edition of Pisistratus" as draw conclusions from so reckless a statement.

Vital to the correctness of Mr. Leaf's theory of the continuity of tradition is the assumption that the κοινὴ ἐκδόσεις represent a pre-Aristarchean vulgate, one text differing inconsiderably in its details from another, but bearing at least no trace of those vast textual revolutions undergone by the epos in the distant past. The κοινὴ are constantly contrasted by the scholia with the text of Aristarchus. But I have been able to discover no cogent argument in Ludwig's volume that demonstrates indisputably that they were older than *ai Ἀριστάρχου*. While even the actual significance of the term *κοινὴ* is a battle-ground of critics (Nitzsch, Kayser and others held views diametrically opposed to those of the Königsberg scholar), it cannot but seem to some uncritical to push to the extreme the evidence in favor of a pre-Aristarchean vulgate, especially when we claim to find its earliest representative in a text about which our knowledge is elusive, though Mr. Leaf holds it to be essentially identical with the Attic recension of the fifth century. Though personally we incline to the opinion that there existed both pre-Aristarchean and post-Aristarchean *κοινὴ*, yet no desire to elevate a mere probability into a possible reality can make us fail to see that there is but little warranty for regarding *ī Ἀντιμάχου* as its earliest traceable form. *ī Ἀντιμάχου* is referred to in the scholia A 298, 424, 598, E 461, N 60, Ψ 870, α 85 and its *quisquiliae* rejected by Aristarchus in the three latter instances. Is the logic of the philologian reduced to such a pass that it must confess itself so thoroughgoing an adherent of the *argumentum ex silentio* as to believe that the Antimachean edition varied from the *κοινὴ* in but such a trifling number of instances?¹—even though Aristarchus is said to have adduced *variae lectiones* only when his critical sagacity impugned their value so far as to refuse them admission into his text. If we bind ourselves to this species of argumentation we may reproduce the text of the vulgate of the fifth century, but we reproduce it unconsciously. The citation of four passages of agreement between the edition of Antimachus and the *κοινὴ* no more affords an opportunity for critical combinations than the agreement of *ī Σωκράτη* with *ī Ἀντιμάχειος* on A 298, 424, E 461, or with *ī Ἀριστάρχειος* A 298, 424, 435, or its difference from the last named, B 258, permits us to form a conclusion as to the character of the entire text, even though we heap together all our little knowledge of the principles of Homeric criticism in the Ptolemaic age.² Will any one assert that we should be justified

¹ "Τρίας" ἐπ τῇ . . . Ἀντιμάχου. ἡ μέντοι κοινὴ . . . "Τρῶας."

² It is unfortunate that there is no citation from Theagenes of Rhegium in the scholia, otherwise Mr. Leaf might have carried his tradition back to the sixth century.

³ Cf. Römer (p. 12): *Wenn auch Aristarch über den wirklichen und vorliegenden Zustand vollständig im Klaren, so war er über die Gründe, die seine Vorgänger zu Änderungen, Athetesen, Interpolationen bestimmten fast vollständig im Dunkeln und musste dieselben meistenteils durch Combinationen zu eruiren suchen und hat da auch manchmal fehlgegriffen.* Cf. also Mr. Leaf ad E 249, 791, and Römer, p. 9.

in forming conclusions as to the value and position of the (uncollated) Venetus B, No. 453, if we possessed but seven citations from it? Possibilities without number present themselves to the critic desirous of founding a Periclean text, but it is safer to confess the limitations of our acquaintance with pre-Aristarchean tradition than to enshrine the edition of Choerilus' contemporary (whose birthplace, Clarus, does not presage much for his authoritativeness in reproducing an Attic vulgate) in the exalted position of being the earliest known form of the *κοινή*.

And again: though the fantastic conception of Aristarchus that Homer was an Athenian¹ may invalidate much of his authority as a conservative adherent of ancient tradition, it cannot be denied that thereby there is a greater probability that his text approaches the Attic text more closely than any of the *κατὰ πόλεις* editions, if we believe with Ritschl that the latter were *die Urschriften lokaler Textrecensionen*, an assumption that can neither be proved nor gainsaid. The critical labors of Aristarchus are assumed to have interrupted the current of *κοινή* tradition, as, to draw a parallel from another department of Greek life, the philosophical theories of Plato and Aristotle were but brilliant interruptions to the advance of those doctrines of the pre-Socratic philosophers which again came to the front in the speculation of the Epicurean and Stoic schools. But the critical activity of the successor of Aristophanes was not confined to the *conjecturalis emendatio*. It attempted, as Zenodotus, the godfather of the *Ουρησίοι*, had in vain attempted before him, to stem the current against a corrupt vulgate upon the basis of a critical apparatus which must have increased in authority after the period of Zenodotus. His MSS must have varied very considerably from the vulgate text, but of them we know practically nothing. If ή Ἀντιμάχειος had been equipollent to the Attic vulgate of the fifth century, and Aristarchus had possessed a good copy, we should expect to find at least a sporadic reference in the scholia to the value of such a venerable authority. But there is everywhere darkness visible on this point. Of all the grounds that seem worth the sober attention of the critic, I can see none that identifies the Antimachean edition with that of the vulgate; nor do I recollect to have seen any assertion by Ludwich, on whose researches Mr. Leaf bases his conclusions, that such was the case. When we have obtained the all-important information whence came the MSS in Aristarchus' apparatus, what was their date, etc., then we can cease dealing with *x*, *y* and *z*. Mr. Leaf (cf. p. xiv) intimates correctly enough that Aristarchus did not always know what the best tradition was, and that he occasionally rejected it, when known, from preconceived notions.² Hence, when Aristarchus departs from the best tradition of the fifth century Mr. Leaf must reject his readings. But his representative of this best tradition is a vulgate which keeps itself invisible in its tents only to appear victoriously on four occasions. If a successful restoration of the Aristarchean text is dependent upon no inconsiderable number of preliminary investigations in reference to the methods of Didymus, which even Ludwich has not solved without peradventure, how great must be the difficulties in the

¹ Hence the form *οὖν*, a form found in the Attic dialect alone.

² Mr. Leaf frequently rejects the Aristarchean readings, e. g. Γ 368 MSS *οὐδὲ ἰβαλόν μιν*, Α. *οὐδὲ δάμασσα*, on the ground that *βάλω* was used only of a blow of a missile; Γ 352 MSS *δάμασσον*, Α. *δαμῆναι*; Θ 526 Arist. *εὐχομαι ἐλπόμενος*, where Zenod. *ἐλπ. εὐχ-* is preferable, despite Römer's objections; I 509 MSS *εὐφομένοιο*, Α. *εὐχομένοιο*—the present part. means "boasting"; cf. also I 564, 602 *et pass.*

reproduction of a text antedating that of Aristarchus by almost three centuries! The highest aim of scholars of the traditional school is, then, to restore the text of Aristarchus, since it is impossible from the knowledge of pre-Aristarchean sources at our command to define the exact form of any text antecedent to that of the great Alexandrian.

In further confirmation of our inability to restore the Homer of Thucydides or even of Pindar, or (here another *motif* comes to light) "perhaps even a critically better text than any which in their uncritical time had been composed from the existing but scattered materials" (is Mr. Leaf a Paleyite?), may be cited the well-known argument drawn from the variations in the geographers and philosophers. The reasons for those of the geographers are self-evident; but when Mr. Leaf makes the sweeping statement that the variations in the classical authors are "seldom of importance," we think he has underestimated their value. In themselves these variants may not be of great significance, but the existence of no less than about forty variants in Plato and Aristotle each cannot be accounted for by the difference between the requirements of the ancient and the modern world in regard to the verbal accuracy of quotation. These variants show that there must have been other texts in existence besides an assumed *vulgata*; a conclusion that is not impugned by the fact that Didymus fails to make use of this material. Thucydides' citation of the Hymns is remarkable, and passages disappeared from the *vulgata* even before the second century B. C. (e. g. I 448-461).

The interesting question whether or no the Alexandrian savants possessed pre-Euclidean MSS, a most important factor in the problem of the restoration of a text of the fifth century, is unfortunately not referred to by our editor. If it is true¹ that the earliest notice which appears to preserve a trace of the existence of MSS in the ἀρχαία συνήθεια (Aristonicus *ad* Δ 104: Ζηνόδοτος γράφει “ὸν ποτ’ Ἀχιλλεῖς.” μῆποτε δὲ πεπλάνηται, γεγραμμένον τοῦ ὃ ἐν’ ἀρχαῖς σημασίας ἄντι τοῦ αὐτοῦ, προσθείς τὸ νῦν) is a mere conjecture, and that all other references (e. g. H 238, a 52, 254; cf. Σ 241) rest upon a foundation even more insecure, we can reject as undemonstrable the assertion of Cobet (Misc. Crit. 289) that Zenodotus transcribed εἰς τὰ Ἰωνικὰ γράμματα MSS written γράμμασιν Ἀττικις. As the question needs a renewed ventilation I give a collection of passages involving the letters E and O, which serves to show that Aristarchus, and *a fortiori* Didymus, did not possess any MSS in the παλαιά γραμματική.²

I. H, not E.

1. Α 298 μαχθομαὶ εἰνεκα κούρης: οὐτως διὰ τοῦ η, οὐ διὰ τοῦ ει, καὶ η Μασσαλιωτικὴ καὶ η Ἀργολικὴ καὶ η Σινωπικὴ καὶ η Ἀντιμάχον. In the MSS stood ΜΑΧΗΣΟΜΑΙ, not ΜΑΧΕΣ(Σ)ΟΜΑΙ. Cf. Schol. *ad* B 377.

2. Α 381 ἡν: HEN in η Κυπρίᾳ and in η Κρητική, which perhaps never came under the cognizance of Aristarchus, as it is mentioned by Seleucus alone on this passage.

3. Γ το ητε δρεν, in the Χία and Μασσ., and in "certain others," is held by Mr. Leaf to be an error for ητιν' δρεν. All the other MSS with the exception of G have ετρε, with which our editor well compares the uses of "as." The schol. have διὰ τοῦ ει αἱ Ἀριστάρχου τὸ ετρε. The Χία had ΗΤΕ, not ΕΤΤΕ.

¹ See Ludwich's *Aristarch's Homerische Textkritik*, p. 22.

² See Giese's *Der aeolische Dialekt*, 1837, §14.

V. VI, NO. VI.

- Α γέρων διώχθεις; πότις τοιούτης "πίνυκχει" Ἀρισταρχος, Ἰππανος· και ἐν τῇ Ἀργολικῇ καὶ Μ. αὖτις Ἀντιμάχειρα κτλ.

VI. *it*, not *O.*

1. Τι έτα τη θρόνου ἡλίου: ή εἶναι “ἐκ θρόνου ὄπρο.” σύντομος καὶ η Μ.
 2. Ή τοι πρεσβύτεροι: ή Μ. “ὑπέρθρωνσιν.” σύντομος καὶ η Χία.
 3. Ή γά δικιάσθη: αἱ πλειόνες καὶ χαρίσταται “βούλή.” Cf. also B 347

¹(*i.e.*, § 214 Κλεόπατρας ή την τις Μούσας την "Καιστρή" φέρει γεγράφθεις may record the existence of a *new*, *lost*, (*Ακτυρ?* or *Κάρυπ?*) and need not have been caused by ΑΧΤΥΡ. The interchange in the MSS of *o* and *ω* (*e.g.*, 20 times in A, 27 times in B) cannot be held as an argument for the influence of a pre-Euclidean alphabet.

Lastly, it should be mentioned that there was no sign for the *spiritus asper* in these MSS, H representing η. Both ' and the accents were introduced by the Alexandrians. The κοινά MSS too show no trace of confusion between ει, η, ε and ου, ω, οι.

All these readings containing ει, ου, ω, η, cited from the MSS, came down to Didymus through the medium of copies. While, therefore, the proof of our position is perhaps in some instances difficult, there is no inconsiderable amount of testimony in the above citations which shows the Alexandrians not to have possessed pre-Euclidean MSS.

We have already seen that our knowledge of Antimachus' edition is too unsatisfactory to regard it as the forerunner of a long series of *vulgate* texts. The above collection of passages shows that there is an element of uncertainty in any attempt to restore a reading of the fifth century, since our supposed vulgate, even if emended by Aristarchus, was ultimately based upon MSS which may have contained false transcriptions of E and O sounds (cf. B 300 and schol.). We cannot, therefore, determine absolutely whether the Attic text of the fifth century had μαχθομαι or μαχθοσσομαι A 298. Heracleon wrote the latter. We are gratified to see that Mr. Leaf writes καταβήμεν K 97, βήν Z 113; why not then ἀκάχηρο M 179, when on the one hand we have ἀκάχημαι, and on the other the possibility that it is incorrectly transcribed with ει instead of η from ΑΚΕΧΕΑΤΟ? Why then not write αἰδέθαι A 23, since αἰδεῖσθαι cannot be original and was not the genuine reading of the fifth century? Christ's arguments are not sufficiently cogent to justify a Hellenic subj. in -ω: we read, therefore, δαμῆτε H 72, where all MSS have δαμείτε. Mr. Leaf has δαμείτε here, but δαμῆς Γ 436. We find that our editor reads τραπεζόμεν Γ 441 despite ταρτήμενα. He confesses his adherence to the old and questionable etymology of δειδέχαται from δείκνυμι, and does not even mention the plausible proposition of Leo Meyer to refer it to δάçati and write with η. I can see no reason for an intensive formation here. I regard the explanation of δειδίσκουμαι given on I 196 from δει-δικ-σκούμαι as incorrect. There are no genuine instances of a reduplicating syllable ει in the perfect. Ἀδελφέο, δο, ήγέρο (H 434) have been relegated to the notes because the "traditional reading is not, on the face of it, unmetrical, as in the case of 'Ιφίτον B 518, 'Ασκληπιόν B 731." We respect Mr. Leaf's scrupulous conscience, but wish that the mere fact that ἀδελφεύν is metrical had not deterred him from adopting Ahrens' conjecture, especially as ἀδελφές occurs thirteen times. The same veneration for the *littera scripta* has perpetuated the life of ειος, a *peccatum ab origine*, on the analogy of the "traditional" τειος, a form as unjustifiable as δηλεοθαι T 172. Granting an editor of the Iliad all the conservatism he demands in rejecting etymologies which savor of excessive boldness (though Mr. Leaf's identification (Z 321) of ἐποντα and ἀπτω through sa and sa + m (sm) will not strike a modern etymologist as being dictated by great caution), it is difficult to agree with his position, when, with the possibility of false transcription staring him in the face, he nevertheless prefers bad, nay impossible Greek to good Greek because the former has been anointed by theunction of "tradition." Not even "Old John Naps of Greece" ever beheld such forms as are constantly embalmed in our editions of Homer. But Mr. Leaf's adherence to tradition is, however, not unlikely to win the favor of all

except those whose bolder aim seeks to rid a long-suffering text from the ignorance of luckless wights of transcribers. In B 617 Mr. Leaf has even failed to follow "tradition." He should have read Ἀλίσον, the epichoristic name as attested by an Elean inscription and by Eustathius *ad loc.* and by Steph. Byz. *ad A* 757 (where Mr. L. and Rzach Ἀλεύσιος, La R. Ἀλεύσιος). If the dangers of incorrect transcription are not sufficient to deter an editor from his reproduction of non-Hellenic forms, the wavering orthography of the time of Aristarchus, not to speak of that of Didymus, might have been effective. A glance at Schaefer's Gregorius Corinthus or the second edition of Blass' *Aussprache des Griechischen* ought to remove the scruples even of the most scrupulous.

A difference from the ordinary text claimed by Mr. Leaf for his edition is his reproduction of the diaeresized form in Πηλείδης. He, however, writes Ἀργείος and everywhere εῖ in the middle of a word except in the patronymics. This is correct, as I have shown in my treatise (*Der Diphthong EI*) that there was a gradual demise of ει from εστι. The editors of the tragedians do not follow the same rule in the case of the patronymics. Πηλείδης is not necessary, but facilitates the flow of the dactylic rhythm. Cf. Agam. 123, Antig. 982, Med. 824 and Menrad *De contractionis et synizeses usu Hom.*, 1886, p. 64.

ἰτεπάτι Δ 297, νῆστι E 330, show that Mr. Leaf is of the opinion that the δύστραστι in the dat. loc. in the Hom. text held good to the Peloponnesian war. In the above-cited paper (p. 25 *seqq.*) I have shown that even in the melic and iambographic poets the majority of forms refuse to admit the open form in this case; and in Attic it is extremely rare, if occurring at all, from -ει stems. εἰρέτι πόντῳ Trach. 114, an -ει stem, is an epic reminiscence. How does Mr. Leaf propose to prove that in the Homer of Thucydides ει was read in the dative? Certainly his MS authority does not support his readings in any great number of instances (cf. La Roche's *Textkritik* for the signification of the two dots placed over the ε of ει in the MSS), and the balance of probability inclines us to the belief that the number of spondaic verses was greater in the fifth than in any preceding century.

The limits set to this review preclude the possibility of any discussion of the conclusions which our editor has reached in his examination of the structure and history of the Homeric poems. It may, however, be stated that he athetizes in the text but 63 lines in A-M. There remains then the pleasant duty of offering to him our congratulations upon the character of his editorial work, which he has performed so felicitously as to entitle him to the gratitude of all Homeric scholars. If in the preceding portion of this review we have had occasion to cast some doubts upon the degree of probability to be attained in restoring even approximately a pre-Euclidean text, and to demand the exercise of greater caution in dealing with the sources of information at our command, our dissent on that point must only serve to emphasize our cordial appreciation of his every page, from which we have drawn no little instruction. Mr. Leaf is too much a believer that *le moi est haïssable*, except where he refers to his work in the *Journ. Hellen. Studies*. Content to leave unspecified whatever improvements may have been the result of his own acumen, his edition testifies to a more extended acquaintance with recent German criticism than we are wont to find among English scholars; and the *naïveté* which

prompted the remark of an English editor of the Iliad—that he had read Wolf's *Prolegomena*—finds no place in a book which bears evidence of painstaking individual work and general sobriety of judgment.

The devotion of this edition to the guidance of tradition has prevented Mr. Leaf from yielding to the allurements of the *divina ars conjectandi*, which are, perhaps, more seductive in the case of Homer than in that of any other classic. If we may hazard a conjecture, our editor is more sympathetically inclined to the rigorous grammatical criticism of the Dutch than to the brilliant fertility of the St. Petersburg school, whose estimation of the lucubrations of Aristarchus as *inceptiae* severs it from English methods of Homeric criticism by a wide chasm. In citing the readings of Zenodotus we miss any attempt to explain the cause of the variants. Mr. Leaf has relegated to the notes all emendations of the text (except those mentioned on page 7). These consist of attempts to restore *F* (the two-edged sword of criticism) and, rarely, more exact grammatical construction (e. g. A 125, with Mr. Monro, ἀλλά θ & μέν). No effort is made at a complete restoration of the *F*, and obvious conjectures are frequently passed by, e. g. Γ 351 ὅ με πρότερος κάκ' ἔρεξ. When a conjecture like Nauck's ἀκλεῖς (M 318) appears to have some support in tradition (ἀκλεῖς δὲ Ἀρισταρχος κατὰ συγκοπήν), Mr. Leaf does not hesitate to adopt a form which comparative grammar proves to have been original. Such occurrences are, however, rare.

In comparison with editions such as those of Nauck, Fick, Christ, Rzach, which aim at purifying the text of linguistic *horrenda*, or even at reconstructing an original Homer, Mr. Leaf's text has a humbler aspiration. It represents no essential advance upon the text of the school-edition of Ameis-Hentze, and, measured by the radical tendencies in Homeric criticism which have undoubtedly gained ground since the appearance of Nauck's recension, marks a positive retrogression. Thus Mr. Leaf will not even remove the ν ἐφελκυστικν in ἡγεμονεσσα ἁκαστος because he has no MS "authority, which, however unconsciously, retains the tradition of a lost *F*," though, from love of the ictus-theory of Fick, he justifies (on E 293) the Göttingen professor's bolder procedure in expelling the parasitic letter. Nor will he attempt to restore -οισ, e. g. in Γ 331 ἀργυρέοιστν ἐπισφυρίοις ἄμαρνις, though we cannot be sure that -οισ was not the older termination or that -οισ was not felt as the ending by the Athenians of the fifth century, who preserved it till Ol. 86, 3 (though, perhaps, as a form savoring of legal phraseology, as in the latest example Ol. 83, 4 Ἀθηναιοι, CIA IV 25). Mr. Leaf can, however, comfort himself with the thought that he has manuscript testimony in his favor, despite the fact that the writer has himself materially reduced the number of cases of the occurrence of -οις in Homer below that to which they were emended by Nauck in the third volume of the Mél. gr.-rom.

But even if the edition before us offer no advance upon the traditional text, which has proved an eyesore to a generation of scholars trained to new conceptions of the dignity of Homeric research, it has its obvious justification. As well grant a Scotchman his premises and then dispute the correctness of his logic, as differ with an editor of Homer who does not adopt readings which, at the outset, were not in harmony with the plan of his text. Mr. Leaf has done sufficient service to the cause of Homeric scholarship if he alone confines his labors to the successful explanation of a vulgate text.

It will be impossible here to extend to Mr. Leaf's edition that richly merited courtesy of an expression of opinion in reference both to the many points of interpretation in which we have taken the liberty of differing from him, and to those felicitous explanations of crucial passages in which his volume abounds. A cursory examination of some few passages in Γ must suffice in place of a thoroughgoing treatment of all.

Γ 18. Mr. Leaf writes *aīrāp ó* against the authority of the critics of antiquity, and quotes Didymus to show that Homer frequently employs phrases like *ó de*, etc., without any change of subject. I cannot accept A 191 as an "appropriate instance." $\eta\ \bar{o}\ \gamma\ \varphi\alpha\gamma\alpha\nu\ \bar{o}\ \bar{e}\nu\ \bar{\epsilon}\varphi\omega\bar{\alpha}\mu\nu\ \pi\pi\bar{a}\ \mu\rho\bar{o}\ |\ \tau\bar{o}\bar{c}\ \mu\bar{e}\nu\ \bar{\iota}\bar{\omega}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\bar{e}\bar{\nu}$, *ó d' 'Aτρείδην ἐναρίοι* contains a well-defined contrast with *τοῖς μὲν*. Cf. also v 219. In our passage there is neither any such contrast nor is there any special emphasis laid upon the subject as in A 191.

Γ 22. *βιβάντα* is read by Mr. L.: "omni caret librorum auctoritate," La Roche. *βιβώντα* is therefore the correct reading here (so G. Curtius). *βιβάντα* passed over to *βιβάνω*.

Γ 23. The explanation of *πεινάων*, in which Mr. Leaf coincides with Nügelsbach, is well adapted to the character of Γ , which might be called the *Book of Revenge*.

Γ 26. Since both of the two etymologies quoted for *aīrōi* (*abhi-jáva*, *áva + i-*) contradict the laws of comparative philology, they should have been omitted.

Γ 54. The significant absence of the deictic article before *κίλαρς* might well have been noticed.

Γ 57. *λάινον εἰσον*: A case of neglected *F* according to Mr. L. But *λάινον* is permissible, as *ai* from *aF* is Homeric as well as *ai* (cf. *παις*, *πάις*). MS authority avails little here. Read either *λάινον εἰσον* or *λάινον εἰσον*, of which a trace may perhaps be seen in *εἰσον* in the MSS. It may be remarked in passing that, so far as I remember, I have found no reference in Mr. Leaf's book to the theory of Hartel (whose *Studien* are mentioned twice in the notes on A and once in those on E) in reference to the vocalization of *F*, which would clear up such *snica* as *ἐκτὶ ζῶά* A 438, *όν δορ*, *οι* E 338, the "only line in the Iliad in which there is no easy emendation which will restore *F* to *oi*"; cf. Z 90. Mr. Leaf does not mention the absence of *F* in 'Ηλις.

Γ 318. *λαὶ δ' ἡρήσαντο, θεοῖς δὲ χειρας ἀνέσχον*. Though the reason adduced in favor of Nicander's reading (*ἡρήσαντο θεοῖς idē χ. ἀ.*) may be "frivolous," there is an argument in its favor which has been overlooked by Mr. L. If a verb of prayer (*ἀράθω* or *εἰχεσθω*) is joined with *χειρας ἀνασχείν* the dative (the god) belongs with the verb of prayer, e. g. T 254. *χειρας ἀνασχείν* governs the dative only when there is no verb like *εἰχεσθω* in the sentence, e. g. Z 257. See Améis-Hentze.

Γ 334. Mr. L. might have noticed that *τερουνέσσαν* = *θυουνέσσαν* of Zenodotus' reading is un-Homeric. *θυων* is used of the aegis alone.

Γ 348. "H. always uses *χαλάρς* of weapons of offence, not of the shield," i. e. in case *χαλάρς* is used by itself.

Γ 367. I think Mr. Leaf will find it difficult to discover any trace of a **Fayy* which shall explain *ἴαγνη*. There is no evidence whatsoever for such a root in Greek or in any cognate language, so far as I remember. It is at least safer, if not entirely satisfactory, to explain *ἴαγνη* from **ηάγνη*; cf. *ἴάλων* from

*ηάλων, βασιλής from βασιλᾶ. Mr. Leaf himself seems to accept the explanation of ἡ from ἡ (cf. Δ 321), which is perhaps different from εἴγην. On E 487 Mr. Leaf holds that ταλων is a case of double augment.

As Lange and Monro (the latter to too great an extent) are made responsible for no inconsiderable portion of the notes on syntax, though it should be stated that Mr. Leaf aims to take truth for authority and not authority for truth, we deem it best to limit our criticism to that portion of his volume in which he has not achieved equal success, especially as an anticipatory notice (A. J. P. VII 271) has already referred to several syntactical inaccuracies.

Though it may seem unreasonable to demand of an editor of the Iliad so intimate an acquaintance with those contemporary views of I.-E. vocalization which have upset the authority of Curtius, as to avoid speaking of a root *var A* 356, *man B* 484, or of *iskirds* for *isaras A* 366 (see Osthoff, M. U. IV 151), etc., we feel that it is surely no injustice to expect that his etymological horizon should not be practically restricted to that of Curtius. In the department of etymology the English seem to be *laudatores unius hominis*: him, they enthrone for a generation until another luminary appear. The appearance of the second English edition of Curtius' *Grundsätze* is destined to retard, by a decennium at least, the dissemination of many true conceptions of Greek morphological laws. This defect in Mr. Leaf's book is not remedied by sporadic references to Schmidt, Wackernagel, or by the citation of Buttmann, valuable, says Mr. Monro, for his "method," or of Döderlein; and still less will any reference to Göbel (twice quoted on p. 149) counterbalance this defect. The writer remembers to have heard the *Althochmeister* himself stigmatize Göbel's volumes as arrogant in their claim of being a continuation of the great *Lexilogus* of Buttmann. Göbel, as everybody knows, is the *bête noire* of every authoritative etymologist.

Inasmuch then as Mr. Leaf's otherwise so admirable work displays no little fondness for outworn conceptions of phonetic law, I think to render best service as a critic by attaching greater prominence to this subject, and beg his kind consideration of some few suggestions that may perhaps be of avail for a second edition; and I have inserted several conjectures of my own as to the formation of certain Homeric words.

A 18: "For θείος we ought probably always to read θέίος, as the word is always found with the last syllable *in arsi*." θείος occurs about 75 times in the Iliad and Odyssey, and θέίος can be read everywhere except 13 times before ἀοιδός in the fifth foot (*e. g.* a 336, δ 17, θ 47), once (in the second foot) ψ 133, and once before δνερος B 22, where οιδός is, however, a v. l. Mr. Leaf should have alluded to the substitution of δίος for θείος in his note on B 22 (not B 422, as in Lex. Hom., where other misprints are π 152 (*i. e.* 252) and σ 116). Cauer and others object strenuously to Nauck's substitution of δίος.

A 52: "πυκ (in ἔχετεκές) is apparently another form of πυκ; cf. πενκεδανός by πυκρός." No such interrelation of radical *t* and *v* is accepted at present. πυκρός belongs to πουκλος, Skt. pēcas, Lat. pingo, piget; *πενκες in ἔχετεκές contains the "strong" root form πενκ, which appears in the weak pug in Lat. pungo.

A 129: δώσι is said to be formed by epenthesis from δῶσι, the reading of Zoilus. The reference to Curtius' *Verbum* is the only support that is adduced

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The following table gives the percentage of the
various types of trees in each of the regions. The figures
are based on the data given by the State Forest Survey.

- 4 -

卷之三十一

卷之三

the same time as it is to allow the parties time that are well be-
fore and after - to be themselves over a conference or to
negotiate for. The parties have a right to the reality of
what is to be done in effecting their ends to be known. A reso-
lution in this respect is that there must be time given. If the
parties are to be able to do what they propose they
must have time to do it. The time must be a period of time
in which the parties can be representative of their
views and of the result of their views. This
is a period of time in which the parties must be able to do what they propose.

3.56. In the case where there is no such claim, why it can be regarded as
plaintiff will be indemnifying himself which amounts to avoidance of the
plaintiff's claim since a plaintiff cannot indemnify himself. Plaintiff is compensated
in the present of his claim.

attempting to determine the difficult word *source* "the *mechanisms*," a word which appears at p. 101, which however, according Mr. Leib, is connected with another, the title of which is p. 102. The shifting of the *mechanism* of the greatest-form flows in rivers is due to human intervention. The explanation of it and of contemporary processes we obtain either from the theory as reported by Leib or from the loss of the word *mechanisms* at p. 102. This makes clear the connection of a migration from Europe to America.

B 413. "πρίν from the comparative of προ, προ-ιν," savors too much of an apodictic statement, since the Gortynian form πρείν (VII 40) has not yet been explained.

Δ 138. A reference to Wackernagel's remarks on εἰσαρο (*Bessz. Beiträge* IV) might well have been inserted here.

Δ 155. The assertion that *F* can pass into *φ* ought to be more guardedly expressed than Mr. Leaf has done here on φίλος < σφε-ιλος (which is very doubtful), and on B 144 in reference to φή < *Fη* (instrumental of σφο-).

Δ 315. Wheeler (Nominal Accent, p. 64) reads ὅμιος, since it belongs in that class of adjectives which end —υ υ and throw the accent on the penult.

Δ 483: "εἰαμένη 'lowland,' apparently from root ἀς (*sic!*) ἤς, to sit, for ἡσαμένη." If Mr. Leaf does not understand εἰαμένη to be == ἡσαμένη by an incorrect transcription of ΕΑΜΕΝΕΙ (which he does not imply), it would have been instructive had he explained the diphthong of the former form.

Δ 515. On Τρίτογένεια cf. Osthoff, M. V. IV 195.

Ε 5. I cannot regard as tenable the assertion of Mr. Leaf that the -ινος of ὄπωρινος is to be compared with the -εινος of ποθενος and with the -ενος of ἀργεννός (Aiol.) rather than with the -ινος of φήγωνς, etc. The fact that no such instance of the reduction of ει to ι occurs in Homer (as I have attempted to prove in my paper on EI and Ι in Homer, Am. Journ. Philol. VI) surely ought to outweigh the difference of accent, since it can be proved that a shifting of the accent to and from -ος occurred in no inconsiderable number of cases.

Ε 194. The unusual contraction in πρωτοπαγεῖς should have been noticed ; ζαχρεῖς M 347 also is not referred to. The first instance is in so far different from ἐναργεῖς η 201, Y 131, and ἐπιδενεῖ I 225 (Arist. ἐπιδενεῖ), as πρωτοπαγεῖς would not suit the verse ; cf. πρεσβυγενεῖς Tyrtaeus IV 5. πρηνεῖς for πρηνεῖς Α 179 is rightly athetized by Mr. Leaf.

Ε 487. Fick conjectured Φάλλοντε, i. e. Aiolic for Φαλλοντε ; cf. Goth. vilvan.

Z 422. That there was a genuine Hellenic inflection *io*, *ia*, is proved by Homeric, Cretan (Gortynian Inscription VII 23) *iō*, and by Homeric, Lesbian and Thessalian *ia*. There is no reason for considering *iō* an analogical formation, since *ia* is not == *μία*, an etymology which Mr. Leaf ought to have considered more than "very doubtful." Cf. οἰνη, oinos, aēva, strong forms.

Z 507. θείω is for *θείω, as asserted by Mr. Leaf (and I believe by Curtius), since a diphthong *ev* in Aiolic formed by *eF* loses the vocalic element in other dialects, e. g. πνείω *θείω* in Aiolic == πνέω *θέω* in Doric and Ionic. *νείω* is both Aiolic and Doro-Ionic, hence it must be for νευ-*ju*, *yod* serving as a protector of the genuine diphthong ; if not, then *νείω* is from *νείων* by analogy.

Θ 43. *iv*, which Mr. Leaf calls the Cyprian form for σίν (cf. ἵγγεμος σύλλαβή Hesychius), is, without question, for δν == ἀνά ; cf. ὑνέθηκε Collitz 45, 3 Cyprus and -τυ for -το in εἰθρητάστην Dali. 4. Whether Hesychius held that the *iv*-of ἵγγεμος was == σίν, or whether ἀνά + γεμ in the Cyprian dialect was the equivalent of σίν + γλαβ in Attic, is immaterial : that the sibilant of σίν should become either the spiritus asper or lenis is utterly impossible. σιάλος is for *σφιάλος, otherwise *ιάλος (cf. note on I 208) ; *iv* is not from σίν, as many still suppose, but represents a leveling of the case forms :

Nom. *sūs* == *iō*,
Gen. *suós* == *σφός, *σσός,

whence *ις*, *ιος* and *οις*, *συς*. Cf. G. Meyer, Gram.² p. 221, and Osthoff, M. U. IV 356.

I 203. ζωρότερον is generally explained as Martial translates it, "miseri iussit amicis Largius Aeacides vividiusque merum"; that is to say, as if from the root ζη. Mr. Leaf is not content with this etymology, and suggests φέες "to boil." But how does he propose to reach a base ζω (ζωρός, Ion. ζώω, ζόθι) from ζέες?

I 230: "δούι (ἀπ. λεγ.) = doubt, for δέοή (dva = two; cf. dubius Zwei-fel." Many signs and wonders happened in the classical world, but to believe that δούι is from δέοή demands too great credulity on the part of the reader. δούις is = *δέοας, and F cannot become o.

I 319. *Fia* is = Skt. iva by the not unusual metathesis of F. This is a most improbable etymology, supported by a reckless contradiction of phonetic law. We should like to see several certain cases of the metathesis of inter-vocalic F.

K 462: *τοιοδεσσι* (*sic*, and not *τοιοδεσσι*) is neither so "obscure" a form, nor is the Alcaian τώνδεων necessarily an "imitation" of the Homeric *τοιοδεσσον*. These are genuine Aiolic forms, the -de part being inflected as -ve in *τοιον* Collitz, D. I. 345, 15, *τοινεον* 345, 17 in the Thessalian dialect, -ve being equipollent to -de; cf. τάνε, τάνε. That *τοιοδεσσι* is an Aiolic form is the more probable, since -οις, with but a very few MS exceptions, is the dat.-loc. ending of the article alone in the Aiolic dialect, and -ουι the Aiolic substantival and adjectival termination.

K 466. Is it not an inversion of the facts, as regards Greek grammar at least, to speak of δεF (in δείω) as the *lengthened* form of the root de?

Λ 184: "ἀστεροπή, a lengthened form of ἀστραπή," is not an incorrect, though a jejune statement. If we compare Hom. στεροπή Δ 66, Cyprian στροπά (Hesychius στροπά) with ἀστραπή and ἀστεροπή, it is evident that we have here a case of anaptyxis. The forms with o are probably Aiolic.

Α 201: "The ν of τεῖν seems to represent the μ of I.-E. tūbhym, the bb being dropped" (!). We hope Mr. Leaf will excuse our seeming *brutalit*, but this is a statement savoring of the days of Benfey or of Pott's youth, and completely at variance with the fixed laws of comparative grammar.

A 697. I have attempted, in VI 436 of the Am. Journ. of Phil., to explain the seemingly anomalous ῥ of ὑπεροπλίρου (A 205) *in thesi*, and to refute the arguments of Hartel, whose opinion that ἀνδρὶ (Δ 86) contains a trace of the primitive quantity of the dative is shared by Mr. Monro and by Mr. Leaf. (See the latter's note on Δ 86.)

M 208. The scansion of ὄφιν as a trochee at the end of the verse is ascribed by Mr. Leaf to the power of the ictus alone. We find, however, a number of examples in prose (Πλίθος CIA III 1012, and Πίθος, κακχάζω Hesych., δεδάχθω Cauer² 510, 26) which represent the transitional stage between the aspirated tenuis and the spirant. If ὄφις is therefore = ὄφις, to the pronunciation at the time of the composition of this line, rather than to the ictus, is to be ascribed a quantity that might, it is true, be explained by the ictus alone. We are glad to note that Mr. Leaf is a believer in the traditional theory of ictus-lengthening (see his notes on E 31, 203, 293, Γ 240, K 280, 285), though he nowhere defines his exact position in regard to this mooted question. When,

as in the case of ὑφίς, another explanation may serve to account for an apparent metrical irregularity, is it not better to have recourse to it than to increase the number of cases of a metrical phenomenon that must at best have been regarded in the light of a license? Since Mr. Leaf has gone so far as to suggest that σπειο (for σπέο) in K 285 is a bold case of lengthening by the ictus, I am surprised that a similar explanation did not suggest itself to him in writing the note on H 340, a passage famous for its difficulty:

ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς πίλας ποιήσομεν εἰν ἀραρίας,
δῆρα δὲ αὐτάνων ιππηλασίη ὕδος εἰη.

The MSS have *ειη*, G. Hermann *ειγ*. A certain case of this form of the subjunctive of *εἰμί* is said to occur in Ψ 47, δῆρας ζωῖσι μετεῖω, and "possible" instances are I 245 ἡμῖν δὲ δὴ αἰσιμον *ειη*, Σ 88 ίνα καὶ τοὶ πένθος ἐνι φρεσὶ μυριον *ειη*, ρ 586 ὡς περ ἀν *ειη*. Mr. Leaf is quite correct in stating that *ειγ* cannot be formed from *γείς* unless we hold to Christ's as yet unaccepted suggestion that there is a subj. termination -ω corresponding to Doric futures like *κρυψίω* and to the Skt. future. G. Meyer, Gramm.³ §583, declares the diphthong of *μετεῖω* to be *unerklärliech*. In my treatise on the Diphthong EI I hazarded the conjecture that we have here simply a case of the ictus-lengthening of *μετέω*, which actually occurs, X 388, ζωῖσιν *μετέω*, or perhaps an incorrect transcription of METEO by some one who did not know that occasionally this license of the lengthening of an antevocalic vowel was permitted. A genuine *ει* this cannot be. Other possible examples of this lengthening are *μαχειομένος* ρ 471, *ἀκειόμενον*, and perhaps *κυκειῶ* (and the *ἄπαξ λεγ.* Θρήικες?).

M 337. G. Meyer appears to have abandoned his explanation of *βύσαντι* from *βοF + σαντι* and to have accepted the unusual contraction; cf. Gramm.³ §141.

This edition is a beautiful example of the printer's art, and is singularly free from typographical errors. Should the note on A 26 not have contained a reference to H 340 rather than to H 439, and is not *λαίνον* Γ 57 (not in La R.) a misprint?

We beg leave to record our opinion that Mr. Leaf's edition is a most substantial addition to English scholarship.

HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

Amis and Amiloun zugleich mit der altfranzösischen Quelle, herausgegeben von E. KÖLBING. Nebst einer Beilage: Amicus ok Amilius Rímur. cxxxi, 256 pp. Heilbronn, Gebr. Henninger, 1884.

Octavian, zwei mittelenglische Bearbeitungen der Sage, herausgegeben von GREGOR SARRAZIN. xlvi, 191 pp. Heilbronn, Gebr. Henninger, 1885.

These two works form the second and third volumes of the Altenglische Bibliothek, edited by Professor E. Kölbing, the first volume of which was Osbern Bokenam's Legenden, edited by C. Horstmann (1883), and the annual continuations, so far as announced, will be the Ancren Riwle (1886), Arthour and Merlin (1887), and the Ormulum (1888), all to be edited by E. Kölbing. This is an excellent scheme, and we are grateful to Professor Kölbing for the fruits of the zeal with which he is devoting himself to the study of Middle-English literature, and especially the making accessible at moderate price of such

valuable works as the *Ancren Riwle* and the *Ormulum*. It is an example worthy of imitation by English scholars, who have ready access to the manuscripts of these works.

The *Amis* and *Amiloun* will be found in Weber's *Metrical Romances of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (3 vols., Edinburgh, 1810), heretofore the sole edition, and edited almost exclusively from one MS. the Auchinleck (A). Kölbing has made use of the four MSS, using A as the basis, and giving the variations of S, the Duke of Sutherland's. D, Douce MS 326, and H, Harleian MS 2386. He prefixes a long and valuable introduction, containing a description of the MSS, the stanza and verse, the dialect, and the style of the English version. This is followed by an account of the three MSS of the French version, the one of the Icelandic version, and a section treating the literature of this saga and discussing the Latin prose versions—with a reprint of one of these—and the subject-matter of the English poem, questions already discussed by Kölbing in Paul and Braune's *Beitraege*, IV 273-9 and 311 ff., and in *Englische Studien*, II 307 ff., so that his remarks here are to be regarded as supplementary; but it would have been better to repeat here the substance of his former articles, for it is not every one, especially in this country, that has access to those periodicals.

Kölbing regards the French version, here printed for the first time from a MS (K) of the first quarter of the thirteenth century, as the older, and says it would be hard to find any English poem in the twelve-line riming stanza of the *Amis* and *Amiloun* belonging to so early a date, the earliest MS of the present poem dating from about 1300. This stanza rimes as follows: *aabaabccbdःb*, the b-rime lines containing three accents and the others four, all having the usual iambic rhythm, or attempts at it. Under "Dialect" Kölbing treats briefly the vowels and the inflection as shown by the rimes, and comes to the very just conclusion that *Amis* and *Amiloun* arose on the northern border of the East-Midland district, for we find northern forms mingled in an East-Midland dialect. This might be seen also from the forms which do not appear in rime, for while *children* is common, we frequently find also *childer* and *childre*, for which MSS S, D, H give usually *childern* and *children*. Interesting forms of the plural possessive are seen in the following lines:

And what þe childres names worn (23),
þe children is names, as y ȝow hyȝt (37).

In line 23 D and H write *childern*, and in line 37 they omit *is*, thus disregarding the possessive ending. The English version consists of 2508 lines, whereas the French has but 1250, and is written in riming couplets. The Icelandic contains twelve cantos, usually of four-line stanzas with alternate or couplet rime, but sometimes the stanzas contain only three lines, the first being longer than the second or third, which last rime, and in one case two lines, the first having double middle- as well as end-rime, though this might be arranged as a four-line stanza in riming couplets.

The addition of a word-register, and even of a short glossary, would have made the volume more serviceable, but we are still grateful for the trilingual form of this Middle-English story.

The Octavian contains both the Southern and Northern English versions of this romance, the latter in two parallel texts. The introduction describes each version separately. The Southern is preserved in but one MS, among the Cottonian MSS of the British Museum, and dating from the middle of the fifteenth century. It has been already published in Weber, though with some errors, a corrected list of which is given by Sarrazin. The metrical form of the romance is the stanza of six lines, riming *aaabab*, *a* containing four accents in iambic rhythm and *b* two. The place and date of this version are next considered, the rimes alone being here also brought under review, and much less fully than in the Amis and Amiloun, and the conclusion is reached that its home was certainly Kent or a neighboring district, and its date soon after the middle of the fourteenth century. The florin of Edward III, first coined in 1343, is mentioned, so that it cannot be earlier than that date. The relation of this version to its source is next treated, and it is decided to be a translation from the French romance of Octavian, published after the Oxford MS (Bodl. Hatton 100), by K. Vollmöller in 1883. An analysis of the contents of both and their variations are given. Then follow sections on the style and composition of the poem and on the poet, whom Sarrazin thinks he has proved to be the same as the author of *Lybeaus Disconus*—found in Ritson's Ancient English Metrical Romances, Vol. II, and in Furnivall and Hales' edition of the Percy Folio MS, Vol. II—and of *Launfal*, also found in Ritson, Vol. I, and recently republished by L. Erling (1883) with the French original; but compare K. Breul, in *Englische Studien*, IX 461, contra. A similar consideration of the Northern English version follows. It is contained in two MSS—C, in the University Library at Cambridge (Ff. II 38), from the first half of the fifteenth century, and L, in the Cathedral Library at Lincoln (A 5, Thornton MS), from the middle of the fifteenth century. The former MS was used by Halliwell in his edition of the romance of Octavian (1844) for the Percy Society, but the latter has never been published before. The metrical form of the poem is the twelve-line stanza, riming *aabccbddbeeb*, like that of Amis and Amiloun, only the second couplet differs from the first. The place and date of the poem are next treated, the rimes of C alone, as before, being brought forward as evidence, and the conclusion is reached that the home of the poet was probably north of the Humber, and his time about the year 1350. He too mentions the florins of Edward III. This version is also translated from the French romance above mentioned, but is entirely independent of the Southern version. The writer of the latter referred to a Latin source, though none such is known, and it is not mentioned by this poet, who followed his source more closely than the other, and surpassed both the French and the Southern English poets in poetic power. He may be the same as the author of *Sir Isumbras*; but compare Breul (*loc. cit.*) contra. Though not equaling the introduction of Kölbing, Sarrazin's gives useful information, but we might desire a more thorough treatment of the grammatical forms. While the writer of L certainly lived north of the Humber, the writer of C may have come from the northern border of the East-Midland district, as in case of the author of Amis and Amiloun, and the dialectic differences between the two MSS have not been noted by Sarrazin. Breul, in his appreciative review of the two volumes (*vid. sup.*), says: “L hat freilich oft die älteren nördlichen formen

gewahrt," but it is not so plainly older as more northern forms that we find here. A few taken at random may be given as specimens: 83 C *chylldren*, L *childire*, and so often, though in 344 C we find *chyldyr*; 91 C *tythyngz*, L *tyhande*; 103 C *schalle*, L *salle*, though L has also *schalle*; 114 C *lykyth*, L *lykes*; 162 C *haye*, L *hafte*; 163 C *fleyng*, L *flyande*; 166 C *brennyng*, L *brynden*, though in 164 C has *brennande* for the sake of the rime; 194 C *mache*, L *mekille*, though *mekille* is found also in C; 192 C *churche*, L *kyrke*; 196 C *gode*, L *gud*; in pronouns, where C has *whom*, *they*, *ther*, *them*, *sche*, *hur*, *hyt*, L has *whaym*, *thay*, *thaire*, *thame*, *scho*, *hir*, *it*; 208 C *lystenykh*, L *herkyns*; 214 C *soche*, L *swylk*; 248 C *oon*, L *ane*, though L has *one*, too; 287 C *ecke*, L *ilke*; 338 C *rennyng*, L *rynnande*; 356 C *into*, L *intille*; 433 C *can*, L *gane*, and so often; 442-3 C *sometyme*, L *umwhile*, etc. These examples might easily be multiplied, but it is plain from phonology, inflection and expression that L is written in a more northern dialect than C, and I should be inclined to regard C as written in the East-Midland dialect, with some northern forms intermingled. Here too a word-register is lacking, and a glossary for unusual words, which would have aided the reader.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

Englische Lautlehre für Studierende und Lehrer, von AUG. WESTERN. Vom Verfasser selbst besorgte deutsche Ausgabe. Heilbronn, Gebr. Henninger, 1885.

Kurze Darstellung der englischen Aussprache für Schulen und zum Selbstunterricht, von AUG. WESTERN. Heilbronn, Gebr. Henninger, 1885.

The first of the above-mentioned works is a full, careful and systematic presentation of English phonetics, based on the works of Sweet, Storm, and Vietor, and the author's own study of English pronunciation under the personal direction of Mr. Sweet. It should, therefore, represent the present pronunciation of English in England, but if so, this does not coincide with the best pronunciation of English in America. I have heretofore had occasion to take exception to some of Mr. Sweet's pronunciations (compare my review of Storm's Englische Philologie in this Journal, II 484 ff., 1881), and must renew my criticisms in the case of his pupil. Western adopts the Bell-Sweet vowel system, but with some additions, and classifies the consonants according to the position of the tongue and lips in their formation, so that in the new terminology the English *w* is a *Lippensungenwurzellaut*. The symbols by which the vowel-sounds are designated are easily understood from the keywords, but surely the vowel-sound in *air* differs from that in *name* more than by the addition of a short *i* to the former, yet *air* = *ɛɪ̯* and *name* = *ɛɪ̯im*.

Western follows Sweet in his disregard of *r*, as may be seen above, and this runs through the whole work, even in the case of words in which the *r*-sound is distinctly preserved in the best American pronunciation. So too in the neglect of initial *h* for *what* = *wot*, and the same is seen in *which*, *whether*, etc., so that cockneyism is now published to the continental nations as the best prevalent English pronunciation. Other pronunciations that run counter to the present writer's notions may be seen from the following examples: *leisure* = *lɪʃə̯s*, though *lɛʃə̯s* and *liːʃə̯s* are allowed (cf. pp. 18 and 54); *vary* = *vɛ̯rɪ̯*,

the vowel-sound as in *air*; *more* and *morning* have the same vowel-sound : " So dass in Wirklichkeit kein Unterschied mehr zwischen Wörtern wie *born* und *borne*, *morning* und *mourning* existiert" (p. 21); *tore*, *pour*, *soar*, *door*, *floor*, are pronounced with the vowel-sound of *all*, so that the long *ō* no longer exists before *r*, and in such words as *no*, *ago*, *stone*, etc., it is represented by *oo*; certainly many Americans pronounce *no* without this *u*-prolongation. The disposition to neutralize *r* is carried so far that *figure* = *fig'* in Western's symbolism; *object* = *ob'dahikt*, the sound of *y* in *pity*; and this sound is also given to the first syllables of *expect*, *exhibit*, *example*, *examine*, like *i* in *imagine*; we even find *police* = *p'lis*, *cashier* = *k'schii'*, etc.; but space is lacking to give all the words, or even classes of words, to the pronunciation of which exception might be taken. As this work has appeared in both Danish and German, it is reasonable to suppose that it will represent the prevalent pronunciation of English on the Continent, particularly as the more scientific work has been rewritten for schools in the form of the *Kurze Darstellung der englischen Aussprache*. If this is correct English pronunciation, it is readily seen how far the English have departed from the older pronunciation of the language, which has been preserved more purely on this side of the water, and it will soon be hard to say whether a given pronunciation is " good English " or not. What hope, moreover, is there for ever attaining a reformed spelling on phonetic lines, if the same words must be spelled different ways for Englishmen and for Americans ? I relegate this question to the Spelling Reform Associations of the two countries.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

REPORTS.

ANGlia. Zeitschrift für englische Philologie. Herausgegeben von R. P. WÜLKER und M. TRAUTMANN. VIII Band. Halle, 1885.

I. Fr. Holtbuer opens the first number of the eighth volume of *Anglia* with an article of forty pages entitled *Der syntaktische Gebrauch des Genitivs in Andreas, Götting, Phönix, dem heiligen Kreuz, und Höllenfahrt*. This article has been suggested by a similar one by Rössger on the Syntactical Use of the Genitive in Cynewulf's *Eleme*, *Juliana*, and *Christ* (*Anglia* VIII 338), so that it is another contribution to the Cynewulf-question, but from a syntactical point of view. The first part of the article is a very full and thorough (intended to be a complete) collection of examples of the use of the genitive in its various relations in these poems, following the arrangement of Rössger, who has followed that of Nader in his treatises on the use of the cases in "Bēowulf." The second part of the article compares the results of this investigation with those of Rössger, finding considerable variations, after making allowance for the difference in length of these poems from those treated by Rössger. Hence Holtbuer concludes that he is justified in denying the identity of Cynewulf with the authors of these works. Such a conclusion, however, seems to proceed from the comprehensive major premise that a writer must use the same syntactical combinations, and hence, to a certain extent, the same vocabulary, notwithstanding the different subjects on which, the different periods at which, and the different circumstances under which, he may have written. From one very material point the opposite conclusion might be drawn, for Holtbuer says: "Mit geringen Ausnahmen stimmten die in beiden Untersuchungen gemeinschaftlich vorkommenden Verben hinsichtlich ihrer Rection überein." As with most of these attempts to settle the genuine works of Cynewulf, *adhuc sub judice lis est*.

E. Hönncher follows with an article of forty-four pages on the Sources of the Anglo-Saxon Genesis. This article is chiefly notable for its treatment of the fourth section, the interpolation B 245-851, in which Hönncher combats the view of Sievers that the interpolator used as his source the Latin hexameter poem of Alcimus Avitus. He finds in the introduction relating to the fall of the angels a following of Gregory, not, with Thorpe and Bouterwek, of Aelfric, for he wrote too late. For the rest, the Vulgate, including the Apocrypha, and common Church tradition are the only sources. In his summing up (p. 84) he attributes the variations from the Vulgate to (1) reasons of a poetic kind; (2) the influence of tradition, as in Beda; (3) a freer treatment of the Bible, as generally with the Anglo-Saxons, seen also in Aelfric; (4) the national Anglo-Saxon character, which is manifested even in their sacred poems and in the Latin poems of Alcuin. While not agreeing with Sievers as to the use of Avitus by the interpolator of B, he thinks that this writer was acquainted with the work of Avitus.

W. Sattler continues his Contributions to Präpositionslehre im Neuenglischen with XIX, examples of *of* and *from* used with the verbs *borrow, buy, gain, get, have, hear, hire, learn, obtain, order, procure, purchase, raise, receive, rent, steal, take, and win*.

C. Horstmann continues his valuable texts of English Legends of Saints with four prose legends from MS Douce 114 (dialect of Nottinghamshire?). These are: (1) S. Elizabeth of Spalbeck, the Latin original of whose life is lost, hence the English version is the more valuable; (2) S. Christina Mirabilis; (3) S. Mary of Oegines (Oignies), a voluminous life of fifty pages; and (4) a letter of Stephen of Senis touching the life of S. Katherine of Senis. These legends are translations from the Latin, and their subjects are all Belgian saints, the first three of whom lived in the thirteenth century, and the fourth in the late fourteenth century. The four legends are written in one hand and by the same translator, who, in his Apologetik at the close of the whole, "besecheth alle men and wymmen that in happe redith or herith this englyshe that they be not over-capcyous ne curyous" about it, "as umwhile sotheren, otherwhile northen—but the cause why nedith not to be tolde." This, with the Latin inscription on the MS, in a hand not much later, that it belongs to the Carthusian Monastery of Beauvall, in the County of Nottingham, leads Horstmann to regard the dialect as that of Nottinghamshire.

S. Levy closes this number with Noch einmal die Quellen Cymbeline's.

2. The first part of the Anzeiger to this volume contains the following reviews:

Geoffrey Chaucer's Werke übersetzt von A. von Dürring, I, 1883, by J. Koch; Murray's New English Dictionary, I, 1884, by H. R. Helwiche; The Language of the Later Part of the Peterborough Chronicle, Academical Dissertation by O. P. Behm, 1884, by Dr. A. Würzner; Die erste nichtchristliche Parabel des Barlaam und Josaphat, ihre Herkunft und Verbreitung, von E. Braunholtz, 1884, by H. Brandes; Amis and Amiloun zugleich mit der altfranzösischen Quelle, herausgegeben von E. Kölbing, 1884, by E. Einenkel; Beiträge zu einer phonetischen Vokallehre, von J. Gutersohn, I and II, 1881–82, and 1883–84, by E. Einenkel; Die wichtigsten Eigentümlichkeiten der englischen Syntax, von Dr. D. Petry, 1885, by D. Asher; Langenscheidt's Notwörterbücher, n. d., by D. Asher; K. Warnke and L. Proescholdt, Pseudo-Shakespearian Plays: I. The Comedy of Fair Em. II. The Merry Devil of Edmonton. Revised and edited with introduction and notes, 1883, 1884, by H. Fernow; Dr. Ficke, A Critical [!] Examination of Addison's Cato, 1885, by Dr. H. von Dadelsen, who shows up Dr. Ficke's ignorance of English very plainly.

Under Verschiedenes we have two lengthy essays, one by E. Menthel, Zur Geschichte des Otfridischen Verses im Englischen, and the other by E. Holthaus, Beiträge zur Geschichte der englischen Vokale. Menthel divides his essay into three parts: I. Der viertreffer von seinen anfängen bis zum King Horn. II. Die achttreffige langzeile. III. Die entwicklung der achttreffigen zur siebentreffigen langzeile. He is a follower of Trautmann, whose views have been expressed in Anglia II 153, V Anz. 111 and VII Anz. 211. He finds the first examples of this verse in English in Aelfric and

in two poems of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, a. 959 and 1036, regarding the former as written after Aelfric. Several Middle-English poems of the thirteenth century, some with alliteration, some with end-rime, and some mixed, are set down as written in this verse. After Trautmann, Layamon is held up as the chief representative of it, and after Wissmann, King Horn is also included. Even the *Poema Morale* and the *Ornithion*, the verse of which both ten Brink and Schipper have regarded as imitated from the *septenarius* of the Latin hymns, are brought into the same scheme, Menthel holding that no example of a hymn in that rhythm before Orm's time is known to us, and so Orm had no model for his metre in the Christian Latin poetry. Trautmann's assertion (*Anglia V.*, Anz. 124), that Orm borrowed no foreign metre, but used one already prevalent in England, the four-accented verse of Otfrid, for the formation of his long line, is therefore regarded as fully justified. Menthel holds with Wackernagel that the verse of Otfrid is imitated from the iambic dimeter catalectic of the Latin hymns, but that such imitation did not arise independently in England, and this verse was borrowed from Germany. Not a scintilla of evidence is produced for such an assertion, and it would be well for our laborious German friends to investigate the literary relations of England and Germany from the ninth to the thirteenth century before venturing on such sweeping assertions. But if Otfrid, in the late ninth century, could form a German verse on the Latin iambic dimeter catalectic, what would prevent as skillful a metrician as Orm, in the early thirteenth century, from forming an English verse in like manner and giving to it an iambic dimeter catalectic, thus forming the English *septenarius*? Menthel's view of the development of the seven-accented line from the eight-accented is by no means convincing, nor is it conceded that the earlier poems claimed as belonging to the so-called Otfrid-verse are written in that verse; but we relegate the discussion to Trautmann and Schipper, for "it is a very pretty quarrel as it stands," only adding, as heretofore stated, that to an ordinary English ear the views of Schipper are most in accordance with the principles of English versification.

E. Holthaus bases his discussion of the English vowels on Ellis's great work, and follows the vowel-system of Trautmann. He treats in this article: I. Das lange *u*. II. Die Geschichte des *ou*. III. *ai*, *ei*, *i* (lang). IV. Die Aussprache des kurzen *u*.

M. Trautmann closes this number with a correction to his *Otfrid in England* (*Anglia VII.*, Anz. 211), and, under *Wortgeschichtliches*, with some brief remarks on *dear*, as in "our dearest foe," *good-bye*, and *light*, as in "to make light of," which he regards as the same as *lite* (= *little*), A.-S. *līt*.

3. A. Sturmels begins the third number with an essay of sixty-two pages on *Der altfranzösische Vokalismus im Mittelenglischen bis zum Jahre 1400*. He pronounces his investigation "die erste eingehende Behandlung der Schicksale welche die asr. Vokale auf englischem Boden im Munde der germanisch redenden Engländer erlitten haben," and he is doubtless correct, for this has long been a deficiency in the history of English phonology. The basis of his criticism rests upon the rimes, in which Romanic and Germanic words are united, the consistency of the orthography, and the further development towards Modern English, especially the phonology of the sixteenth

century. All of the chief existing monuments of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, except the *Ormulum*, and many of the fourteenth—from the *Poema Morale* to Chaucer inclusive—are brought under review, the Latin original word in each case furnishing the starting-point of the development. The present article contains the treatment of *a*, *e* and *ɛ* (= Latin *ɛ*, *ɛ*, *i*), and *i*, to be followed by the treatment of *au*, *ə*, *ɔ*, *ü*, *oi* and *ui*. It is only by such investigations, and especially of the Old-French element of English—which term Sturmfels prefers to “the so-called Anglo-Norman”—that a firm foundation can be laid for the history of English phonology.

K. Elze contributes A Letter to C. M. Ingleby, Esq., containing Notes and Conjectural Emendations on Shakespeare's “*Cymbeline*,” written in English.

F. Kluge furnishes forty pages of text of *Angelsächsische Excerpta aus Byrhtferth's Handboc oder Enchiridion*, from the Oxford MS Ashm. 328, now for the first time printed.

R. Rössger prints his above-mentioned essay, *Über den syntaktischen Gebrauch des Genitivs in Cynewulf's Elene, Crist, und Juliana*. After an introduction on the origin, historical development, and meaning of the genitive, in which the writer shows himself to be an opponent of the local theory of the cases, he treats the genitive occurring in these works in connection with a substantive, with verbs, with adjectives, and the adverbial genitive, thus supplying a valuable contribution to Anglo-Saxon syntax.

K. Schmidt prints, under the title *Digby-Spiele*, the as yet unprinted portion of his Berlin dissertation (1883), basing his studies on Furnivall's edition of the *Digby Mysteries*. This portion contains *Maria Magdalena*, the *Morality Wisdom*, and the *Burial and Resurrection of Christ*, the first part having contained the introduction, *Candelmes Day* and the *Kyllynge of the Children of Israell*, and the *Conversyon of Seynt Paule*.

F. G. Fleay contributes Annals of the Careers of James and Henry Shirley.

H. Fischer discusses briefly the question, *Gibt es einen von Dryden und Davenant bearbeiteten Julius Caesar?*, deciding it in the negative.

W. Creizenach, Zu Greene's *James the Fourth*, finds its source in the *Hecatomithi* of Giraldi Cinthio.

B. Leonhardt writes *Über Beziehungen von Beaumont und Fletcher's Philaster zu Shakespeare's Hamlet und Cymbeline*. After some remarks on the two dramatists and a full synopsis of the contents of “*Philaster*,” Leonhardt compares certain passages of the play with passages in “*Cymbeline*” and in “*Hamlet*,” and concludes that the relations are undeniable. He finds the character of *Philaster* drawn from *Hamlet*, and the love-story of the play from “*Cymbeline*”; hence, says he, “‘*Cymbeline*’ must have existed before 1608.” Resemblances of other characters are traced, and that of *Bellarrio*, the beauty of which Leonhardt fully recognizes, is compared as page to *Pisanio*, and in some respects to *Imogen* herself. He takes exception to the view of Henry Ward and of Herrig that *Bellarrio* is a copy of *Viola*. While some features of certain characters in these plays have some resemblance to each other, it would

be hard to say that Beaumont and Fletcher consciously imitated Shakespeare.

F. Kluge contributes *Angelsächsische Glossen*, from Addit. MS 32,246 of the British Museum, dating from the eleventh century, which serve in some cases to correct the Wright-Wülker glosses, edited from the Oxford Junius MS; but this MS does not seem to be identical with the original of the Junius MS, which once belonged to the painter Rubens, but is now lost.

F. Holthausen has some brief *Bemerkungen zu Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*.

B. Leonhardt adds a *Schlusswort zu "Cymbeline," contra Levy, as Beilage*.

4. The second part of the *Anzeiger* contains the following reviews:

Shakespeare—Notes by F. A. Leo (1885), reviewed by D. Asher; Floris and Blancheflur, herausgegeben von E. Hausknecht, n. d., by G. Lüdtke; Chaucer Society, Essays on Chaucer, his Words and Works, Part V (1885), containing XIII to XVII inclusive, by J. Koch; Grundriss zur Geschichte der angelsächsischen Litteratur, von Dr. R. Wülker (1885), by E. Einenkel; York Plays, edited, with Introduction and Glossary, by Lucy Toulmin Smith (1885), by L. Proescholdt; Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, by H. L. D. Ward, Vol. I (1883), by R. Wülker; Lehmann, H.-Brünne und Helm im angelsächsischen Beowulf-liede. Ein Beitrag zur germanischen Altertumskunde (1885), by R. Wülker; The Psalter or Psalms of David and Certain Canticles, with a Translation and Exposition by Richard Rolle of Hampole, edited from the manuscripts by H. R. Bramley (1884), by W. Bernhardt; The Life of Saint Katherine, from the Royal MS 17 A XXVII, with its Latin Original, edited by Dr. E. Einenkel for the E. E. T. S. (1884), by E. Förster; Thackeray's Lectures on the English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century, herausgegeben von E. Regel. I. Swift. VI. Sterne und Goldsmith (1885), by H. Effer.

Under *Verschiedenes*, the chief essay, of nearly sixty pages, is *Über die Quellen des Stabreimenden Morte Arthure, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Arthursage*, by P. Branscheid. This work was edited by Perry for the E. E. T. S. in 1865, re-edited by Brock in 1871, after comparison with the only known MS, the Thornton MS in the library of the Cathedral at Lincoln, and on this edition Branscheid bases his examination. He brings into comparison as sources of the work Geoffrey of Monmouth's Chronicle, Wace's Brut, Layamon's Brut, Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, and Peter Langtoft's Chronicle. After a careful examination of these by sections, he comes to the conclusion (p. 212) that Geoffrey and Layamon are the Chronicles which the poet of the *Morte Arthure* used as his sources, and chiefly Geoffrey, with additions here and there from Layamon. The work consists of 4346 long lines, and a further examination of the section 2386–3205, which does not agree with either of the above-mentioned Chronicles, goes to show that, besides these, the poet used at least two French romances, of which one belongs to the Arthur-cycle and the other does not belong to it. Branscheid suggests the question whether the poet had an original that already contained what is common to him with Geoffrey and Layamon and his additions to these

Chronicles. He brings into notice here Sir Thos. Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*, but asserts as plain that Malory used English as well as French books, that in his last books he copied from *Le Morte Arthur* (edited by Furnivall, 1864), and also turned into prose, almost word for word, part of the above-mentioned *Morte Arthur*. Hence neither Malory, nor his printer Caxton, knew of any such original, nor is it probable that the poet had such an one.

L. Proescholdt writes *Ein Wort über die neusprachlichen Lesebücher und zur Reform des Unterrichts*.

J. Koch contributes a short essay on *Der Valentinstag*.

M. Trautmann closes the number with *Metrische Antglossen*—a reply to Schipper's *Metrische Randglossen* (*Englische Studien*, IX 1)—in which he defends his former views of the prevalence of *Otfried-verse* in Middle-English works, but with much that is purely personal. As stated above, the views of Schipper seem to this writer well-grounded, and those of Trautmann a forced effort to assimilate English and German verse, but the method is too Procrustean to succeed, and, so far from the world's forgetting Schipper's *Altenglische Metrik*, as Trautmann advises, it is to be hoped that he will speedily complete it on the lines laid down, with additional proofs of the correctness of his principles, and will translate it into English, in order that the long-felt want of a suitable treatise on English metre may be supplied. *A priori*, it is not probable that any Middle-English poet ever heard of Otfried, or thought of "imitating" his verse, as Menthel will have it; and *a posteriori*, notwithstanding the efforts of Trautmann and his scholars, it still remains to be proved that any Middle-English poet has ever imitated it. (See also Schipper in *Englische Studien*, X 1, 192.)

Trautmann has withdrawn from the joint editorship of *Anglia*, and Wölker will hereafter conduct it alone.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

FLECKEISEN'S JAHRBUCHER FÜR CLASSISCHE PHILOLOGIE, 1884.

Fascicle 1.

1. Zur Homerischen Worterklärung des Aristarchos. Max Hecht published in 1882 his doctor dissertation, "Quaestiones Homericæ," Königsberg, and won great praise by it. The present article is a review of his treatment of the Homeric use of the word *yvia*, and is by E. Kammer. He takes exception to Hecht in three points, denying, first, that *yvia* may denote *genua et membra communia*; secondly, that it denotes the same as *μέλεα* (members in general); and thirdly, that *yvia* is only a metrical synonym for *μέλεα* and *ρέλεα*. The reasons for each exception are given at length; it was an oversight that two sections of the article should have been numbered 12. As a reply to these exceptions, Hecht published (Königsberg, 1884) a brochure of 29 pages, "Zur Homerischen Semasiologie," holding still that *yvia* denotes members in general (glieder überhaupt) and occasionally the knees. Kammer (pp. 523 ff., series 1884) offers a vigorous objection to the whole pamphlet, taking Hecht to task for bad logic and an unwillingness to interpret Homer through Homer. His position is that *yvia* primarily

denotes the knees and only occasionally has the meaning of members in general.

2. *Homerische Kleinigkeiten*. There are ten of them here by Prof. Moriz Schmidt, of Jena.

3. *Pausanias und seine Ankläger*. H. Brunn, München. The report of the Jahrb. in the last No. of the A. J. P. (VII, 262, 265, 266) gives some idea of the discussion prevailing in Germany, 1883-4, concerning Pausanias. Treu, J. Hirschfeld, Löwy, and Preller are his critics; Schubart and Brunn his supporters.

Hirschfeld is most outspoken; he believes that P. never was in Olympia, and that he was an out-and-out plagiarist in everything he wrote that had to do with matters subsequent to the middle of the second century B. C., but will not name Polemon as the source from which he drew. Treu holds that he may possibly have visited Olympia, but that his enumeration of statues of athletes does not reach beyond the point just mentioned (150 B. C.), and that from this point on Pausanias copied from Polemon; essentially as Hirschfeld holds. The second point in Treu's position Schubart is willing to concede; Brunn, however, in this very judicious and sensible article, doubts the necessity of this concession. Schubart inclines to believe that Löwy (*Künstlergeschichte*, Wien, 1883) has shown its necessity. Preller holds to the theory of plagiarism, and mentions Polemon as the authority used.

4. *Zu Cicero's De Natura Deorum*. Six critical and explanatory notes on §§21, 24, 25, 78, 105 and 110 of Bk. I, by A. Goethe.

5. *Erotematia*. The third question will interest the American Archaeological Institute. In its publication on the excavations at Assos, it gives the Greek form of a vote and oath of the people of Assos at the beginning of Caligula's reign. Why not change *διὰ σωτῆρα* to *Διά σωτῆρα* and *κρίνειν* to *κρίνειν*?

6. A review, by O. Harnecker, of Brzoska's inaugural dissertation (Breslau, 1883), *De Canone Decem Oratorum Atticorum Quaestiones*. This is hardly more than an analysis of Brzoska's work, the first 29 pages of which give an exposition of various features of the canon and arrive at the negative result that Caecilius of Kale Akte is not its author. The next 25 pages (30-55) are devoted to proving that the canon originated in Asia at the end of the second century B. C.; the next 25 (56-80) to proving that it was adopted in Pergamon before the time of Apollodoros. Pages 81-100 give an account of the ancient practice of placing master-works, as well as the currents of thought they started, in connection and comparison with the liberal arts. With this dissertation it is well to compare Reifferscheid's *Festrede zum Geburtstag des Kaisers* in the *Index Scholarum Vratislav. w. 1881-82*, v. Wilamowitz, "Antigonos von Karytos" (*Phil. Untersuch. Heft 4*), and Blass, "Griech. Beredsamkeit von Alexander bis Augustus" (Berlin, 1865).

7. *Zu den griechischen Elegikern*. Sitzler. Critical notes.

8. A note of two pages on Cicero's *De Imperio Pompei*, §§17-19, by A. Mosbach, entitled "Zu Cicero's Pompeiana."

9. Zu Tacitus Historien; Notes on II 75, III 77 and V 17 by A. Eussner, mainly critical.

10. Zu Horatius Episteln. First, the note by R. Duncker. It covers I 15, 10, and proposes exactly the same change which Rieck (*Jahrbücher*, 1879, pp. 69 f.) proposed, but perhaps with more force—the change of *dicet eques* to *dicet equus*. Second, the note on II 1, 173, *quantus sit Dossennus edacibus in parasitis*, by Cron, which favors printing without the capital D, and rendering *dossennus* "hanswurst," "witzbold"; or with Ritschl, taking the whole line, "quantus ipse scurra sit in scurris parasitis describendis."

11. De Vergilii Arte Rhythmica. J. Draheim, Berlin. The general conclusion reached is, to quote : *Vergilius, ictuum et accentuum discordiam in alteram, tertiam quartamque arsin admisit, in extremis concordiam praecopavit, perpetuum autem amborum concentum vitavit.*

12. Cicero's Reden gegen Catilina. On Or. I §1, quid proxima, by Wichtmann, Eberswalde.

13. Valuable critical notes, "Zu den Scriptores Historiae Augustae," by Peter.

Fascicle 2.

14. A review of the four numbers on Greek and Sicilian Vases, published by Benndorf. The review is by Eugen Petersen, recently of Prague, but now connected with the German school at Athens. The main faults which this able review finds with Benndorf's work are that only 61 plates were published, when 80 were promised, and that, owing to other responsibilities of the editor, less interest was manifested toward the end of the work.

15. Zu Aischines Rede gegen Ktesiphon. C. Troost. Both Weidner (Leipzig, 1872, Berlin, 1878) and F. Schultz (Leipzig, 1865) touch to some extent upon the MSS of this oration. The present article aims to establish an ancient codex from which the schedae Scrimgeri come, and the common origin of ε, κ and λ (h) on the one hand, and all other existing MSS on the other, from a somewhat altered copy of this ancient codex.

16. Zur Überlieferung von Ciceros Briefen. L. Mendelssohn, Dorpat, pp. 108-10 and 845-55. On the two great MSS, M 49, 9 (the Medicean) and M 49, 7 (Petrarch's copy) and the question how (as a loan?) and when (1389?) M (= 49, 9; 49, 7 being designated as P) came to Milan.

17. Beiträge zu Polybios. Büttner-Wobst, Dresden. "P. follows few rules of composition beyond the avoidance of hiatus."

18. H. Balser in this article, "Über einige Spuren einer periphrastischen Conjugation in den italischen Dialekten," contributes to the discussion of the form *manafum*, in an Oscan execration from Vibia (Bücheler, Oskische Bleitafel, Frankfurt-a.-M., 1877). *Munafum* he takes as identical with *mandans sum*, and is led into a discussion of the phonetic laws governing -ns in Oscan. See also Bugge, "Altitalischen Studien" (K. Z. XXII 385).

19. Max Schneidewin (*Statistisches zu Homeros und Vergilius*) doubts the correctness of Scherer's words (p. 175 in his "Über Darstellung und Sprache in Vergil's Aeneide") that the speeches in V. are long and studied, while in Homer the heroes speak almost only "winged words."

20. De Anno Natali T. Lucretii Poetae. J. Woltjer. The conclusion is reached that Lucretius was born 97 and died 53 B. C.; Hieronymus or some copyist having erred in noting the natal year of Lucretius. The gloss *Vergilius natus est ante incarnationem dni ann. LXX* may originate from Suetonius or some exceedingly remote MS.

21. Horazische Composition (Carm. I 6). Th. Plüss. Kiessling's very good work on this ode (*Philolog. Untersuchungen*, II 95 ff.) lacks in clearness, a fault which P. contributes to remove.

Fascicle 3.

22. Homerische Probleme. F. Weck. Critical notes on A 290, Δ 157, Ζ 195 (= Σ 426, ε 89), and Ψ 805.

23. Sparta und der Ionische Aufstand. This is Busolt's reply to Niese (Hist. Zs. XLIII 408 or Gött. Gel. Anz. 1884, Nr. 2). "Her operations against Argos made Sparta little inclined to lend aid to the Ionians, and the political situation in the Peloponnesos forced her to await the attack of the Persian, for weal or woe, at the Isthmos."

24. Zu Sophokles Elektra. A critical note by G. H. Müller on line 1394.

25. Zu Parmenides. K. J. Liebhold.

26. Zu Isaios. K. Lugebil, St. Petersburg.

27. Miscellen zur älteren römischen Geschichte. F. Cauer. I. On the union of the traditional expulsion of the kings with the historical commencement of the consular fasti. II. On the overthrow of the Decemvirs. III. Whether, from the beginning of the republic on, plebeians might be consuls, and the lex Licinia changed this possibility to a right. See Schäfer, *Jahrbücher*, 1876, pp. 574 ff.

28. Die Eleganz des Terentius im Gebrauch des Adjectivums. P. Barth. I. The use of the neuter adjective as a substantive. II. The use of the adjective in the mas. or fem. as a substantive. III. The predicate use of the adjective.

29. Zu Catullus. K. P. Schultze. On 45, 8 and 17, and against Ellis's interpretation of *sinistra sternunt*.

30. Zu Livius; continuation from pp. 673-91, for the year 1881. Critical notes, by M. Müller, on Books 27-30, which do not appear in his text-edition in the Teubner series. In this connection Heidenhain has a good note on V 5, 4, *cum stipendium*, in which he proposes *olim* for *cum*.

31. Nochmals Ovids Gedichte aus der Verbannung und die Varusschlacht. Th. Matthias. Against Reimarus, Brandt (Zu Dion Cassius, LVI 18) and Wiolet (Leipz. Studien 180-82), who hold 10 A. D. as the year of the defeat of Varus. M. holds to the year 9, and still maintains that all references in

Ovid to this vexed question confirm the dates which the historians have given for this defeat.

32. Zu Eutropius. Critical notes by C. Schrader.
33. Berichtigung zu Th. Bergk's Beiträgen zur römischen Chronologie. G. Hinrichs.
34. Preisaufgabe für das Jahr 1887. "An historical presentation of the social relations of husbandry in the Byzantine empire from Justinian to the Latin Empire." Value \$250.
35. Philologische Gelegenheitsschriften.

Fascicles 4 and 5.

36. Thirty-eight pages of "Untersuchungen zur griechischen Geschichte," by H. R. Pomtow, Rome. The subject is the expedition of the Persians against Delphoi, in 9 chapters. The 8th really concludes his discussion, the points of which are that Herodotus and his followers are the only authorities upon whom we may rely, and that he and Ephoros drew from the accounts of priests. The victory-ode in the temple is then discussed, and the inconsistency between it and the words of Mardonios (Herod. IX 42) noted. Recent critics have attempted to explain it in various ways, none of which, upon Pomtow's examination, can be accepted by him. The conclusion he himself reaches is that the Persians who appeared at Delphoi were only robbers, and that the sparing of Delphoi was due to the oracle, which Mardonios learned of through Onomakritos.

37. Zu Thukydides. Liebhold. On VI 78, 82 and 84.
38. Die *ἐξωτερικοὶ λόγοι* bei Aristoteles und Eudemos. Susemihl, Greifswald. "It does not contradict anything in Aristotle if we, in partial accord with the commentators, divide the great majority of his writings into (1) exoteric, intended for the public, (2) acroatic, for his school, (3) hypomnemonic, for his own use. This does not include the letters, nor the historical works, nor the natural history, etc." See Diels, "Über die exoterischen Reden des Aristoteles" (Monatsber. der Berl. Akad., 1883, pp. 477-94).
39. Zu Lucianos. A continuation of Sommerbrodt's work in the Jahrbücher, 1883, pp. 128-32.
40. Zu Plutarchos. F. L. Lentz, Königsberg. On Brut. §2, Agis §2, Solon §15, Aemilius Paulus §28.
41. Der Becher des Ziegenhirten bei Theokritos. K. Zacher, Breslau. Against understanding that the *κυστίβιον* was shaped so deep that ornamentations, like the running acanthus, could not have been rather upon the inside than upon the outside.
42. Zu Demosthenes Friedensrede [§24]. Liebhold.
43. Forty-one pages on "Die strophische Gliederung in den stichischen Partien des Terentius," by K. Meissner, Bernburg. "The stichic portions of the cantica of Terence are divided into strophes, that is, all stichic divisions of the iambic octonares, the trochaic septenarii, the iambic

senarii so far as they belong to the canticum and not to the diverbiuum, and the iambic septenarii. In these divisions, excepting the last, in which every two equal verses always make a strophe, we always have three united into one strophe."

44. Zur Chronologie der Correspondenz Ciceros seit Caesars Tode. O. E. Schmidt. E. Reute brought out a very good dissertation, "Die Correspondenz Ciceros in den Jahren 44 und 43" (Marburg, 1883), which removed many difficulties in the chronology of the Ciceronian correspondence. But his new dates are not established with equal care, and especially in the 15th book ad Atticum he seems to S. to have failed badly. At the end S. gives a chronological table of the 15th book ad Att.

45. Wann wurde Apollon zum Sonnengott? P. Stengel answers, "At least later than Homer."

Fascicle 6.

46. Das letzte Chorlied der Sophokleischen Elektra. Th. Plüss. "If the chorus believes the deed of Orestes and Elektra was a deception practised upon them by the gods, and Hermes kept this concealed from them, where, logically, lies the acquiescence in the deed, by chorus and spectator; and what becomes of the much-talked-of theodicy of Sophokles?"

47. Zu Sophokles Elektra. G. Kern. Critical note on l. 92.

48. H. Buermann, Berlin. Über Isaios bei Dionysios von Halicarnassos.

49. Zu der Sphaerik des Theodosios. F. Hultsch.

50. Miscellen. K. E. Georges, Gotha.

51. O. Langlotz. Review of H. Ziemer's *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Comparation*. The strongest exception taken to Z.'s work is in his following Kvicala (Zs. für d. öst. Gymn., 1858, p. 529) in reducing the genitive after superlatives, as well as after comparatives, to a genit. of separation. Langlotz still holds to its partitive force: see his "De Genitivi Graeci cum Superlativo Conjuicti Ratione et Usu," Leipzig, 1876.

52. Die Annalen des Tanusius und Volusius. L. Schwabe. Against P. E. Sonnenburg's "Historische Untersuchungen" (Bonn, 1882), and in favor of identifying the Annales of T. and those of V. See Haupt, Quaest. Catull., Opusc. I 71; Schwabe, Quaest. Catull., p. 280; B. Niese, Rhein. Mus. XXXVIII 600, etc.

53. Die Abfassungzeit von Ciceros Cato Major. Maurer. This places the date before Caesar's assassination.

54. Emendationes Vergilianae. Baehrens. On the Aeneid, Bk. I.

55. A critical note, "Zu Horatius Oden," III 8, 5, by F. Harder; and II 1, 6, by A. A. Draeger.

56. Zu Caesar. H. Gilbert. Critical notes on B. Gall. I 18, 3; IV 8, 1; V 7, 8; B. Civ. I 32, 7; III 16, 3. W. E. WATERS.

ROMANIA, No. 53 (Vol. XIV).

P. Meyer. Les premières compilations françaises d'histoire ancienne. I. Les faits des Romains. II. Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César. The author says by way of preface: "Ce qui suit n'est pas un travail achevé: ce n'est guère que l'esquisse d'un travail à faire. Au cours de mes recherches sur la légende d'Alexandre, j'ai eu à m'occuper de deux compilations d'histoire ancienne qui, originairement distinctes, se rencontrent unies dès le XIV^e siècle. Soit joints soit séparés, ces deux ouvrages ont obtenu un très grand succès. Il en a été fait un nombre considérable de copies; ils ont été diversement remaniés et continués. L'un d'eux a été, dès le commencement du XVI^e siècle, traduit en toscan. Ils forment, si je ne me trompe, le plus ancien livre d'histoire ancienne qui ait été écrit en prose française." He then proceeds to give a literary and bibliographical account of these works, the second of which is the later in composition and serves as a kind of preface to the first. *Les Faits des Romains* is devoted almost exclusively to the history of Julius Caesar. It may be of interest to those who still find pleasure in their *De Bello Gallico* to see how their author will look in Middle-Age dress, and so I transcribe a few lines of the first chapter. It will be observed that a process of rejuvenation, so to speak, has been resorted to in regard to the proper names.

"France estoit molt grans au tens Juille Cesar: ele estoit devisée en .iij. parties. Li François qui manoient en une des parties estoient apelé Belgue. Cil de la seconde partie Poitevin ou Aquitain, tot a un; cil de la tierce Celte. Ces .iij. manieres de François n'estoient pas d'un langage ne d'une maniere de vivre. Belgue estoient li plus fort a cel tans, genz sanz soulaz et sans compaignie, por ce que loingtain estoient, ne marcheanz ne genz d'autres terres ne reperoient gueres entre euz, qui i portassent choses ne deduit qui les cuers des gens amoloient aucune foiz."

Gaston Raynaud. Le Miracle de Sardenai. Rectifies and complements an article on the same subject by Raynaud in Romania X, pp. 519-37.

Alfred Morel-Fatio. Notice sur trois Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque d'Osuna. The Library of Osuna, whose last owner, D. Mariano Tellez Giron, died June 2d, 1882, has just been purchased by the Spanish Government. This collection should rather be known as the Library of the Infantado, since its foundation and most important acquisitions are due to the Mendoza family. The Marquis of Santillana formed the first nucleus at Guadalaxara. Then, in the sixteenth century, the fourth Duke of the Infantado, named like his ancestor D. Íñigo Lopez de Mendoza, devoted himself with the greatest zeal towards increasing the collection. The three MSS above mentioned, dating from the fifteenth century, and lately acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale from Belgium, formerly belonged to this collection, as they bear the escutcheon of the original founder. The first, containing a translation into Castilian of the *Liber de Montibus, Silvis, Fontibus*, etc., of Boccaccio, of a discourse by St. Basil, and of the Axiochus, has been numbered 458 and placed in the "Fonds espagnol." The second is a translation into Italian of the *Tuscan Questions* (Fonds it., No. 1703). The third is likewise Italian (Fonds it., No. 1702), and contains the

Corbaccio of Boccaccio in Tuscan. All three, but especially the first two, afford valuable evidence of the origin of Spanish humanism.

J. Ulrich. Chansons ladines. These are three historic songs. The first, "La Chanson de Guillaume Tell," is given in two versions, one in the Upper-Engadine, the other in the Sursilvan, dialect. The former belongs to the earliest period of Ladin literature. Both versions are made from a German original. The second, "Una chianzun davard la ruvijna da Plugr" (which took place Sept. 4, 1618), is probably original, and is in the Upper-Engadine dialect. The third is a translation from the German, in the same dialect. It treats of the battle of Chiavalaina or Malserhaide, which was fought in 1499.

Comptes-rendus. M. Gaster, Literatura populară română. Cu un apendice: Voroava garamantilor cu Alexandru Machedon de Nicolae Costin. Bucuresci, 1883, in-8, xii-605 pp. Until within the last few years students of Roumanian literature have been compelled to rely mainly on the book of Chas. Nisard (1854; 2d ed. 1864); but latterly two books by native scholars have appeared which make possible a very thorough study of this literature. The first of these, Cărțele poporane ale Românilor în secolul XVI (by M. Hasdeu), forms the second volume of the collection entitled Cuvene den bătrâni Limba română vorbită între 1550-1600 (cf. Romania X 347); the second is the above-mentioned book, which is very favorably reviewed by Kr. Nyrop.

Chronique. Short notice of the death of the famous Bibliophile Jacob (Paul Lacroix), who died October 16, 1884.

No. 54.

A. Mussafia. Berta e Milone.—Orlandino. M. here publishes his third and last extract from the "Codice Marciano Gall. XIII" (see Romania III, p. 339, and IV, p. 91).

A. Thomas. Notice sur deux manuscrits de la *Spagna*, en vers, de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. These two MSS of the B. N., though described by Dr. Marsand in 1835, have been overlooked by scholars. T. examines them, and finds they are identical with the two described, in 1871, by Pio Rajna, in the *Propugnatore* (Vol. I, p. 337 *et seq.*), as belonging, the one to the Riccardian Library of Florence, the other to the Communal Library of Ferrara. They differ slightly only towards the end. The first canto of each is given.

P. Meyer. Inventaire des livres de Henri II, Roi de Navarre. A reimpresion, with criticism and corrections, of an inventory of the books of Henry II published by C.-A. Rahlenbeck in the *Annales du Bibliophile belge* of 1882.

C. Nigra. Il Moro Saracino, canzone popolare piemontese. A very short song with a very long comment on its origin and various versions.

Nos. 55-6.

E. Müntz. La Légende de Charlemagne dans l'art du Moyen Âge. In his *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, Mr. Gaston Paris gives a detailed

account of the origin and growth of the legend of the great Emperor of the Franks. Müntz gives a brief parallel study of the influence wrought by this legend in the ecclesiastical architecture, sculpture, tapestry and other allied arts.

F.-A. Wulff. *Le Conte du Mantel.* Texte français des dernières années du XII^e siècle, édité d'après tous les mss. The subject of this story is the trial to which are subjected the ladies of the court of King Arthur. One after the other they try on an enchanted cloak, which, according as it fits or does not fit, attests their fidelity or inconstancy. But one of them comes off with honor—the lady-love of the knight Carados. The mantle, which makes its wearer proof against melancholy and the pangs of love, is thereupon bestowed upon her. Besides canvassing the relative merits of the MSS, the various readings of all are given in the foot-notes.

P. Meyer. Notice d'un ms de la Bibliothèque Phillipps, contenant une ancienne version française des fables d'Eude de Cherrington (ou Cheriton). Eude de Cherrington has been principally known up to the present time by his collection of fables. In 1868 Oesterley published an edition of them from the Arundel MS 292 of the British Museum, under the title of "Narrationes Magistri Odonis Ciringtonia" (see Jahrb. für rom. u. eng. Literatur, IX 127 et seq.; cf. for some additions XII 129-54). He published in 1871, from the Wolfenbüttel MS, some fables wanting in the Arundel MS (Opus cit. XII 129 et seq.). Recently L. Hervieux, after giving, in Vol. I of his *Fabulistes latini*, an account of the MSS of these fables, published in Vol. II a complete edition of the fables themselves. The French translation (unknown up to the present), of which Meyer here gives some extracts, occupies in the Phillipps MS fourteen and a half pages, and seems to have been written about the second half of the thirteenth century. It bears the title *Les Parables Maystre Oe de Cyrintime*.

P. Rajna. Contributi alla storia dell' epopea e del romanzo medievale. In 1884 (Firenze, Sansoni) Rajna published his book "Sulle Origini dell' Epopea Francese." The present article furnishes addenda to his book. The following headings will indicate their character: I. Le origine dell' epopea francese secondo A. G. Schlegel. II. Il Faurel e la cosiddetta teorica delle cantilene. III. Ci fait la geste que Turolus declinet. IV. Due pretesi dati cronologici per la storia della Chanson de Roland. (To be continued.)

E. Langlois. Un nouveau ms de la Chanson d'Anseis, fils de Gerbert. Hitherto but three MSS of the Chanson d'Anseis have been known, two at the B. N., the other at the Arsenal Library at Paris. The one, an account and extracts of which are here given, is in the Vatican Library, Urbino section, No. 375.

N. Zingarelli. La fonte classica di un episodio del *Filocofo*. The "episodio" here spoken of is the "quarta questione d'amore" of the work in question. After referring to the second idyl of Theocritus, the eighth eclogue of Virgil, an episode of Horace, and the sixth book of Lucan's *Pharsalia* as possibly suggestive of the story, the writer continues: "Ma qui il

Boccaccio più che giovarsi di una o più descrizioni classiche, ne ha copiata una *ad litteram*, ed il suo originale è stato l'episodio del libro VII delle *Metamorfosi*, nel quale è presentata Medea che fa con incantesimi ringiovaniare il vecchio padre di Giasone." To prove his statement he then collates passages from the Roman and Italian authors.

G. Raynaud. Poème moralisé sur les propriétés des choses. The extracts here printed are taken from a MS, 12,483, of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. This MS, though containing divers pieces of verse, forms a complete whole. It was composed in the fourteenth century, in honor of the Virgin. The volume is divided into two books and these into fifty chapters each. Forty-three of these chapters are now, however, wanting. The poet first gives, in verses of eight syllables, the description of some animal, plant, stone, or something else; sets forth its properties, which he compares one by one with similar qualities of the Virgin, thereby symbolizing her various virtues. This is done with all the naïveté of a religious devotee.

Paul Meyer. Notice de quelques mss de la Collection Libri à Florence. The Italian Government a few years ago purchased the larger part of the collection of MSS sold, in 1847, by Libri to the late Lord Ashburnham. About a hundred of them the purchasers refused to take, because, as was proved by the Provost (L. Delisle) of the Bibliothèque Nationale, they had been stolen from various public libraries. The remainder of the collection has been deposited in the Laurentian Library at Florence. These MSS are mostly of Italian origin, but a few of them are of special importance for French literature. Of these Meyer proposes to give a detailed account, and likewise extracts from the same.

L. Clédat. Le patois de Coligny et de Saint-Amour. Devoted exclusively to the morphology of this dialect. C. promises to give a study of its phonetics in a future paper.

Comptes-rendus. Une énigme historique. Les Roumains au moyen âge, par A.-D. Xénopol, professeur d'histoire roumaine à l'Université de Jassy. Paris, Leroux, 1885. A. Taverney pronounces this a good résumé of what has been written on the subject up to the present, rather than the result of original investigations. Zur Kritik und Geschichte des altfranzösischen Rolandsliedes. Von A. Parkscher. Berlin, 1885, in-8, 135 pp. G. Paris says: "Ce mémoire ait avec beaucoup d'intelligence a pour but de pousser plus loin l'étude de quelques-uns des problèmes que soulève l'histoire de la *Chanson de Roland*." The author seeks mainly to prove two things: "L'une, que la chanson a subi la révision d'un clerc qui en a beaucoup accentué le caractère religieux; l'autre, que l'épisode de Baligant, également œuvre d'un clerc, était encore étranger au poème dans des rédactions assez récentes." Die Lais der Marie de France, herausgegeben von Karl Warnke. Mit vergleichenden Anmerkungen von Reinhold Koehler. Halle, Niemeyer, 1885, in-8, quatre-lv-276 pp. This is the third volume of the *Bibliotheca Normannica*, which Suchier began to publish about five years ago (see Romania IX 172). Zur Kritik der Bertasaga. Habilitationschrift von Alfred Feist, Dr. Phil., Marburg, 1885, in-8, 32 pp. The author compares

the numerous versions of the story of *Berthe au grand Pied*, and endeavors to make a genealogical classification.

The Chronique contains notice of four works published on the occasion of the Paris-Talbot marriage (July 20, 1885). They are : Manuscrits de la bibliothèque de l'Université tirés des dépôts littéraires. Par Emile Chatelein, Paris, typographie A. Labouret ; Notes sur l'histoire des prépositions françaises *en*, *ens*, *dedans*, *dans*, par Arsène Darmesteter. Paris, Léopold Cerf, petit in-8, 22 pp. (A curious piece of information is here given in regard to *dans* (*de + intus*), which is said to have been almost unknown before the sixteenth century, since which time it has little by little usurped the place of *en*, which has now become obsolete except in certain fixed constructions) ; La pistola que son tramesa an GASTON PARIS lo jorn que pres molher de part lo sieu bon amic (tiré à trente-six exemplaires numérotés, chez Marchesson, au Puy), petit in-8, 7 pp. (name of author not given) ; Sonatori, balli e canti nuziali del popolo siciliano, per Giuseppe Pitrè. Palermo, in-8, 14 pp. This ends the fourteenth volume of the Romania.

SAMUEL GARNER.

BRIEF MENTION.

The executors of the distinguished Egyptologist, Professor GUSTAVUS SEYFFARTH, have published (New York, E. Steiger & Co.) *The Literary Life of Gustavus Seyffarth, an Autobiographical Sketch*, and *Gustav Seyffarth, eine biographische Skizze, von KARL KNORTZ*. Dr. Seyffarth was known to every scholar in the country, to many personally, to very many by correspondence. As to the merits of his long controversy with other Egyptologists, few are competent to pronounce; but no one can deny the pathetic interest of these records of a long life of scholarly endeavor and scholarly enthusiasm, to which the atmosphere of intelligent appreciation was here denied and there malignant.

Dr. J. H. HEINRICH SCHMIDT has brought to a close his elaborate work, *Synonymik der griechischen Sprache*, by the publication of the fourth volume (Leipzig, Teubner, 1886), with a register of words (pp. 689-722) and an index of passages (pp. 723-875) to all four volumes, but he has not succeeded in carrying out his own plans, as he frankly confesses, and we have only 208 families out of the 256 which he had expected to complete before taking his hand from a subject which, in the nature of things, can never be exhaustively treated. It is the first great effort to bring the vast field under tillth, and grateful recognition has not been lacking even on the part of those who are not kindly disposed towards the author's achievements in other directions, and many will admit that Schmidt's 'Synonymik' is an indispensable book who have little but reprobation for the 'Kunstformen.' But Dr. Schmidt looks upon his own philological work as a whole, and refuses the suffrages of those who do not accept all his teachings. Standing, as he does, outside of the philological guild, he has the advantages of a rich life, a wide experience, a free vision, with the drawbacks incident to such a position, especially in a land of tradition like Germany, where intellectual movements come mainly through university channels. It is the feeling of this comparative isolation that has given a strong personal tinge, not free from bitterness, to the author's vindication of his career prefixed to this volume. But the ample recognition that Dr. Schmidt has received from abroad seems to have not been without result in his own country, and it is to be hoped that the last stretches of his life, for which he has reserved some of his most important work, will be rich in the experience of well-rewarded toil. From a practical point of view we have reason to congratulate ourselves that Dr. Schmidt intends to put forth, in the course of 1887, a compact Handbook of Greek and Latin Synonyms, which cannot fail to be of great service to those who have sufficient command of German to appreciate the points that are made. A translation into English would require special attainments, special gifts, and should not be undertaken lightly. A good knowledge of English and German synonyms is a prerequisite, and as the ordinary manuals

often leave one in the lurch, the translator must have a delicate perception of the proprieties of English speech, which can only be gained by long familiarity with the best literature and by actual artistic handling of the language. As to the dangers that environ the translator, one illustration may suffice, and that one is drawn from Dr. Schmidt himself. On Pind. O 5, 12 I had said "canals can be stately" (*σεμνοί*). To this Dr. Schmidt objects, and remarks (p. 642): "Stattlich und *σεμνός* ist doch etwas ganz verschiedenes." But the same thing might be said of "stattlich" and "stately." To be sure, Passow translates *σεμνός* "stattlich," and Dr. Schmidt may quarrel with him on the German side; but "stattlich" is often used where "stately" would be inappropriate, and it may be mentioned as a curiosity that in the long list of equivalents to "stattlich" given by Hilpert "stately" does not occur once. If *όχετοίς* means "streams," as Dr. Schmidt contends, and not "canals," then *σεμνοίς* in Pindar's *σεμνοίς ὄχετοίς* must be taken as in Eur. I. T. 401: *ρέιματα σεμνὰ Δίρκας*, and Troad. 206: *τῶν σεμνῶν ίδάτων*, with distinct recognition of the *οὐβώ* element such as we find in all the Aischylean passages. If *όχετοίς* there means "canals," I cannot help thinking that "stately" is not bad, as it would not be bad in Hel. 431: *πύλας σεμνὰς ἀνδρος ὀλβίου*. In Dem. 3, 26: *οἰκίαν σεμνοτέραν* might fairly well be translated "a more stately house," and Tennyson's "stately ships" by *σεμναὶ νῆες*. This, then, by way of illustrating the extreme difficulty of the subject, a difficulty which Dr. Schmidt cheerfully acknowledges, a difficulty on which he has brought to bear wide reading, keen sympathy, and that lively fancy without which work in this field is hopeless. B. L. G.

Jahresbericht über die Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der germanischen Philologie. Herausgegeben von der Gesellschaft für deutsche Philologie in Berlin. Siebenter Jahrgang, 1885.

The second part of this valuable bibliography is just received, completing the volume. The section on English contains 285 titles, and is under the direction of D. J. Koch, Berlin. It may be cheerfully commended to students of Germanic philology, who will find it a useful summary of the current literature.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

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Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

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CORRECTION.

In my article on the Consecutive Sentence in Greek, in the last number of this Journal, pp. 169, 170, for "Mr. Ridgeway" read "Mr. Whitelaw." My excuse must be the *naïve* excuse recently given by the Spectator for a similar blunder—that the writer was thinking more of the subject than of the author of the essay cited; to which may be added the extenuating fact that the passage was hastily incorporated while the article was going through the press, and that Mr. Ridgeway's name was at that moment uppermost in my mind.

B. L. G.

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. VII, 4.

WHOLE NO. 28.

I.—THE DIALECTS OF NORTH GREECE.¹

The statement of Strabo (VIII 1, 2, p. 333) *πάντες οἱ γὰρ ἐκτὸς Ἰσθμοῦ πλὴν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Μεγαρέων καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν Δωριέων καὶ νῦν ἔτι Αἰολεῖς καλοῦνται* is a statement which epigraphic testimony proves to contain an illegitimate use of *Αἰολεῖς*, but which is doubtless to be explained by reference to that plastic use of tribal names the most patent case of which is the extension of the term *Ἐλλῆνες*. By the Greeks before Aristotle Thessaly was regarded as the cradle of the Greek race, and bore originally, *i. e.* before the incursion of the Thesprotians under Thessalus, the name *Αἰολίς*. This incursion gave the impetus to a series of revolutions in tribal relations which it is impossible for the historian to control with certainty. The *Αἰολιδέων πόλις* in Phocis on the way from Daulis to Delphi (Hdt. VIII 35), and the territory of Pleuron and Calydon, called *Αἰολίς*, in Southern Aetolia, received in all probability their names from exiled Aeolians. In the case of Pleuron (*Πλευρωνία*) such a conjecture has at least the testimony of antiquity in its favor (Strabo X 3, 6, p. 465), and, as Meister remarks, the statement of a historian in Steph. Byz., *ἐν μὲν τοι Δωριεῦσιν Αἴτωλοί*, can readily be brought into agreement with the assertions of Thuc. III 102, and the scholion on Theocr. I 56 (*Αἰολίς γὰρ ή Αἴτωλίς*), by regarding the Doric Aetolians as the inhabitants of the *ἀρχαία Αἰτωλία*. The passage from Strabo quoted above is the only authority which affixes to the inhabitants of northwestern and north-central Greece the name Aeolic. On the other hand, the consentient testimony of the ancients regarded Thessaly and Boeotia alone as Aeolic, and the grammarians restrict the use of

¹ Read at the meeting of the American Philological Association held at Ithaca, July, 1886.

the term "Aeolic dialect" to the idiom of Lesbian poetry, very infrequently characterizing as Aeolic a form which is Boeotian or Thessalian.

Giese (Der aeolische Dialekt, p. 131) has well remarked, in discussing the difficulties presented by the utterances of the Greeks in reference to their tribal and dialectological relations: "*Nicht in den Meinungen der Alten liegen die wahrhaft historischen Zeugnisse, sondern in ihrer Sprache selbst.*" If we supplement this statement by another, which in reality is not excluded by the first: "*Ohne Rücksicht auf das Leben des Volks ist die Sprachwissenschaft tott und werthlos*" (Fick, Ilias, p. 564), we open up the two avenues by which the science of Greek dialectology is to be approached. It will, therefore, in the first instance be necessary to pass in review the various phenomena which constitute each of the cantonal idioms of that wide territory reaching from the Aegean Sea to the western part of Epirus, and from Olympus to the southernmost parallel of those states washed by the Corinthian Gulf. Upon this scientific basis alone can we hope to attain results, the value of which will doubtless be enhanced by the fact that so comprehensive an investigation has as yet not been attempted in Germany.

To establish the position of the dialects of Thessaly and Boeotia as dialects of North Greece, in their connection with Asiatic-Aeolic and in their relation to one another, I present the following table of their chief distinctive morphological features.

I.—DIALECT OF THESSALY.

A. Peculiarities which belong specifically to Thessaly.

1. *e* for *a* in *διέτ.* 2. *οι* for *ω*; *ω* has ceased to exist. 3. *κ* for *τ* in *κίς*. 4. ♀ for *θ* in *φείρ.* 5. *τθ* for *θθ* in *Ἄτθηντος.* 6. *δθ* for *δ* in *ιδθίαν.* 7. Gen. sing. -ο decl. in -οι.¹ 8. Demonstr. pron. *όνε.* 9. Infin. pass. in -οθειν. 10. 3 pl. pass. in -θειν. 11. Infin. aor. act. in -σειν. 12. *μά* for *δέ.* 13. *δαύχνα* for *δάφνη* in *ἀρχιδαύχναφορείσας.* 13. *σσ* for *ζ* in *ἐμφανισσοεν.* 14. -εν in 3 pl. im-perf. aorist (*ἐδούκαεμμά*).

B. Points of agreement with the dialect of Boeotia.

1. *e* for *a* in *θέρος* (*θάρος* also is Boeot.). 2. *ει* for *η.* 3. A labial for a dental: Thess. *Πετθελός* = Boeot. *Φεραλός.* 4. A dental surd and aspirate in Thess. = a double dental in Boeot. = *σσ* in Attic. See example under 3. 5. *θ* for *τ;* *ἴγενονθο ἐφαγγέλθειν* Thess., *παργινίωνθη, ἐποείσανθε* Boeot. 6. *έροτός* for *έρατός.* 7. *F = ν* in middle of a word. 8. *μικκός* = *μικρός* (gramm.). 9. *γίγνωμαι* for *γίγνομαι* from the analogy of the -νημ verbs. The change must have taken place after the withdrawal of the Asiatic Aeolians. 10. Dat. pl. cons.

¹ In the Pharsalian inscr. the gen. ends in -ον.

stems in *-εσσι* (also Lesbian). 11. Inf. in *-εμεν* (not Pharsalian), Lesbian *-μεναι* and *-εν*. 12. Part. perf. Thess. *-ονν*, Boeot., Lesb. *-ων*. This is one of the proofs that these dialects sprang from a common source. 13. *ές* = *έξ* before a cons. Thess., Boeot.; *ές* in B. before a vowel (*έκ* in Lesbian before a cons., *έξ* before a vowel). 14. *έν* for *εις*. 15. Patronymics in *-ειος*, *ιος*. 16. *βελ* in B. *βειλόμενος*, Thess. *βέλλειται*; B. also *βολ* in *βωλά*, Locrian *δειλομα*. 17. *ποτί* B., Aeolic *πρός*, *πρές*. 18. Doubling of *σ* before *τ*, *κ*, *χ*. 19. Absence of *ψιλωσις*. 20. *τ* for *σ* before vowels. 21. Absence of *ν έφελκ.* in the prose inscriptions.

C. The Thessalian dialect has these points of similarity with Asiatic-Aeolic :

1. *ε* for *a* in *θέρσος*. 2. *ι* for *e* (*ει*) *λιθιος*. 3. *ο* for *a* in *δν = ἀνά*. 4. *υ* for *o* in *ἀπό*. 5. Assimilation of a liquid with a spirant, *έμμι*. 6. *οσ* for *σ* between vowels, *έσσεσθεν*. 7. Dat. plur. conson. decl. in *-εσσι*. 8. Personal pronoun *ἄμμι*, *άμμικον*; Lesb. *άμμε*, *άμμένων*. 9. Contract verbs are treated as *-μι* verbs; not in Boeotian inscriptions. 10. Part. perf. act. in *-ονν*, Lesb. *-ων*. 11. Part. of the substantive verb in *έοιν = ἐλν*, Lesb. and Boeot. 12. Article *οι*, *αι*. 13. *ια* for Doric and Ionic *μία*, Goth. *si*, or *αένα οινη*. The feminine of *εις* is not found in any Boeotian literary or epigraphic monument. 14. *κέ* for *άν*. 15. The name of the father is indicated by a patronymical adjective in *-ων*. 16. *μικ-κός = μικρός* (gramm.). 17. *Διόννωνος = Αιολικός Ζόννωνος*. 18. *άιν* (the accent is uncertain); cf. Lesbic *αιν*, *διν* and Boeot. *ήι*, *άι*. 19. *F = ν* in middle of a word. 20. Absence of *ν έφελκ.* in non-*κοινή* inscriptions.

II.—THE DIALECT OF BOEOTIA.

A. The Boeotian dialect is akin to that of Lesbos and Aeolis herein:

1. *ε* for *a*, *θέρσος*, Boeot. also *θράσος*. 2. *Βελφοί*, Aeol. *Βέλφοι*. 3. *ο* for *a*, *στροτός*,¹ Boeot. also *στρατός*. 4. *πύρωνψ* for *πάρνωψ*, Aeol. *Πορνυπίων*. 5. *υ* for *o*, *δνυμα* (but *άπό*). 6. *άτερος* (gramm.) 7. *ο + o = ω*. 8. *ο + a = ǎ*. 9. Gen. *ο* decl. in *-ω*. 10. *-εω* verbs treated as *-μι* verbs, according to the grammarians, and at least at the time of Aristophanes (Achar. 914). 11. Name of the father is expressed by a patronymic adjective. 12. *Πειλεστροτίδας* B., *πιγλω* Lesb. for *τηλότε*. 13. *μικός = μικρός* (gramm.). 14. *F = ν* in middle of a word (*F* is also preserved in B.). 15. *ζά = διά*. Corinna *δια-*. 16. Absence of *ν έφελκ.* in the prose inscriptions.

B. The following are the chief peculiarities of the dialect of Boeotia, and not found either in Thessaly or in Lesbos. (Many later peculiarities are here included.)

1. *a* for *e* in *ιαρός*, Thessal. *ιερόν*, Aeol. *Ιρος < iερος* or **ιερος*. 2. *ι* for *ε* throughout. 3. Accus. pl. *ο* decl. in *-ως*, Aeol. *-οις*, Thessal. *-ος*. 4. *ω* from compens. length. This transformation of *ονς* occurred after the separation of the three dialects. 5. *ον* for *v*, *ονν* after *λ*, *ν* and dentals. 6. *ον* for *ο* in *Διονοκρίδαν*. 7. *οι* is written *οε*, *ν*, *ει*. 8. *η* for *αι*. 9. *γ* for *β* in *πριγγειες*. 10. *ττ* for *σσ*. 11. *ττ* from *στ*. 12. *άπό*, Thessal. Lesbian *άπι*. 13. *βανά* for *γννή*, *γνναι*.

¹ This word is one of the few examples in which the relationship of Boeotian and Aeolic is proven without the concurrence of Thessalian.

is, however, also Boeot. 14. *εἰμεν* = *ἔμμεν*. 15. Inflection *θέμιτι*; Lesb., Thess. *θέμιστος*.

C. Divergences between Boeotian and Asiatic-Aeolic:

1. Prep. *ἀν*; Aeol., Thessal. *δν* alone; *ἀν* is the only form in Boeot. and Doric.
2. *πέτταρες*; Aeol. *πέσσαρες*, *πέσναρες*.
3. *κράτος*, also Thessal.; Aeol. *κρέτος*.
4. *κά*, Aeol. *κέ*; *Ἀρταμις*, Aeol. *Ἀρτεμις*.
5. *ει* for *η* throughout. The solitary example of *ει* in Lesbic is *ποιείμενος*.
6. *ι* for *ει* throughout.
7. *ω* from compensatory length: *βωλά*, *Δωρίμαχε*; accus. pl. *σωγγράφες*; fem. part. *Αἴλωσα*.
8. *ον* for *υ*, *ων* after *λ*, *ν* and dentals.
9. *ον* for *υ*.
10. *οε*, *υ*, *ει* for *αι*.
11. *η* for *αι*.
12. *ι* before vowels = *ι*, *ει*.
13. Gen. pl. *-άων*, Lesb. *-αν*.
14. *εε* = Boeot. *ει*, Lesb. *η*.
15. *καὶ + ἐ* = Boeot. *η*, Lesb. *ἄ* seldom *η*.
16. Aeolic *ψίλωσις* is not found in Boeot.
17. Aeolic *βαρύτηνης*.
18. Aeolic *οδ*, Boeot. *δ*, *δδ* = *ζ*; cf. the Elean *ζ*, which is Doric, not Aeolic.
19. *ξος* for *ξς*.
20. *ω* verbs inf.: Boeot. *-μεν*, Lesb. *-ην*, *-εν*.
21. *άως*, *άς* for Aeol. *τως*. The latter has been attributed to Ionic influence.
22. Imperative *-ιθω*, Lesbic *-ντω*. The Boeotian form is, of course, a later development.
23. Boeot. *πέντε*, Aeol. *πέμπε*.
24. Absence of *ψίλωσις*.

D. The dialect of Boeotia differs from that of Thessaly herein. (Many later peculiarities of B. are here included.)

1. *ιαρός* B., *ιερός* Thess., with the exception of C. 400, 25 Crannon.
2. *ἀν*, Thess. *δν*.
3. Thessal. change to *ε* in *διέ*, *Φεκέδαμος*; Boeot. *α*.
4. B. *στρόπες* and *στρατός*, Thess. *στρατός*.
5. Boeot. *ω*, Thess. *ον*.
6. *ει* in Boeot. = *ι*, Thess. *ει*.
7. *αι* in Boeot. = *η*, Thess. *αι* or *ει* in the ending *-τει*.
8. *υ* in Boeot. = *ον*, *ων*, Thess. *υ*.
9. *οι* = Boeot. *οε*, *υ*, *ει* = Thess. *οι*.
10. *ε* before vowels = Boeot. *ε*, *ι*, *ει* = Thessal. *ε*, *ι*.
11. *α + α* = Boeot. *αο*, *αν* = Thessal. *ά*.
12. *ω* = Boeot. *ω* = Thess. *εο*.
13. *οο* = Boeot. *ω* = Thess. *οο* in *-νοος*.
14. Thess. *οο* between vowels (*ἐσσασθειν*) = Boeot. *σ*.
15. Thessal. *φ* for *χ* in *ἀρχιδαυγαφορεῖσα*.
16. Thessal. has no *ν ἑφελκυτικόν*.
17. Thess. gemination of nasals and liquids.
18. *ανς*, *ονς* = Boeot. *άς*, *ώς* = Thess. *άς*, *ώς*.
19. *ζ* = Boeot. *δ*, *δδ* = Thess. *ζ*, *σσ*.
20. *σσ* = Boeot. *ττ* = Thess. *τθ*, *Φετταλός*, *Πετθαλός*.
21. *κ* for *τ* in Thess. *κις*.
22. Gen. sing. *-ο* decl. = Boeot. *ω*, Thessal. *οι*.
23. Boeot. *τισάτω* = Thess. *πεισάτον*.
24. Boeot. *κά* = Thess. *κέ*.

III.—POINTS OF SIMILARITY BETWEEN THE DIALECTS OF THESSALY, BOEOTIA AND LESBOS.

1. *ε* for *αι* in *θέρσος*.
2. Formation of patronymics.
3. Pronunciation of *ν* (probably).
4. Termination of the perf. act. part. (-*ων*).
5. Participle of the substantive verb *ἔων*.
6. Termination *-εσσι* in consonantal declension.
7. *Σ* in middle of a word = *υ*.
8. Absence of *ν ἑφελκ.* in the non-*κατινή* prose inscriptions.

From this summary it is clear that the dialect of Boeotia occupies an intermediate position between that of Thessaly and that of Lesbos, is nearer akin to that of Thessaly, and that the dialect of

Thessaly has a distinctively Aeolic coloring.¹ Aside from those special evolutions in vocalization to which the Boeotian dialect first gave graphical expression, and the Aeolisms of Boeotian speech, there is a remainder of Dorisms the explanation of which has offered no inconsiderable difficulty to the dialectologist.²

That the inhabitants of Boeotia and Thessaly were of the Aeolic race is proved by the close similarity of their dialects, and by the indisputable belief of the ancients that the Boeotians were of kindred race with the Aeolians. Boeotians joined the *κρίσαρτες Αιολεῖς* expelled by the Dorians, in the emigration to Aeolis, Lesbos and Tenedos, a union of *émigrés* scarcely possible had there existed no ties of consanguinity between them.

Two great tribes occupied Greece north of the Corinthian Gulf—the Aeolic in the east, the Doric chiefly in the west and centre,³ the Dorians themselves being referred to North Thessaly. From that western element came the Peloponnesian Doric as an offshoot,⁴ now expelling the idiom of the original settlers, now absorbing its forms, which stand out as isolated landmarks of a bygone age (*e. g.* Ποοΐδαια in Sparta, the only example of the *o* ablaut in this name). Though the Locrian dialect offers certain peculiarities, reappearing in Elean, it can nevertheless be adjudged to be a descendant of North-Doric speech.

Whether a dialectical separation between Peloponnesian and North-Greek Dorians took place at the time of the return of the Heraclidae, or whether they continued to use one and the same speech, is a question admitting merely a tentative solution, though the latter seems the more probable assumption, since there exist in North Doric a few remnants which are parallel to Peloponnesian Doric (gen. in -ω and -ως).

¹This is not the place to enter upon a discussion of Collitz's assertion: *die thessalische Mundart bildet . . . die Uebergangsstufe vom böötischen zum lesbischen, vom lesbischen zum kyprisch-arkadischen und vom kyprisch-arkadischen zum böötischen Dialekte.*

²Wilamowitz-Möllendorf regards the Boeotian idiom as a mixture of Achaean and Aeolic elements. Of the exact nature of the former we know too little to permit us to treat it as a basis of argumentation. When Aeolic and Doric agree it is difficult to determine to which the phenomenon in question is to be referred, *e. g.* Boeot. gen. in -ω.

³The authority of Herodotus should not be invoked to militate against this assertion, since it rests solely on the supposition of the Ionic historian that the Dorians alone were originally pure Hellenes. From this πρῶτον φεῦδος he concludes that the Dorians lived in Phthiotis, the seat of Hellen.

⁴The consensus of historical investigation now relegates the wanderings of the Dorians to a period anterior to the irruption of the Boeotians.

While the similarity between Thessalian and Boeotian was rendered more apparent by the dialectological *έρμαῖον* of the inscription from Larissa, their points of difference still await a final explanation. Upon the solution of the problem whether the original inhabitants of Boeotia were of Aeolic or of Doric blood depends the exact position of its dialect in its relation not only to that of Thessaly, but also to that of Western and Central Greece. We enter here upon a tortuous path, which is illuminated solely by the occasional rays of light cast by ancient literature.

It has been asserted by many, and, for example, by Merzdorf, that there existed an Aeolo-Doric period. This favorite assumption rests upon a probability that is purely specious, and has flourished upon the sterile soil of reverence for Strabo from the time of Salmasius to the present day. Its correctness has never been demonstrated by a detailed investigation, nor is it easily supportable by any more cogent argument than that in a both Aeolic and Doric have preserved a common inheritance, and that they retained *F* with greater tenacity than the Ionians. But these considerations, together with some other minor points of agreement, by no means prove the existence of an Aeolo-Doric unity in any determinable prehistoric period, much less elevate such a unity to that degree of certainty sufficient to serve as a basis for exact dialectological investigation. Though Merzdorf accepts this unity as an incontrovertible fact, he fails to show that the Boeotian dialect, with its mixture of Aeolic and Doric forms, stands in direct succession to this primitive Aeolo-Doric period.¹

If, then, this contingent of Aeolic and Doric forms cannot be demonstrated to be an heirloom of an Aeolo-Doric period, it is necessary to take refuge in the theory of dialect intermixture through the agency of the influence of one race upon another.

The opinion has prevailed in many quarters that the inhabitants of Boeotia were originally Doric, and that they were Aeolized at the time of the irruption of the "Boeotians" from Arne in Thessaly, whence they were driven by the Thesprotians under

¹ Merzdorf finds four characteristic marks of the Aeolo-Doric period: 1. The treatment of -*εω* as -*μι* verbs. 2. *τν* for *εις*. 3. *πέρ* for *πρεπί*. 4. Dat. plur. in -*εσσι*. The incorrectness of all these assumptions will be shown later on, when we come to a discussion of the intermixture of dialects in Central North Greece. Merzdorf assumes that in the Aeolo-Doric period the Dorians, who remained in North Greece, were more closely connected with the Aeolians than the Peloponnesian Dorians, *i. e.* that the North-Doric dialect is one of the bridges which lead from the *Αἰολίς* to the *Δωρίς*.

Thessalus. Thucydides (I 12) says that, sixty years after the fall of Troy, the Boeotians, having been expelled by the Thessalians, took possession of the land, which was now called Boeotia, but which before had been called Cadmeis, wherein there had previously dwelt a section of their race, which had contributed their contingent to the Trojan war. The latter statement is evidently a makeshift to bring his account into harmony with Homer, who recognizes the Boeotians as inhabitants of Boeotia. The account of Pausanias varies from that of Thucydides in that he relegates the immigration of the Boeotians to a period anterior to the Trojan war, and Ephorus states that the invading force was composed of the Boeotians from Arne, and of Cadmeans who had been expelled from Boeotia by the Thracians and Pelasgians. The theory of Thucydides that the Boeotians in their ingressions from Thessaly into Boeotia were returning to their ancestral dwelling-place is evidently an invention, coined in the workshop of fiction, and failing to show that the Boeotians were of Aeolic stock. A similar inversion of historical fact is seen in the legend that the Aetolians "returned" to Elis at the time of the return of the Heraclidae. The atmosphere which Greek historians breathed was surcharged with "returns" of expatriated tribes.

Though tradition is adduced pointing to an invading force of Aeolic blood, and though it has been assumed that this force was successful in subduing a Doric race in Boeotia, traces of whose language worked their way into the speech of the conquerors, it cannot be said that these suppositions have either been made convincing or even possible. According to Brand, the latest writer on the subject, all those Dorisms which appear in the Boeotian dialect are either survivals of the Doric speech of the conquered inhabitants, or are importations from the neighboring communities to the west. Whatever may be said of the plausibility of the latter assertion, which will not be overlooked later on, the grotesque ingenuousness of his argument that, because in all the cantons of Northern Greece, except that of Thessaly, at the time of Alexander the Great, there obtained a dialect which presents the same general Doric characteristics, therefore such must have been the case in prehistoric times, needs no refutation.¹ Inasmuch as all previous

¹ The substructure of Brand's theory of a pan-Aeolic dialect is constructed of the flimsy materials of gratuitous assumption and a marvellous readiness to take refuge in that most pliable of arguments—the *argumentum ex silentio*.

treatises on the dialect of Boeotia have failed to investigate the source of its dialect-mixture, an examination of this problem may not be without value.

Upon the arrival of the expatriated Arneans in Boeotia, they found there a mixed population, of which the Cadmeans and the Minyaean certainly formed a portion. (The Thebans are said to have taken possession of their land—*συμμίκτους ἀνθρώπους ἐξελάσαστες*.) Busolt denies that the Cadmeans were of Phoenician origin, though it is impossible to tell with any certainty to what race they belonged. It is, however, probable that upon their expulsion they settled in Claros, Laconia, in Melos and in Thera. Tradition informs us that Erchomenos, the city of the Minyaean, of which Athanas, the son of Aeolos, was king, was connected with Iolcos¹ in Thessaly, an Aeolic city, called an *ἀποικία* of the Minyaean. If we remember that the seats of the Minyaean were originally on the Pagasaean Gulf, and that they emigrated thence to the Copaic valley, we cannot fail to see that Boeotia and Thessaly were originally united into one territorial district.²

Athamas was worshipped as a hero at Alos in Achaea Phthiotis, having a chapel connected with the temple of Zeus Laphystios.³ Here human sacrifice had been permitted—an importation from Boeotia, where it had been introduced by Phoenicians. In Boeotia and in Phthiotis was an *'Αθαμάντιον πεδίον*. Near the Boeotian Coroneia was a temple dedicated to the Itonian Athena; a similar temple near a town called Itonus existed in Thessaly; cf. Grote, Chap. XVIII. The architectural remains of the Minyaean at Erchomenos are testimonials of Aeolic genius contemporaneous with those at Mycenae. The Achaeans were an *Αἰολικὸν οἴκος*; and the Dorians did not develop at this remote period any architectonic greatness.

When the new-comers from Thessaly took possession of Boeotia, the Minyaean fled to Lemnos, Phocaea and Teos, and thence to Triphylia in Elis.⁴ Pelias of Iolcos, and Neleus of Pylos, which was identified with the Triphylian Pylos, were brothers (λ 254). Busolt (Griech. Geschichte, I 95) finds it difficult to explain the origin of the settlement of the Minyaean in Triphylia, and characterizes the Elean dialect as "related to the Arcadian." The Arcadians,

¹ Jason, leader of the Argonauts from Iolcos, was one of the Minyaean.

² See Curtius, Hist. Greece, American reprint, I 100.

³ In Boeotia Zeus Laphystios had a temple near Erchomenos.

⁴ Hdt. IV 145-49. ποταμὸς Μινύης, Λ 722.

it is true, are said by Strabo to have been the earliest inhabitants of Triphylia. But, if the Minyae were of Aeolic stock,¹ as is supposed by Fick (*Ilias*, p. 568), their settlement in Elis would explain that mixture of Aeolic and North Doric which is one of the chief peculiarities of the Elean patois.

Aetolians settled in Elis, under the leadership of Oxylos, at the time of the return of the Heraclidae. If these Aetolians brought with them a dialect not dissimilar to that of Locris, we understand why the Eleans displayed such a fondness for *ā* before *p*, as in *Fáryos*, *πάρ*; for *ā* as in *Fártta* and *paráp*, phonetic aberrations found chiefly in Locris as regards *ā*, and in Locris alone as regards the *ā*. Furthermore, we then comprehend such unmistakable traces of North-Doric influence as the dative-locative in *-os* in the *o* decl., *-os* dat. pl. cons. decl., *or* for *οθ*, and perhaps *-es* accus. pl. (Delphic and Achaean). The Dorisms which are the common property of all Doric dialects, and which recur in this dialect, may be ascribed to the same source, e. g. *τ* for *σ*, *ω* by comp. length, *ποτί*, *τόκα*, *πεντέκατος*, infin. in *-μεν*, though the possibility of the influence of Peloponnesian Doric is not thereby excluded. Strabo testifies to the admission of Doric elements into the Elean dialect, saying *ὅσοι μὲν οὖν ἡσσον τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν ἐπεπλέκοντο καθάπερ συνίβη τοῖς τε Ἀρκάσι καὶ τοῖς Ἡλεῖσι, οὗτοι Αἰολιστὴ διελέχθησαν*. If the Minyae who settled in Triphylia (Hdt. IV 148) were Aeolic originally (and we need not assume that they had been Aeolized at Lemnos), their phonetic contingent was Aeolic, and we perceive whence came the Aeolic stratum in that remarkable combination of dialectical phenomena known as the Elean dialect. I refer to the *ψιλωτις* (*ἐπιαρον*), to the accus. pl. of the *ā* and *o* decl. in *-ais* and *-ois* (e. g. *ταῖρ*, *τοῖρ*, rhotacism being a later development), to the treatment of *-ew* verbs as *-μι* verbs in *καδαλήμενος*, though it must be conceded that this too is a peculiarity of the Locrian dialect. This theory of the origin of the intermixture of dialects in Elis (first suggested by Fick), though new, and perhaps destined to excite the hostility of surprise, cannot be dismissed without an examination of all the arguments that make for this conclusion.²

¹ The Asiatic Aeolians were then composed of two contingents: (1) The expelled Thessalians and Minyae, who joined the (2) Peloponnesian Aeolians, who reached their destination via Boeotia. The argument that the Minyae were Ionians who brought *ēk* (instead of *ēc* cum genet.), *eis*, etc., to the Aeolic dialect, is a mere supposition. Duncker (V⁴ 24), it is true, regards as Ionians those expelled by the Arneans.

² Blass lays weight upon the fact that Pisatis was connected with Arcadia

This digression was necessitated by my desire to develop and confirm the supposition that, of the original inhabitants of Boeotia, the Minyaean at least were of Aeolic stock.¹ The name of the inhabitants of the land drained by the Cephissus was in historical times *inter alia Αἰολεῖς Βοιωτοί*. Now, the peculiarity of this denomination of a people which formed later on a federal unity, leads to the not unpleasing supposition that herein we have a designation of two tribal entities—the Aeolians and the Boeotians; otherwise, it would be difficult to explain a compound name of this character not easily paralleled in the domain of Greek ethnography or elsewhere in Greek, but occurring in at least one cognate language. If in reality the tribe called *Βοιωτοί* was a part of that body of Dorian Greeks who, as pioneers of a Dorian civilization, left their western home to seek a new habitation in the east, the possibility of a solution of the problem of dialect-mixture in Boeotia becomes at once apparent. The Boeotians left Arne in Thessaly either before or after the Trojan war—our authorities varying between the one date and the other—but that they were necessarily Aeolians is far from being proved by the sporadic testimony of tradition. Pausanias, X 8, 4, couches his opinion in positive language: Θεσσαλίας γὰρ καὶ οὐτοις (οἱ Βοιωτοί) τὰ ἀρχαίτερα φέγγαν καὶ Αἰολεῖς τρικάτη ἐκαλοῦντο, but we have no warrant for the credibility of his source of information. Thucydides doubtless believed them to be Aeolians, since they were “returning” to Boeotia, which was an Aeolic country in his opinion. A dispossessed Aeolic people would naturally take refuge with a kindred race, but their arrival is signalized not by a fraternal welcome, but by the expulsion of the Minyaean, once the most powerful tribe of North Greece. If it be granted that the Arneans were Aeolians—and we must confess that the balance of probability according to tradition inclines to this view—we are driven to the conclusion that at this turbulent period, when the Dorians themselves were compelled to vacate their settlements, a body of Dorians must have forced their way across the confines of Boeotia and become amalgamated with the remnant of

before its conquest by the Eleans in the fifth century. But from Arcadia the Elean dialect could have derived but few Aeolic ingredients. The general features of the Arcadian dialect are widely different from those of Elis;—thus—*v* for *o* in *ἀπί*, *ἄλλυ*; *ἴσις* for *ἴξ*; *ἴν* for *ἐν*; *πάς* for *πράς*; termination *-ναι*, accus. pl. *-τος*, *ει*, *ἄν*, *ήναι*, *-θεναι*, change of *τ* to *σ*.

¹ Πενμάττως (Τείματτος) Βελφοί, Πειθεῖς have been regarded as survivals of the original Aeolic, a proof of the long life of proper names, even under the adverse conditions of the supremacy of an alien tribe.

the original Aeolic population. Whence these Dorians came we know not, if they be not in reality the Arneans.¹ Doubtless they were Dorians who had crossed the Pindus—such ultramontane Doric tribes are not without parallel—and, forced by the later incursions of the Thesprotians under Thessalus, pressed southward to seek a new abode in Boeotia.² Or, perhaps, from the Dores who, on their expulsion from Thessaly, settled in Doris, may have come an offshoot, which forced its way into Boeotia. We must be content with a *non liquet* in the investigation of such an elusive problem, and rest satisfied with the results attained—that Boeotia was originally an Aeolic land, and that it was partially Dorized at an early period of its history. The possibility of Doric accretions from the west at a later period is not thereby excluded, though an examination of the dialect of the neighboring cantons justifies the conclusion that the Boeotians were more liberal in infusing peculiarities of their idiom into adjacent regions than ready to receive foreign loan-forms.

In Thessaly, as frequently where alien races come into contact, the speech of the conquerors yielded to that of the conquered. That the invaders were Dorians is clear from many considerations, one of which has heretofore been overlooked. The leader of the Thesprotians was Thessalus, grandson of Hercules; the leaders of the Dorians who overran the Achaean Sparta were the sons of Aristodemus, grandson of the same hero. In both Thessaly and Sparta the subdued inhabitants occupied a similar position,³ the Achaeans and Magnetes in the north being reduced to a condition parallel to that of the *περιοικοι*, while the *πενίσται* were subjected to the fate of the Helots. Thessaly was divided into four, Laconia into six divisions. It need not excite our surprise that the tenacity of the Aeolic of the overpowered Thessalians was so vigorous as

¹ Too much stress should, perhaps, not be laid on kinship between tribes. It is, therefore, impossible to show that the Arneans were not Dorians, from the fact that they compelled Locrians and the Abantes of Abae in Phocis to leave their homes. That the Aegidae of Thebes took part in the return of the Heraclidae does not prove the original inhabitants of Boeotia to have been Dorians.

² Such tribes must have crossed the ridges of the Pindus at a period antedating the inroad of the Thesprotians, since Achilles calls upon the Zeus of the Epirotic Dodona as the ancestral divinity of his house. Had these Epirotes, it may be remarked, been barbarians, as a later age assumed, the preeminent position of Dodona and of the Achelous would be unexplainable.

³ "When Διολίς became Thessaly its real national history was at an end"—Curtius.

to supplant the dialect of the conquerors. The western Greeks, though of genuine Hellenic stock, were an uncultivated people, the Aeolians of Thessaly a people destined, together with the Achaeans, to be the nurse of the noblest development of Hellenic poetry. Hence the fact that we find so few Dorisms in Thessaly; e.g. *νονί*, *επέρε* (Lesbian *επέρες*), *φραξεπέρες*, etc.,¹ whereas in the land of the *crassi Boeoti*, a people enkindled by no great love of the humarer arts—for Pindar was really *extra flammantia moenia mundi*—less resistance was offered to the speech of the invading Dorians. Thus we find such surviving Aeolisms² as inf. in -μεν, patronymics in -ησ, dat. in -εσσι mixed with Dorisms; e.g. *α* for *ε* in *ιαπός* (Thess. *ιεπός*, Lesbic *ιψός*); the accus. pl. in *ας*, *α* < *η*, by comp. length; *άνο* for *άνι*, *εύει* for *εύειν*, *άν* for *άν* Thess., Lesb.; *κά*, the change of *εο* to *ω*(?), inflection of *θίμει* (*θίμηται*), *ται*, *ται*, absence of assimilation, reflexive *είρος είρω*, *είρεται*, fut. in -*ξε*, aorist in -*ξα* from -*ξε* verbs. Other non-Doric peculiarities of Boeotian speech which find no parallel either in Thessaly or in Lesbos are either individual developments of the dialect or importations from elsewhere; e.g. *πτ* from Attica or Euboea, as we may assume that the *πτ* on the most ancient Boeotian inscriptions (*Κυραπίσσαι Λιβύσσαι*) is antecedent to the *πτ* of the later monuments.

Turning from the eastern to the western portion of North Hellas, we enter upon a field that has heretofore not been systematically explored by the dialectologist. The present investigation of the vowel and consonantal systems of the dialect of Epirus, Acarnania, Aetolia, Phthiotis, and of the dialect of the Aenianes, is the first that attempts to bring together all the phenomena illustrative of the dialect of this extensive region. Before proceeding to a summary of the chief features of this *patois*, it may be instructive to pass in review some matters of ethnographic and historical importance that will cast light upon this obscure corner of Greek dialectology.

Epirus. The Greeks held that Hellas proper ended at Ambria, and that therefore the Epirotic tribes were non-Hellenic. Though Thuc. (II 81) expressly states that the Chaones were

¹ I regard the use of *ειν* for *εις* as originally Hellenic, and not confined to the Doric of North Greece. Some portion of the Dorisms of Thessaly may, of course, be held to be later accessions. The inscriptions of Pharsalia in Thessaliotis are completely Aetolian in character.

² It is improbable that any of these Aeolisms should have been importations from Thessaly.

barbarians, modern investigation has determined that of the northern tribes some were wholly barbarous, while the southern tribes at least were Hellenized. If, however, the Thesprotians under Thessalus, presumably in the eleventh century, were the source of the admixture of Doric elements in the Aeolic of Thessaly, and perhaps of Boeotia, we cannot doubt but that the Epirotes were on a footing of ethnic equality with the other Hellenes, nor refuse to allot them a place among the sections of that Doric race which afterwards was split into a northern and a southern division. In history the Epirotes play no part till the rise of the Molossi under Pyrrhus; and in 168 B. C. they were subdued by the Romans.

Acarnania. The earliest inhabitants were Leleges and Curetes, the former of whom had originally their habitations in Caria. Tradition points to early settlements under Cypselus from Corinth, and Blass has declared that the Acarnanian dialect is nothing more than an imported Corinthian, a declaration which he has unfortunately not yet proved. The Acarnanians were at all times the bitter opponents of the Aetolians, serving as auxiliaries under Philip of Macedon after 220, to which fact they owed their fall in 197.

Aetolia. Curetes, Leleges and Hyantes are stated to have been the original settlers of Aetolia. At the period of the tribal revolutions Aeolians from Thessaly forced their way in to settle near Pleuron and Calydon, and Epirotes came from the northwest to augment the number of immigrants. The Aetolians were the early settlers of Elis under Oxylos, though tradition fixed the original seat of the Aetolians in Elis (*Ἡλείαν προγονικήν*). Thucydides, III 94, makes the uncanny statement in reference to the Aetolians, *ἀγνώστατοι δὲ γλώσσαν εἰσὶ καὶ ώμοφάγοι, ὡς λέγονται.* If this assertion be true, which is doubtful on account of the qualification, it can readily be referred to the inhabitants of Aetolia *ἐπικτητοί*. The eastern Greeks evidently had a fragmentary knowledge of their western brethren, whom they characterized as semi-barbarians because they failed to keep pace with themselves in the race for intellectual development. If we may trust the evidence of the inscriptions (cf. especially Coll. 1413), which flatly contradicts the self-asserting superiority of other more favored tribes, there did not fail to exist, even in this western canton, some love of sculpture and of poetry. The Aetolian league disseminated for almost a century its *Kanzleistyl* over a large part of Greece and the Archi-

pelago (Ceos, Teos). In Laconia (Cauer¹ 30, 32) we find traces of Aetolian forms in inscriptions otherwise composed in pure Laconian. In Phocis (Delphi was subject to the Aetolians from 290 to 191), Locris, South Thessaly, are inscriptions varying in no important particular from those discovered in Aetolia itself. One possibility must, however, not be suppressed—the dialect presented in the inscriptions may not be the native dialect of the inhabitants. As the Macedonian official language is separated by a chasm from the speech of the people, which suffered one of the earliest recorded *Lautverschiebungen* on European soil, so the judicial language of the Aetolian league may fail to present to us those delicate nuances of vowel and consonantal coloring which are the bone and sinew of a genuine "dialect."

The ever-increasing sway which this Aetolian state-speech exercised throughout Hellas was a potent factor in the dissolution of the ancient cantonal idioms. So complete, indeed, appeared the authority of this dialect at the time of Ahrens, that he was misled into the assertion that North Doric was merely an extension of Aetolian Doric, an assertion proved to be false by the Locrian tables, and by the Delphic decrees of manumission.¹

The Aenianes were genuine Hellenes and closely related to the Myrmidons and Phthiotite Achaeans. Their original habitation is supposed to have been Thessaly, though in historical times they occupied the valley of the Spercheios, covering in part the territory embraced by the ancient Phthia. From 279 to 195 they were members of the Aetolian league.

The inscriptions from the southernmost Thessalian quarter, Phthiotis, bear such unmistakable traces of North-Doric influence that the opinion of Fick, who has collected and commented upon them in Coll. II 1439–1473, cannot be upheld, though supported by the authority of Kirchhoff (*Alphabet* 138), and Meister (*Dialecte*, I 289). These scholars all hold that the inscriptions afford a true picture of the Phthiotite dialect. The inconsistency of Fick's opinion is manifest when we remember that he assumed the Doric dialect of the invaders from Epirus to have succumbed to that of the subjected Aeolians in North Thessaly. Here, however, in Phthiotis, where the pulse of Aeolic life must have beaten with the greatest vigor, where dwelt the Phthiotite Achaeans, close to Phthia, the home of the Myrmidons and of Achilles, who was undoubt-

¹ There is no foundation for Giese's statement that the language of Aetolia was Aeolic.

edly an Aeolian of the Aeolians—*here* we are asked to accept a complete submerging of the Aeolic dialect and its replacement by a foreign speech. On the contrary, I hold that we have to maintain that the linguistic peculiarities presented by the inscriptions are the record of the political domination of the Aetolians. Despite the complete ascendancy of the official language of the Aetolians, traces of the original native speech may have forced their way through, since the patronymic formations in *-ιος*—the surest criterion of the Aeolic dialect—in Nos. 1453, 1460, 1473 need not be explained as importations from any one of the three northern provinces of the *τεραποχία*. Whatever may have been the original form of the dialect of Phthiotis, so far as our epigraphical testimony allows us to judge, its present status is completely North Doric. Thus, for example, we find Θεσσαλῶν No. 1444 (183 B. C.), and Κάμων No. 1459 (160 B. C.), the North-Thessalian forms being Πετθαλοῦν and Κάμουν.

The following table presents the chief characteristics of the dialects of Epirus, Acarnania, Aetolia, of the Aenianes and of Phthiotis:¹

1. *a* for *e* in *Ιαροφυλάκων* Aetol. *ιερός* is also Aetolian and Acarnanian. There is no trace of *Ἀρταμίς*. 2. *ēn-* < *ēvF* in *ξένος*, etc. *ἴνηκοντα* Oetaea. 3. *'Απελλαῖος* Oetaea. 4. *o* in *Θεοκολέω* Aetol.; cf. *Θεοπολέω* Plato's *Leges*. 5. There is no trace of *i* for *e* in *ἐστιά*. 6. *v* in *δνυμα* Aetol., *δνομα* in all the other dialects of this group; *δνομα* is also Aetolian. 7. *ā*, as in Peloponnesian Doric and Aeolic. *θεάρός* and *θεωρός* Aetol. *Πατροκλέας* is a form declined according to the analogy of the *ā* decl. 8. Hellenic *η* is everywhere preserved, with the exception of *Έγκαστν*, Epirus, and (probably) *ειράνα*, found in all these dialects. The ingressions of *η* from the *καινή* is comparatively rare. 9. The genuine diphthong *ei* appears as *e* in *Διωπέθης* (Epirus), *Διωπεί[θεος]* Acarn.; *ειάν* has the form *ειάν* (Epirus). *Ποσειδῶνι* is the South-Thessalian form. 10. Spurious *ei* and not spurious *η* is the result of compensatory lengthening of *e* before *vF*. *evF* is reduced to *ev*. 11. Spurious *ov* from *oνς*; *oνF* = *op* except in *Δωρίμαχος* Acarn. Aetol. 12. *-ωi* is either (1) preserved, or (2) reduced to *-ω* or *-oi* (or *oi* may be regarded as the loc.). 13. *ηi* has frequently lost the iota adscriptum. 14. Contraction of vowels: *ea* uncontracted or contracted to *η*; *ee* contracted to *ei*; *en* contracted to *η* in *-κλῆς*; *eo* uncontracted or contracted to *ov*, *ev*; *ao* uncontracted or contracted to *ω*; *aa* uncontracted or contracted to *ā*; *oo* uncontracted or contracted to *ov*, *ω* in *'Αριστώς*; *ae* uncontracted; *oe* contracted to *ov*; *aw* contracted to *ā*; *ew* uncontracted. 15. *F* in but two examples, *Φείδης*, *Φαττίδας* (both Epirotic).² 16. *v* for *vv* (?) in *ἴνηκοντα*

¹ I have included in this table certain Oetaean forms of interest. We possess, unfortunately, no inscriptions from Doris, the metropolis of the Laconians and Messenians.

² Meister, I, p. 106, quotes as Acarn. the form *Φοινάθει*, which does not occur in the inscriptions.

Oetaean. οὐσιῶν = ταῦτων Oct. Strabo XIII 1, 64. 17. ξ for σ once. 18. Declension: (1) $\bar{\epsilon}$ decl. gen. sing. $-\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}$, $-\bar{\epsilon}$; gen. pl. $-\bar{\alpha}\bar{v}$. (2) \circ decl. gen. sing. $-\omega$; dat. sing. $-\omega$, $-\omega$, $-\omega$; accus. pl. $-\omega\omega$. (3) $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}$ decl. gen. sing. $-\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\sigma}$, $-\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}$ once; $-\bar{\omega}\bar{\sigma}$ in Σεπτέμβριον Aetoi., $-\bar{\omega}\bar{\sigma}$ in Ναυπάκτιον Phth.; dat. sing. $-\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}$; accus. sing. $-\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}$, $-\bar{\iota}$. (4) $-\bar{\omega}\bar{\sigma}$ decl. gen. $-\bar{\omega}\bar{\sigma}$ ($-\bar{\omega}\bar{\sigma}$ late); dat. $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}$, Δ $\bar{\alpha}\bar{u}$ and Δ $\bar{\iota}\bar{i}$; accus. $-\bar{\omega}\bar{\iota}$; gen. pl. $-\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}$. (5) $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}$ decl. gen. sing. $-\bar{\omega}\bar{\sigma}$; dat. sing. $-\bar{\iota}\bar{\iota}$, $-\bar{\iota}\bar{\iota}$; nom. pl. $-\bar{\omega}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\sigma}$. (6) $\bar{\omega}$ decl. gen. $-\bar{\omega}\bar{\sigma}$ and $-\bar{\omega}\bar{\iota}$. 19. $-\bar{\omega}\bar{\sigma}$ occurs in the consonantal decl.; there is no trace of $-\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}$. 20. Pronouns: ταῦται, αἰτούστων; cf. Boeot. $\bar{\iota}\bar{\pi}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}$ αἴτως εἰτί. 21. Verbs: $-\bar{\omega}\bar{\iota}$, $-\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}\bar{\iota}$, $-\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}\bar{\iota}$; ξ in aor. of $\zeta\omega$ verbs; $-\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}$ verbs do not generally contract $-\bar{\omega}\bar{\iota}$; inf. $-\bar{\omega}\bar{\sigma}$ for $-\omega$ verbs; $-\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\sigma}$ for μ verbs. 22. Prepositions: $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\iota}$, $\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{\iota}$, $\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}$, $\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}$ accus. and dat. 23. Adverbs, etc.: $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}$, κά, γή once (Epir.); $\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}\bar{\iota}$ is very common.¹

In turning from the rich bloom of the generous dialect-life in the Aeolic cantons of the east to the monotonous sterility of the North Doric of the west, we enter upon a period of the development of Hellenic morphology in which the life-blood of the cantonal speech has been drained dry, in which the epichoristic idiom has suffered a disintegration which is equivalent to absorption into the *lingua franca* of Dorism. None of the western cantons resisted the encroachment of the *κοινή* as long as did those of Central Greece, or equalled the tenacity with which the Laconian and Messenian dialects maintained their cantonal individuality.

Of greater vitality, and therefore of greater moment to the dialectologist, are those phenomena of speech contained in the interlying dialects of Locris and Phocis (especially Delphi), dialects which occupy no unimportant place in an investigation of the problem of Greek dialect-mixture. These dialects in their oldest stage possess almost as strong a local coloring as the *patois* of Boeotia. The Delphic διάλεκτος, while not so strongly marked in its earliest epigraphical monuments as that of Locris, preserves a good part of its individuality till the birth of Christ; but the Locrian *patois* was soon merged into that North Doric which is spread throughout all the regions of the west.

The Locrian dialect is represented by two strata of phenomena: (1) An older stratum found in the inscription relating to the settlement of the Opuntians at Naupactus among the Ozolian Locrians

¹ The inscriptions all date from a late period. The two oldest of those of Epirus may be placed between 342 and 326, another between 273 and 260; the rest are all without precise date, though undoubtedly of late origin. The oldest Acarnanian inscription dates shortly after 300, the oldest Aetolian between 240 and 189, while the majority are of the second century. An Aenianian inscription, No. 1429, must have been written shortly after the death of Alexander the Great in 323, No. 1430 is anterior to 279, others are of the second century. None of the Phthiotic monuments antedate the period when Phthiotis was incorporated in the Aetolian league (279-193); others belong to the period of the later Thessalian league (193-146). Most of the inscriptions in this dialect are to be dated before 150 B. C.

(Coll. 1478), dating from the first half of the fifth century, and in the inscription containing a fragment of the treaty between Chalcion and Oeanthea, placed by Kirchhoff at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war; (2) All the later inscriptions. The two documents of the first class, together with the *βουστροφηδόν* inscription discovered at Crissa (Cauer¹ 202), and dating at least from the fifth century, are (aside from the great Larissaean inscription) the most important epigraphical monuments of Northern Greece, and of incalculable value to the dialectologist, inasmuch as they contain traces of the oldest phase of Northern Doric found nowhere else. The chief features of the older strata of forms are as follows:

1. The manifest fondness for *a* for *e* before *p*, which we noticed as being a chief peculiarity of the Olympian inscriptions; e. g. *ἀμάρα*, *Feσπάριος*, *πατάρα*.
2. Contractions: *a + ε = η*; *a + ο = ᾳ*; *a + ω = ᾳ, ω*; *ε + ε = ει*; *ο + ο = ω*; *ο + ε = ω*; *ε + ο, ε + η* do not suffer contraction, and *ε + a* in neut. pl. -*εις* stems (nom. -*ος*) is uncontracted.
3. The frequency of the use of *Ω* and *Ϝ* (*Fέτι*, *Fέκαστος*).
4. *στ* for *σθ*, found also in Thessaly, Boeotia and Elis; e. g. *ἀρτόσται*, *ἐλέστω*, *χρήσται*.
5. The position of the dialect between the *ψιλώραι* and the *δασντικοί*; e. g. *ό, ἄ, οί, ινδωρ*; *ἀγεν*.
6. *ο* decl. has gen. sing. in -*ω*, accus. pl. in -*οις* (traces of this in Delphic are very problematical).
7. *ει, οι*, not *η, ω* from compensatory lengthening.
8. The flexion of the -*εω* verbs as -*μι* verbs in *τύκαλεμενος*.
9. *ξ* in the fut. and aorist of -*ζω* verbs.
10. Prepositions: *ἐν* for *εις*; *πό*, *ποι*; *πέρ*; *ἐ = ἵκ*.
11. Dat. pl. consonantal decl. in -*οις*; e. g. *μεινοις*, *Χαλεπειοις*.

The later stratum of forms presents the general Doric character of the western group, all the remarkable peculiarities of the older stratum having disappeared.¹ Contraction of vowels is more frequent, *Ϝ* ceases to appear, there is no *a* for *e* before *p*. In this later development of the dialect there is one essential difference between the dialect of Opuntian and that of Ozolian Locris: the former alone has -*εσσι* in the dative plural of consonantal stems (*χρημάτεσσι*, about 200 B. C.). This characteristic mark of the Aeolic dialect is found from Mount Olympus throughout Boeotia, Opuntian Locris and Delphi, but is unable to force its way across the boundary into the territory of Ozolian Locris.

A survey of the dialect of Phocis, including that of Delphi, which contains some few peculiarities of its own, will complete our review of the speech of Northern Hellas. The oldest monuments of the Phocian dialect are inscription No. 1537 (Crissa), which Kirchhoff assigns to the sixth century as the earliest possible date,

¹The inscriptions of the Ozolian Locris contain the same dialectic features as those of Opuntian or Hypocnemidian Locris.

and No. 1531 (Elatea), which must be of considerable antiquity, as it has the labial spirant in *Favakeīw*. Of the Delphic dialect the oldest monuments are Cauer² 203, which contains the form *Fitē*, and No. 204, 380 B. C. As the manumission decrees of Delphi present more peculiarities than the inscriptions of the rest of Phocis, I give here a summary of the dialect of the former, noticing when the Phocian monuments register actual differences:

1. *a* in *κά*; there are but few cases of *āv*, these occurring after the birth of Christ, *ai* in the oracle Hdt. IV 157 and C.² 204; all later inscriptions have *ei*. *ἰαρός* and *ἱερός* in the oldest Delphic inscription. *'Αράμιτος, διωκάτιοι.* 2. *e*. adj. termination in *-eos*, which is contracted about 200. *'Απελλαιος*; cf. Loc. *'Απελλῶν*; *e* for *o* is Delphic alone in *έβδεμηκοντα, ὁδελός* (also Megarian), *πέλετρον*. *-ew* for *-aw* in *συλέω, ἐπιτυμέω*. 3. *o*; *τέτορες* to the third century B. C. *ποί* in *Ποιτρόπιος*. 4. *v*; *δύνμα, ἔνδυς*. 5. *ā*; *ās*, though *ēw* is more common; *θεαρο-* and *θεωρο-*; *ἐνκτασις*. 6. *η*, from *e + η*; in *Σωσικάτη, iερήια*, etc. 7. *w*; *aīs ὡτᾶς, τετράκοντα*. 8. Contractions: *e + e = ei*; *a + o = ao* and *ā (ās)*; *a + η = aη*; *e + a = ea* and *η* in neut. pl. of *-os* nouns (except *έτρα*); *e + η = η* (one example of *εη*); *a + w = ā, w*; *e + o = eo*, later *eu, ov; e + u = ew*, later *w*; *o + o = ω* (in nouns in *-ώ*) and *ov*. 9. Spiritus asper in *ἔφοροιν, ἔφακεισθω, ιδιος* Delphic alone. 10. Spurious *ei* and *ov* from comp. length. 11. Consonants: *όδελός, δειλοματις*; *π* for *r* in *Πηλεκλέας*; *ἡνθων*. 12. Declension: gen. sing. *-ov*, accus. pl. *-ouς* (the forms in *o* and *os*, in C.² 204 are doubtless mere inaccuracies); dat. in *-oi* (about 30 cases); *-ouς* and *-osou* in conson. decl. in Delphic. I find no case of *-osou* in the rest of Phocis; *-ην* stems have gen. *-eos*. 13. Conjugation: verbs in *-ω, -ηω, -ξω* and *-ξα* from *-ζω* verbs (*-στω* fut. is a peculiarity of the older Delphic); *-ew* verbs conjugated according to *-μι* inflection. Optative in *-ουεν, -ουι, -ουσαν*. Imperative *-ντων* in the oldest inscr., later *-ντω* and *-σαν*. Infin. in *-ειν, φέρειν, ἔνοικεν* D., Phocis *-ειν* or *-ην* (*συλῆν, ἐπιτυμῆν* D.), *είμεν, ἀποδέμεν*. Participle: *μαστιγίων συλήκοντες, ποιείμενος, χρείμενος*. 14. Prep., etc.: *κα*, *πέρ* in *πέροδος, ποι, ἐν* cum accus.; *ει, οις* "whither" D.; Elision is more frequent in D. than in Locrian.

This presentation of the phenomena of North-Greek speech, which affords a complete summary of the prominent features of each dialect, has now placed us in a position to gain a wider horizon in our estimate of the interrelation of the various dialects of this extensive territory. The entire region north of the Peloponnesus, with the exception of Attica and Megara, was the seat of two great dialects: (1) the Aeolic in the east, found originally in Thessaly and in Boeotia, where, through tribal revolutions and later dialect mixture, it has become strongly interfused with Dorisms, and (2) the North Doric, found in comparative purity, if we consider the paucity and late date of the inscriptions, in Western Greece, *i. e.* from the eastern confines of Aetolia to the west and northwest. This dialect contains no Aeolisms what-

ever. Between the two—the Aeolic of the east and the North Doric of the west—lies the Doric of the centre, a Doric essentially of the same character as that of the west, though from its greater antiquity presenting peculiarities not found elsewhere. The Doric of the west and the Doric of the centre of North Greece presents so many characteristic features which are identical, that it can hardly be deemed an assertion devoid of improbability if we maintain that no small portion of the Doric peculiarities of the Locrian idiom must have been a common heritage of the Dorians who remained in North Greece, and that, if we possessed epigraphic testimony from Aetolia or Epirus of the sixth or fifth centuries, or even such of a later date but of an unofficial type, we should discover many of those phenomena which are now held to be the distinctive property of Locris or Phocis; *e. g.* the Locrian genitives in -ω.

The peculiar nature of the North Dorisms, mixed with Aeolisms, in the Elean dialect substantiates the above hypothesis; for, had the Aetolians, at the time of their emigration to Elis, used as a vehicle of expression no other form of the dialect than that found in the inscriptions of their canton, those distinctive North-Greek features of Elean could never have been introduced by their agency. We may, indeed, conjecture that the official language of the inscriptions—a language reduced to the dead level of a monotonous Dorism—does not represent the language of the people, but such a conjecture does not militate against the probability of the assumption that originally there was but one North Doric, varied no doubt here and there by cantonal preferences, but spoken by Locrians and Aetolians alike. By this assumption alone can the Doric ingredient in the mixture of dialects in Elis be explained.

There now remains but one problem for our consideration—the interrelation of the North-Doric and Aeolic elements in the speech of Locris and Phocis. There are three possible solutions to this difficult question: (1) The Aeolisms embedded in the Doric of Phocis and Locris are loan-formations from the Aeolic of the east or northeast, or (2) they are the result of independent generation, or (3) they are relics of an Aeolo-Doric period. To the impossibility of demonstrating the existence of such a period, and of the inadvisability of attributing to it, if demonstrated, any potency in the settlement of mooted questions, reference has already been made. If, at the time of Homer, or of the return of the Heraclidae, Aeolic and Doric were cleft asunder, to what re-

moter period shall we then penetrate to discover a unity which shall throw a flood of light upon the existence of sporadic phenomena at variance with the genius of the dialect in which they appear—phenomena that belong to a period at least a thousand years after this supposed Aeolo-Doric unity? Perhaps no argument could be better adapted to strengthen Schmidt's "wave-theory" than the indefensibility of such assumptions as those of Merzdorf and others.¹ Shall the dialectologist, supported solely by the elusive testimony at his command, arrogate to himself the right to establish periods in the prehistoric life of Hellas, from which even the historian or ethnographer recoils? If I read aright the march of Greek dialectological investigation, one tendency at least is apparent: the assumption of an original unity of tribes, that later on enjoyed a separate existence, is only then available as a sure basis for further speculation when such a unity is elevated beyond the possibility of a doubt.

When a *causa efficiens* for dialect mixture² can be found in tribal migrations attested by the evidence of antiquity, such evidence cannot be neglected. But the assumption of dialect mixture, even when we can show no historical testimony to the special influence of one tribe upon another, or the assumption of independent generation, is invariably preferable to any theory of great tribal unities designed to solve all difficulties as a *deus ex machina*. By the "independent generation" of a form in a Greek dialect, I understand the genesis of a form which is alien to the genius of the dialect in which it appears, and which is controlled in the last instance by the forces of analogy. As language constantly renews her processes, it is possible that the same tendency to create a given form may arise independently in different localities which stand in no interrelation. Such an analogical formation may have arisen, for example, in the dialect of Locris many years after a similar formation was called into existence in the dialect of Lesbos, and at a time when the forces that caused the Lesbian formation had become impotent in Lesbos.

I assert, then, in opposition to each and every scholar who is of the opinion that the Aeolisms of Locris and Phocis are survivals of an Aeolo-Doric unity, that neither is the testimony of antiquity³ nor

¹ Prof. Allen no longer accepts the views adopted by him in *Curt. Stud.* III, 1870.

² The Gortynian inscription offers some remarkable instances of dialect mixture; e. g. the Aeolic *ἴς*, *ἴων*, *πεδά*, *δρυν*, *πλίων*.

³ Strabo regarded the Doric as a part of the Aeolic dialect (*τὴν δὲ Δωρίδα*

is the evidence of Greek dialectology able to establish as valid any such unity ; on the contrary, I maintain that all these Aeolisms are either loan-formations or are the result of independent generation. The delimitation of the extent of dialect mixture is as difficult as the delimitation of that of independent generation ; and that it is often difficult to determine whether we shall assign a given form to one or to the other of these causes, cannot be held to militate against the validity of my position.

Connection between Boeotia and Phocis or Locris is *eo ipso* probable, and is attested in many ways;¹ Ἐρχομένος in a Delphic inscription preserves the epichoricistic spelling of the later Ὁρχομένος. Hartmann attributes to the Boeotian dialect a vigorous influence in coloring the Doric of the west, but as he fails to support his assertions by any arguments that savor of cogency, we are not loath to characterize as incredible his statement that the datives in -αι in Delphic are a loan-formation, since there are about 30 instances of -αι, over 1000 in -ῳ. It has been assumed that the -αι's represent an orthographical error, an assertion as far from the truth as that they are Boeotisms. Traces of Boeotian influence have been seen in Δρυμεύς and in ἔνδυς, for Δρομεύς (cf. Δρομεύς, Δρόμος) and ἔνδος, which is ascribed to the Dorians, Anecd. Ox. II 162, 10. But, though the darkening of ο to υ is found in Boeotian (Διουσκουρίδας, Θιουτίμην and in Διωδότω Νιυμένιος), this phenomenon is not exclusively Boeotian, as it is not even chiefly Aeolic. As ἔνδος occurs in Delphic, the υ of ἔνδυς may have been generated on Delphian soil ; and Δρυμαία, Δρυμίν, Δρυμός are different names of a city of Phocis. Δρυμεύς need, therefore, not contain the base δρομ. Πηλεκλία, W. F. 54, 2, is perhaps a Boeotism for Τηλεκλία ; cf. Boeot. Πειλεστροῖς (but also Τειλεφάνεις) and Lesbic πῆλιν = τηλέστρε.

Locrian ἐνκαλείμενος, Delphic ποιείμενος, ἀφαιρείμενος are instances of the -μι inflection of -εω verbs that constantly recurs in the dialects of Aeolic coloring.² It is improbable that ἐνκαλείμενος should, through Boeotian influence, have forced its way into the dialect of the Ozolian from that of the Opuntian Locrians, who were settlers in Naupactus. The -μι form is to be ascribed either to the influence of Aeolic settlers (cf. Terpander and the Lesbic *citharoedi*,

τῷ Αἰολίδι). In another passage Strabo calls the Aeolians and Dorians δρυγογενεῖς.

¹ Connection with Thessaly was, perhaps, not so intimate. The sacred processions to Olympus may, however, be adduced.

² Hom. ἀλεήμενος, old Lesbic ποιήμενος, later Lesbic ποείμενος, Boeot. φίλειμι (gramm.), Thess. γυμνασιαρχέντος, Arcad. ἀδικήμενος, Elean καδαλήμενος.

Ahrens, Gött. Phil. Versamml., 1852, p. 77), or, better, to a development of the Doric of these cantons parallel to that of the Aeolic dialect. As these forms are undoubtedly of later origin, they offer no proof of an Aeolo-Doric period.

iv cum accusativo occurs throughout the entire extent of Northern Hellas (*eiς* occurs in all the Delphic inscriptions but three times), and in Arcado-Cyprian. It does not occur, however, in the *κατ' ἔξοχήν* Aeolic dialect, the Lesbian. As this construction is a relic of the period when Greeks and Latins¹ possessed but one preposition to express "motion to" and "rest in," it cannot be regarded as a characteristic of an Aeolo-Doric age. The Ionians have supplanted it entirely by the use of *εἰς*, *εἰς*, and the Aeolians too, perhaps under the influence of their Ionic neighbors, relinquished their ancient inheritance. That *eiς cum genetivo* in Aeolic was driven out by *εἰς*, *εἰς* of the Ionians is not improbable, as both Thessalian and Boeotian stand here on a plane. The occurrence of *iv* in *εἰλ Λακεδαιμονία* (C.² 26, 8, about 316 B. C.), the single example in Laconian inscriptions, is, if correct, a trace of Elean influence, rather than a survival of the original construction.

The elision of *περὶ* is not Aeolo-Doric, but Hellenic, though of sporadic occurrence. For Attic the forms *περεβάλοντο*, Agam. 1147; *περεσκήψασεν*, Eum. 634; *περιών*, in a fragment of a comic poet, are well attested. The elision of this preposition, claimed as a characteristic of the Locrian idiom, is done away with by the correct reading, *Περκοδαράν*, Coll. 1478. *πέροδος*, the single occurrence on Delphian territory,³ *περιδαῖος*, *περάπτων*, *περ' αὐτᾶς*, *περ' ἀτλάτου πάθας* in Pindar, *περούχηται*, *περίαχε* in Hesiod, poets, who have incorrectly been supposed to have preserved herein traces of their close relationship to the Pythian oracle at Delphi, *περομίνοι*, *περόσχια*, *περώσιον* in Hesychius, the Elean *πάρ*, which may be due to North-Doric or to Aeolic influence (cf. Alcaeus 36, *περθέτω*; and in two conjectures of Bergk *πάρ*'), *περ' ἐμέιο* Megara CIG I, 1064—all these forms make clear the folly of attaching to a single dialect an occurrence of such general character.⁴

The dative pl. in *-ois* in the cons. decl. is found in Aetolian, Locrian and Delphic, and also in Boeotian (*ηγυς*), the isolated

¹ Cf. old Irish *i(n)*, Germ. *in*, old Pruss. *en*, Lith. *in*, *t*.

² *περιειεν* is also Delphic, C.² 204, 18—the same inscription in which *πέροδος* occurs. *πέρ* is also Thessalian, in which dialect the full form does not exist.

³ Cf. *ἀμφ'* in Homer, *ἀμφὶ* in Attic.

position of which leads us to regard it as an importation from the west, though the possibility of its being a native growth should not be suppressed. This analogical formation, like that of *-σας* in the imperfect, testifies merely to the loosening of the old rigidity of inflection, and is not the exclusive property of any dialect, since it appears in Messenian, late Laconian, Sicilian, Arcadian, Cretan, and perhaps in Lesbian.

That *-εσσι* is not Aeolo-Doric is clear from the fact that, apart from the Homeric and Lesbian formations, it occurs only in Boeotian and in Thessalian. There is no trace whatsoever of *-εσσι* in any inscription of Peloponnesian Doric, and in North Greece it comes to light only as far west as the western boundary of Phocis. If this form were Aeolo-Doric, its appearance beyond this boundary and elsewhere would have followed as a consequence. The Delphic forms are not necessarily loan-formations, as they may be representatives of the forces of analogy inherent in each separate dialect. *-εσσι* occurs in inscriptions of Corcyra, Megara, in Theocritus and in Archimedes.

The result of this investigation may now be briefly stated :

I. The eastern part of North Greece was originally the abode of an Aeolic race whose dialect survived in Thessaly till the latest times. In Boeotia the incursion of a foreign Doric element was not so successfully resisted as in the case of Thessaly, and it is to the influence of this foreign element that we owe, both in Thessaly and Boeotia, the existence of Doric forms, though thereby the possibility of later accessions is not denied.

II. The dialect of the extreme western part of North Greece is pure North Doric, and absolutely free from the contamination of Aeolisms.

III. The dialects of Central North Greece are substantially North Doric in character ; the Aeolisms which they contain are not survivals of an Aeolo-Doric period, but are purely adventitious, and their appearance is traceable up to certain definite limits.

IV. Conformity to general usage, and not an accurate terminology, dictates my expression "dialect of Epirus," etc., though care must be taken to assert that, in the five cantons, Epirus, Acarnania, Aetolia, the canton of the Aenianes and Phthiotis, there obtained at the period subject to our control but one "dialect," distinguished here and there by minute local landmarks. I see herein a proof of the correctness of the theory of Joh. Schmidt (or of Paul Meyer, if he has the prior claim of being its originator), in so far

is a circumstance that the term "dialect" refuses to be restricted to any limits more or less exact. In any theory of dialects which are ever subject to a historical test, especially if not subjected to the restriction that such a writer imposes, chronological considerations are as an circumstance that cannot be underestimated. Therefore, while on a later review of the dialect-life of Hellas the expression "dialect" is one of regular relativity, it is a justifiable term of certain significations of morphological and syntactical discontinuity in the wider sense of a language when dialect-relations were more sharply defined. Schmidt's theory is undoubtedly popular, though I have suffered frequent criticism, notably at the hands of F. G. J., but I doubt whether it can ultimately hold ground. If a mere *çymru*¹ existed, it might deserve of all individual existence so strong a character as that of Boeotia or Thessaly, Lycia or Cappadocia. The restriction of the term "dialect" to narrow geographical limits may entice, and has conveyed, erroneous conceptions concerning the nature of a dialect, but the boundaries which enclose a dialect in the true sense of the word are not necessarily coextensive with those dictated by geographical configuration or by the exigencies of state policy.

This investigation, then, is not without its significance, inasmuch as it casts a light-dimmed, it is true, by the poverty of material at our command—upon the contention between two theories of the interpretation of dialectical phenomena. It shows us that we cannot cast aside the *Stammbaumtheorie* engrafted upon Greek by the Darwinism of Schleicher, and still defended by Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, even though the practical difficulties in the way of its absolute adoption seem well-nigh insurmountable. If, too timid, we struggle to avoid being dashed against the Scylla of Schleicherism, we may be drawn into the Charybdean waves of Schmidt's *Weilenthеorie*. The cardinal feature of this consists, according to one of its most keen-sighted adherents,¹ in its assumption: "Dass sie (Schmidt's Theorie) eine allmähliche Differenzierung des ursprünglich in continuierlicher Reihe verlaufenden Sprachgebietes annimmt, und zwar eine Differenzierung durch dialektische Neuerungen, die an verschiedenen Stellen des ursprünglichen Gebietes aufkommen und von dem Punkte ihrer Entstehung aus auf das benachbarte Gebiet sich verbreiten." The adoption of such an explanation not only of the L.-E. languages, but also of the Greek dialects, may lead us to see the cause whereby sub-dialect

¹ Collitz in *Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der griechischen Dialekte*, 1885.

may lead to sub-dialect, and how each dialect may thus be bound together with the life of another by a "continuous series of minute variations." But we are confronted in the science of Greek dialectology with phenomena dating from historical periods; for these phenomena we must seek a historical explanation as far as is permitted by the dim light of history. The wave-theory regards as merely interesting confirmations of its suppositions those causes of differentiation of a linguistic territory which to its opponents are the very sinew of the genealogical theory. It may well be questioned whether Schmidt's theory does not confuse those processes which caused dialects originally to come into existence, and those processes which give birth to phenomena that have become in historical times the property of two adjacent dialects which have flourished for a long period of time. Peculiarities which link together two dialects may be ascribed to the influence of one upon the other; but in periods antedating all historical ken the influence of a neighboring speech-territory need not necessarily have been the cause of dialectic peculiarities.

If linguistic phenomena alone be taken as the point of departure, we must confess that we thereby seek a refuge in a *sauve qui peut*, and renounce that ideal whose every patient endeavor aims at discovering in the *disiecta membra* of dialect-speech a clue that will reinforce those utterances of antiquity which make for the intimate connection between parent-stock and the offspring which, in periods subject to conjecture alone, left an ancestral home. This ideal in dialectology is as important a guiding motive as the ideal of the freedom from exception to phonetic law is in the science of comparative philology. We have, then, at least no mean purpose, if we search for the golden thread that shall lead us to an explanation of the genealogy of each separate form. With this ideal in view we may perhaps discover that, when the forms of adventitious growth have been separated from those which are indigenous, it is not impossible to construct genealogical trees for the Greek dialects, which will stand in harmonious interdependence. If we endeavor to sift the material which a kind chance has preserved to us, and believe that *terra mater noua miracula suis ex uisceribus numquam emittere cessabit*, we may trust that a solution may not be far off for many problems which the vigorous dialect-life of Hellas presents.

HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

II.—THE SEQUENCE OF TENSES IN LATIN.

FIRST PAPER.

I.

The doctrine of the Sequence of Tenses has two sides, a theoretical and a pedagogical. It is the purpose of the present and the succeeding paper to examine it with some fullness on the former side, and briefly on the latter.

The doctrine is stated in various ways, which deal with the subject, some more, some less, externally. For an example of the former this will serve: In subordinate clauses the tenses of the subjunctive conform to the following rule: principal tenses depend upon principal tenses, historical upon historical — a form of statement which contents itself with tabulation, and does not touch ground. Deeper-reaching is the statement that the choice of the tense in each sentence is determined by the tense of the verb on which the sentence in question depends.

A modified form of the doctrine will be discussed later. At the outset our concern is with the prevailing view.

For convenience' sake, we may state that view, with justice to all parties thus far included, in some such way as this: The tense of the subordinate clause is found to be under the influence of the tense of the main clause, or, as Engelmann puts it (Schneider's translation, p. 308), "A subjunctive clause is, in regard to its tense, dependent on the principal sentence."

To this statement the literature offers exceptions, some specimens of which (mostly confined to clauses of result) are given in the grammars. Our examination starts from a scrutiny of these exceptions, beginning with the so-called primary tenses.

1. *In Consecutive Clauses after UT.*

a. The present:

Nam priores ita regnarunt ut haud inmerito omnes deinceps conditores partium certe urbis, quas novas ipsi sedes ab se auctae multititudinis addiderunt, numerentur. Liv. 2, 1, 2. For the predecessors of Tarquin the Proud reigned in such a manner that

we very properly regard them all as founders of the city, etc. The verb *regnarunt* belongs, according to the traditional chronology, to the years 753–534; while the verb *numerentur* belongs, just as an indicative *numerantur* would, to the age of Livy.

Χολὴν ἄκρατον noctu eieci; statim ita sum levatus ut mihi deus aliquis medicinam fecisse videatur. Cic. Fam. 14, 7, 1. . . . in an instant I was so relieved that the cure has the look of a miracle.

In eodem (*Lucullo*) tanta prudentia fuit in constituendis temperrandisque civitatibus, tanta aequitas, ut hodie stet *Asia Luculli* institutis servandis et quasi vestigiis persecundis. Cic. Acad. 2, 1, 3. *Lucullus took so long a look ahead in establishing forms of government, and had such a sense for justice, that to-day Asia stands by holding to his arrangements and following, so to speak, in his tracks.*

. . . in provincia Sicilia, quam iste per triennium ita vexavit ac perdidit ut ea restitui in antiquum statum nullo modo possit, vix autem per mullos annos innocentisque praetores aliqua ex parte recreari aliquando posse videatur. Cic. Verr. Act. Pr. 4, 12. *For three years this fellow so harried and ruined Sicily that there is no possible way of restoring her to her old condition, etc.*

The comment of Allen and Greenough (p. 201) upon the passage is as follows: "Here the present is used in describing a state of things actually existing"; which of course means *at the time when Cicero made the speech*. The modally dependent *possit* and *videatur*, then, mean, so far as tense alone goes, precisely the same thing as would *potest* and *videtur*. Barring the formal expression of degree and result, Cicero might equally well have said *Siciliam iste per triennium vexavit ac perdidit; neque ea restitui in antiquum statum ullo modo potest*, etc. We may then state as a formula for this particular case: mood apart, *possit* = *potest*, *videatur* = *videtur*. And, governed by this and an abundance of similar cases, we are obliged, whatever our prepossessions may be, to lay down the statement that after secondary tenses the present subjunctive in consecutive *ut*-clauses expresses, shows that the speaker *means*, time present to his speaking; that, in other words, the present subjunctive in consecutive *ut*-sentences after a secondary verb is wholly independent of any Sequence of Tenses.

But if the present has this power after secondary tenses, it clearly cannot be asserted not to have it after primary tenses, as for example in the following: *Nam sociorum auxilia propter acerbitatem atque iniurias imperii nostri aut ita imbecilla sunt*

ut non multum nos iuvare possint, aut ita alienata a nobis ut neque exspectandum ab iis neque committendum iis quicquam videatur. Cic. Fam. 15, 1, 5. It is idle to hold that the present subjunctives of *posse* and *videri*, though able to express a certain temporal idea in the teeth of the Sequence of Tenses, as in the former example, have not the ability to express the same meaning in ordinary use, as in the latter example—that, in other words, they can by some mysterious accession of power set the law at defiance and become tense-expressing, having, nevertheless, no power to express tense.

On this point—this argument from the power clearly seen to be present in the tense in the unusual combination (or, in common phraseology, in the exception) to the meaning of the tense in all constructions of the kind, whether unusual or usual—the whole matter hinges. I must therefore insist upon it and emphasize it.

We find, in consecutive *ut*-sentences, the present subjunctive in combination with a preceding present, etc., and in combination with a preceding aorist, etc. Now, how much do we absolutely know of the force of the subjunctive present in any one of these result-clauses? We absolutely know that in one of the combinations it has the force, conveys the meaning, of the present—a meaning precisely the same, mood apart, as that of the present indicative. Next, is there anything to detain us from supposing (as we should at once naturally proceed to do) that this meaning, which indubitably exists in the one set of cases, exists in the other? Is there anything to indicate that the speaker, using precisely the same expression in the two sets of cases, meant one thing in the one set, and another thing in the other? Nothing whatever. Very good. The rational interpretation of the entire field of phenomena accordingly is that the speaker attaches a present result, now to a cause temporally near, now to a cause remote. But why (for we are naturally curious to understand the one point remaining) do we find, as we read Latin literature, that there are a great many examples of a present result attached to a cause temporally near, and comparatively few examples of a present result attached to a remote cause? The reason is the simple fact, familiar to everybody, that very few results abide long, or, at any rate, are appreciated as long-abiding. There are, in the year 1887, abiding results of the victory of the Greeks over Xerxes, and we may therefore say *at the battle of Salamis the Greeks routed their enemies, in consequence of which victory our*

modern civilization is essentially Greek, not Oriental; but as we read Greek and Roman history, or any other, we find that results are mostly immediately attendant upon their causes, and have no visible effect upon the state of things at the time when the history was written; and, consequently, after the expression of a past cause we find a great many expressions of a past result,¹ and very few expressions of a present result. All this falls in perfectly with the way things are in this world. But to set up a theory which, to apply it to perfectly analogous phenomena in English, would maintain that I say “*am*” in the sentence *I hurt my leg badly ten years ago, so that I am unable to walk*, because I mean *now*, while in the sentence *I have hurt my leg badly, so that I am unable to walk*, I don’t say “*am*” because I mean *now*, but say it (not meaning anything temporal by the word itself) because my mind is under the control of the tense of the main verb—to set up such a theory as this is to see things only as they appeared in the early part of the present century, in the world of certain² grammarians

¹ The history of the common use of the imperfect to indicate results seen in temporal connection with the past will be given later.

² Some of the grammarians of the time dealt with the matter in a very reasonable way. Krüger, for example (*Untersuchungen aus dem Gebiete der lat. Sprache*, II Theil, 1821), has an admirable statement of the force and uses of the subjunctive tenses; and though in his grammar as edited by Grotewold in 1842 (I have not his own edition at hand) the formulae in fashion at the present day are given, yet the true grounds of the phenomena are rightly sketched in §617, note 1. The doctrine of Wenck (*Lat. Sprachlehre*, 1798, §§26, 165–9, and particularly §168 with note) is so much juster than that of the school-grammars of the present day that I must allow myself to quote a few lines, with italics of my own: “Doch muss bei dieser Regel auf die eigentliche Bedeutung der Temporum, folglich auf die Sache selbst, Rücksicht genommen werden. Es versteht sich z. B. von selbst, dass, wenn nach einem Praesens wieder ein Praesens folgen soll, von einer gegenwärtigen Sache geredet werden müsse.” That which, as Wenck correctly says, *versteht sich von selbst*, has unhappily, through the pedagogical stiffening and congealing of modes of expression in the grammars, become a matter which we of to-day have to set ourselves to prove by formal reasoning.

It is interesting and cheering to note that we have quite outlived a “common rule” of a similar nature, which had some vogue at the time when the doctrine of the Sequence was growing up, namely, that “*these conjunctions*” (*et, ac, atque*, etc.) “*connect the same tenses*”; a doctrine which Schelling (Walker’s translation, 1825, II, p. 185) sets himself to controvert, taking the very natural ground that they “*connect the same tenses only so far as when the same tense is intended*”—a ground directly applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to the doctrine of the Sequence.

who failed to feel the play of human thought, and saw their phenomena only by inventories.¹

Further, such a theory lands one at once in a plain absurdity. Let us apply it to the expression of the results of the administration of Asia under Lucullus, taking Cicero's word, in the example above, for the character of that administration. It lasted, we will say, from the year 74 to the year 66. Cicero wrote the *Academica* 21 years later. The advocate of the Sequence of Tenses, then, is bound to hold that in the year 45 the present tense *stet* was in itself competent, just as *stat* would have been in the paratactical construction, to express the then-existing result of Lucullus's activity 21 to 29 years earlier, but that on the day following Lucullus's return in 66 the very same word would have been incompetent to do anything of the kind! The tense, it would appear, must be put away and allowed, like new wine, to ferment, before it can have any power to express itself. But such a view, to speak very temperately, seems to a plain mind a more difficult doctrine than the doctrine that the tense has everywhere, in a given construction, the meaning which it is absolutely known to have, in that construction, in a good many cases.

We shall therefore have to amplify our former statement, and to lay down the following: In consecutive sentences after *ut*, and after all tenses, whether secondary or primary, the present tense expresses time present to the speaker; or, in other words, the present tense of the subjunctive in consecutive *ut*-sentences is altogether free from, wholly independent of, in no way concerned even with the existence of, the doctrine of the Sequence of Tenses.

b. The perfect definite :

Quamquam enim adeo excellebat Aristides abstinentia, ut unus post hominum memoriam, quem quidem nos audierimus, cognomine Iustus sit appellatus, tamen a Themistocle collabefactus testula illa exsilio decem annorum multatus est. Nep. Arist. 1, 2. *For, though Aristides was so pre-eminent for his respect for other men's rights that he is the only man who has been named the Just, yet he was ostracized, etc.*

Ardebat autem cupiditate dicendi sic, ut in nullo umquam

¹ Hübner's general bibliography of the subject (*Grundriss, II Theil, § 39*) may be interestingly supplemented, from the point of view of a contemporary of the rise of the doctrine, by a list of titles given by Stallbaum in his edition of Ruddimann's *Institutiones Grammaticae Latinae* (Leipzig, 1823, Vol. II, p. 341).

flagrantius studium viderim. Cic. Brut. 88, 302. *He (Hortensius) was possessed with such a passion for speaking that I have never seen in anybody a more burning ardor.*

In these examples the perfect subjunctive is used, though after an imperfect, as a perfect definite, meaning, so far as tense is concerned, precisely the same thing as would the perfect indicative. Barring the formal subordination of result to cause, Cicero might have said, with precisely the same temporal force: *Hortensius ardebat dicendi cupiditate; nec in ullo umquam flagrantius studium vidi.*

We must therefore lay down the statement that in consecutive *ut*-sentences after secondary tenses the perfect definite of the subjunctive has a time-expressing power of its own — is under no law of a Sequence of Tenses.

But if the perfect definite has this power after secondary tenses, then, by the same reasoning as in the case of the present above, it is idle to maintain that it has not the same power after primary tenses, as in Cic. Div. in Caecil. 1, 1: *Si quis vestrum, iudices, forte miratur me, qui tot annos in causis iudiciisque publicis ita sim versatus ut defenderim multos, laeserim neminem, etc.* The perfect subjunctive (*defenderim, laeserim*) is here doing after a primary tense just what we saw it doing above after secondary tenses, and to grant a power of expression in the former case while denying it in the latter is, as we have seen, to set up distinctions founded on no differences, and involving gross absurdities.

We shall accordingly be obliged a second time to amplify a statement, and to lay down the following: In consecutive *ut*-sentences, and after all tenses, whether primary or secondary, the perfect definite of the subjunctive conveys the idea that the act indicated by it is completed at the time of speaking ; or, in other words, the perfect definite is altogether free from, wholly independent of, in no way concerned with the existence of, the doctrine of the Sequence of Tenses.

c. The aorist :

Barbarus . . . adeo angusto mari conflixit ut eius multitudo navium explicari non potuerit. Nep. Them. 4, 4. *Xerxes engaged his enemy in such a narrow strait that he could not bring the great mass of his ships into action.*

xxv. iudices ita fortes tamen fuerunt ut summo proposito periculo vel perire maluerint quam perdere omnia. Cic. Att. 1, 16, 5.

Twenty-five of the judges, however, were so bold that they preferred the risk of utter destruction to the risk of losing all.

The phenomenon is a very familiar one. The aorist is used in precisely the same temporal sense as that which is conveyed by the aorist indicative.

We must therefore lay down the statement that after secondary tenses the aorist subjunctive in consecutive *ut*-clauses expresses, mood apart, the same idea as the aorist indicative — has, in other words, a power of its own, and is under no law of a Sequence of Tenses.

The idea to be conveyed by an aorist of result after a primary tense can exist only when the main verb states a cause that always exists or has always thus far existed, and the result-clause cites an historical case illustrating the working of that cause. Such an example (which might be illustrated in English by the sentence *The lust of power is so great that even the Founder of Rome slew his own brother*) naturally occurs rarely, and I have had the bad luck to lose one which I had found. Still, it is clear that, in the few examples that may occur, the force of the aorist in consecutive *ut*-clauses is the same, mood apart, as that of the aorist indicative. And the omission of an example of this kind cannot count against my case, because such examples are recognized by the law of the Sequence as regular.

We must therefore again amplify what we have said, and assert that in consecutive *ut*-clauses, no matter whether after secondary or after primary tenses, the aorist subjunctive conveys, of its own power, an idea of time (the same, mood apart, as that of the aorist indicative), and is, consequently, under no law of a Sequence of Tenses; and further, summing up what has been shown under *a*, *b*, and *c*, we must lay down the larger statement that in consecutive *ut*-clauses the present, the perfect, and the aorist have in themselves a tense-expressing force—owe their use, not to the dictation of a preceding verb, but to their own power to convey the temporal meaning which the speaker has in his mind—in other words, are entirely unconcerned with any law of the Sequence of Tenses.

2. In Consecutive Relative Sentences.

a. The present:

Erat non studiorum tantum verum etiam studiosorum amansimmo, ac prope cotidie ad audiendos quos tunc ego frequentabam Quintilianum, Niceten Sacerdotem ventitabat, vir aliqui clarus et

gravis et qui prodesse filio memoria sui debeat. Plin. Ep. 6, 6, 3.
He was extremely fond, not only of literary pursuits but of literary people, and used to go nearly every day to the lectures of Quintilian and Nicetes Sacerdos (with whom I was at that time taking courses) – a man of distinction and weight, who ought to be of assistance to his son through the memories he has left behind him.

Note that after the tenses of a past activity, *erat, frequentabam, ventitabam*, the characterizing clause expresses with perfect ease and certainty, merely through the force of the tense, a *now-existing state of affairs*. *Debeat* is simply a subjunctive *debet*.

Hi fere fuerunt Graecae gentis duces qui memoria digni videantur, praeter reges. Nep. de Reg. 1. *These, we may say, were the generals of the Greek race, outside of royalty, who seem to be worthy of a place in history.*

Examples of this sort could easily be produced by scores, but our limits of space make economy necessary.¹ Furthermore, I shall not, after the present set, take space to treat present, perfect, and aorist separately, nor to treat imperfect and pluperfect separately, since that which holds for a part of a set holds for the rest also; and I shall no longer repeat the arguments by which, under 1, I showed that a temporal power conceded to a primary tense after a secondary tense must also be conceded to it after a primary, and *vice versa*.

We must then lay down the statement that after all tenses, whether primary or secondary, the present of the subjunctive in consecutive relative clauses conveys of itself the force of a present; or, in other words, the present subjunctive in these sentences is in no way concerned with the existence of a doctrine of the Sequence of Tenses.

b. The perfect definite:

Quis tum fuit Syracusis quin audierit, quin sciat has Timarchidi pactiones sepulturae cum vivis etiam illis esse factas? Cic. Verr. 5, 45, 120. *Who that was at Syracuse at the time has not heard, does not know, etc.*

¹ The giving of an abundance of examples would have the good effect of showing, with a cumulative influence upon the reader's mind, the entire freedom with which, in the great mass of constructions at any rate, the Roman said in his subordinate verb that which would express his meaning, without paying any consideration whatever to anything that he had previously said in another verb. In this part of my paper, and in many other parts, I regret that the case to be presented, in the face of the traditional doctrine, must be so curtly stated.

In consecutive relative clauses, consequently, the perfect definite, whether after secondary or after primary tenses, is in no way the product of the dictation of a preceding verb, but has in itself temporal expression—in other words, is unconcerned with the existence of the doctrine of the Sequence of Tenses.

c. The aorist :

Nulla domus in Sicilia locuples suit, ubi iste non textrinum instituerit. Cic. Verr. 4, 26, 58. *There wasn't a well-to-do house in Sicily where he didn't set people to weaving.*

Fuerunt quos fames magis quam fama commoverit. Cic. Att. 1, 16, 5. *There were some over whom famine had more power than fame.*

The doctrine of the Sequence of Tenses, therefore, has nothing to do with the aorist subjunctive in consecutive relative sentences.

From the results of our examination under *a*, *b*, and *c*, then, we learn that in consecutive relative clauses, after whatsoever tenses, the present, the perfect definite, and the aorist have in themselves the power of temporal expression; and that, consequently, the doctrine of the Sequence of Tenses is not for them.

3. *In Causal Sentences.*

Tum ille "Iocabatur," inquit, "Catulus, praesertim cum ita dicat ipse ut ambrosia alendus videatur." Cic. de Or. 2, 57, 234. *Then spoke up Crassus : "Catulus was certainly joking when he said that, for he himself is such an orator that it seems as if he must live on a diet sent from Heaven."*

Non ego ignarus quid responsurus facturusve essem quae sibi, quippe cum prae te seras temptare te magis quam consulere senatum. Liv. 28, 45, 3-4. *In asking my question I was not in doubt what your answer and your course of action would be, for you show very plainly that you are trying to find out the feeling of the Senate instead of formally asking its vote.*

Sed nec eiusmodi est ut a pluribus confusa videatur ; unus enim sonus est totius orationis et idem stilus ; nec de Persio reticuisset Gracchus, cum ei Fannius de Menelao Maratheno et de ceteris obiecisset, praesertim cum Fannius numquam sit habitus elinguis. Cic. Brut. 26, 100. *(An allusion has been made to the authorship of the Oratio de Sociis ascribed to Fannius, but thought by some to have been written by Persius.) But it hasn't the look of a composite ; for the whole oration rings like one and keeps up a uniform style ; nor would Gracchus have held his tongue in regard*

to Persius when Fannius gibed him about Menelaus of Marathon, to say nothing of the still stronger consideration that Fannius has never been regarded as a man who couldn't speak.

Fuit enim mirifica vigilantia, qui suo toto consulatu somnum non viderit. Cic. Fam. 7, 30, 1. *He was a tremendously wide-awake man, for during his entire consulship he didn't know what sleep was.*

Ille vero ante decemviro non fuit, quippe qui aedilis curulis fuerit, qui magistratus multis annis post decemviro institutus est. Cic. Att. 6, 1, 8. *He didn't live before the decemvirs, for he was curule aedile, and that office was not created till long after the time of the decemvirate.* The tense is as free in *fuerit* as in *institutus est*.

The primary tenses of the subjunctive in causal sentences, then, are in themselves expressive, and are exempt from any law of a Sequence of Tenses.

4. In Concessive Sentences.

Nam cum apud Graecos antiquissimum e doctis genus sit poëtarum, si quidem Homerus fuit et Hesiodus ante Romam conditam, Archilochus regnante Romulo, serius poëticam nos accepimus. Annis fere CCCCCX post Romam conditam Livius fabulam dedit C. Claudio Caeci filio M. Tuditano consulibus anno ante natum Ennium: sero igitur a nostris poëtae vel cogniti vel recepti. Cic. Tusc. 1, 1, 3. *Though in Greece poets are the oldest class of literary men . . . we Romans took to poetry later. . . . So our nation either became acquainted with the poets late, or took to them late. Sit is simply a subjunctive est.*

Nam primum, id quod dixi, cum in ceteris coloniis Ilviri appellentur, hi se praetores appellari volebant. Cic. Leg. Agr. 2, 34, 93. *For, to begin with, though in all other colonies such officers are called duumviri, these people were desirous of being called praetors.*

Nam hoc tolo proelio, cum ab hora septima ad vesperum pugnatum sit, aversum hostem videre nemo potuit. Caes. B. G. 1, 26, 1. *Though the battle lasted till evening, nobody could catch sight of an enemy's back.*

Quae cum omnia facta sint, tamen unam solam scitole esse civitatem Mamertinam quae publice legatos qui istum laudarent miserit. Cic. Verr. 2, 2, 5, 13. *Though all this was done, still, you must understand, there is only one state that sent a delegation to whitewash him.*

The primary tenses of the subjunctive in concessive sentences, then, are in themselves expressive, and are exempt from any law of a Sequence of Tenses.

5. *In the Indirect Discourse, etc.*

Haec in omnibus Eburonum partibus gerebantur, diesque adpetebat septimus, quem ad diem Caesar ad impedimenta legiōnemque reverti constituerat. Hic, quantum in bello fortuna possit et quantos adserat casus, cognosci potuit. Caes. B. G. 6, 35, 1-2. . . . at this juncture it was possible to recognize what a power Fortune is in war, and what ups and downs she brings about. The reflection is put as a general one, called up by the recital of the story. *Adserat* is simply a subjunctive *adserat*.

Quamobrem autem in hoc provinciali delectu spem habeatis aliquam, causa nulla est: neque multi sunt et diffugiunt qui sunt metu oblati; et, quod genus hoc militum sit, iudicavit vir fortissimus M. Bibulus in Asia, qui, cum vos ei permisissetis, dilectum habere noluerit. Cic. Fam. 15, 1, 5. There is no reason for your basing any hopes on the levy in this province: there are few men here, and the few that there are run away as soon as they meet with anything to be afraid of; on the question what kind of soldiers they make, Bibulus expressed his opinion in refusing to hold a levy, etc. *Sit* is a general present precisely parallel to *sunt* and *diffugiunt*, differing from them in no respect whatever except in that it is put indirectly.

Quae quantum in provincia valeant, vellem expertus essem, sed tamen suspicor. Cic. Fam. 13, 6a, 4. I could wish I had learned from experience how far these things count in a province, but even as it is I have my suspicions.

Docui, cum desertum esse dicat vadimonium, omnino vadimonium nullum fuisse: quo die hunc sibi promisisse dicat, eo die ne Romae quidem eum fuisse. Cic. Quint. 28, 86. I showed that, whereas he claims that the recognizance had been forfeited, there never was any recognizance in the case: that on the day on which he claims that Quinctius gave it, Quinctius wasn't even in town. *Dicat* (the second) differs from *dicit* only in being indirectly put.

Postea recitavi edictum, quod aperte dominum de praedio detrudi vetaret: in quo constitut Naevium ex edicto non possedisse, cum confiteretur ex praedio vi detrusum esse Quinctium. Omnino autem bona possessa non esse constitui, quod bonorum possessio spectetur non in aliqua parte, sed in universis, quae teneri et

possideri possint. Cic. Quint. 29, 89. *Next I read the prohibitory edict . . . I established the point that his goods had not been in possession, for the reason that the test of possession of goods lies in the field of the entire property, not a part of it, etc.* The *quod spectetur* is given as a universal principle, applied to a particular case in the past.

Audire me memini ex senioribus visum saepius inter manus Pisonis libellum, quem ipse non vulgaverit. Tac. Ann. 3, 16, 1. *I remember hearing from men older than myself that Piso was seen a number of times to have a note-book in his hands, which he did not make public.* *Vulgaverit* is simply an indirect *vulgavit*, with precisely the same temporal force, the difference concerning nothing but the mood.

Cur abstinuerit spectaculo ipse, varie trahebant. Tac. Ann. 1, 76, 6. *To the question why he stayed away from the show himself, people at the time gave all sorts of answers (as if we should put it why did he stay away? that was the question).*

Quae fuerit hesterno die C. Pompei gravitas in dicendo . . . perspicua admiratione declarari videbatur. Cic. Balb. 1. *What a weighty affair Pompey's speech of yesterday was, was clearly shown at the time by the evident admiration of his hearers.* Mood apart, the tenses mean the same as if Cicero had written *gravis fuit hesterno die oratio C. Pompei, ut perspicua admiratione declarari videbatur.*

Id quanta saluti fuerit universae Graeciae, bello cognitum est Persico. Nep. Them. 2, 4. *What a salvation it was to the whole of Greece was seen in the Persian war (=saluti fuit, ut bello cognitum est Persico).*

In the indirect discourse, etc., then, the primary tenses of the subjunctive convey a temporal meaning, and are under no law of any Sequence of Tenses.

6. In Conditions.

Si hodie bella sint, quale Etruscum fuit, cum Porsinna Ianiculum insedit, quale Gallicum modo, cum praeter Capitolium atque arcem omnia haec hostium erant, et consulatum cum hoc M. Furio et quolibet alio ex patribus L. ille Sextius peteret, possetisne ferre Sextium haud pro dubio consulem esse, Camillum de repulsa dimicare? Liv. 6, 40, 17. *If in our own times there should be wars like the Etruscan . . . or the Gallic . . . , and Sextius were running for the consulship, could you endure, etc.?* The

first condition looks to an entirely possible contingency, and the second, with its conclusion, to something hardly conceivable.

The whole set of so-called mixed conclusions and conditions containing a secondary conclusion falls under this head. For it is a part of the doctrine of the Sequence that the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive in conclusions contrary to fact are regularly followed by the secondary tenses.

The primary tenses of the subjunctive, then, in conditional sentences, are in themselves expressive, and are exempt from any Law of a Sequence.

7. In Conclusions, Softened Statements, etc.

Sed post aliquanto propter has amplitudines sepulcrorum, quas in Ceramicō vidimus, lege sanctum est ne quis sepulcrum faceret operiosius quam quod decem homines effecerint triduo. Cic. Leg. 2, 26, 64. But somewhat later, on account of the great scale on which the tombs we have seen in the Ceramicus were built, it was enacted that no one should construct a tomb more elaborate than ten men could make and finish up in three days. The mechanism of our English tongue fails to show that *effecerint* is put by Cicero in the generalizing form (as if he had said *ten men* would accomplish a certain amount of work in three days; and that amount, it was provided by law, was not to be exceeded).

Quid? tu me hoc tibi mandasse existimas, ut mihi gladiatorium compositiones, ut vadimonia dilata et Chresti compilationem mitteres et ea, quae nobis, cum Romae sumus, narrare nemo audeat? Cic. Fam. 2, 8, 1. Is it your understanding, my dear fellow, that my instructions to you were that you should send me news of matches of gladiators, of postponements of cases, and Chrestus's bundle of gossip, and things which, when I am in town, no one would venture to tell me? *Sumus* and *audeat* are alike free in tense.

In conclusions, softened statements, etc., then, the primary tenses of the subjunctive are in themselves expressive, and are exempt from any Law of a Sequence.

8. In Final Clauses.

Nam, ne vos falsa opinio teneat, iniussu meo Albani subiere ad montem, nec imperium illud meum, sed consilium et impcrii simulatio fuit, ut nec . . . et terror ac fuga iniceretur. Liv. 1, 28, 5.

For, not to leave you in error (lest you may misunderstand), it was not at my bidding that the Albans went up the hill, nor was it a command of mine, but a device to throw the enemy into a panic (in order that the enemy might be thrown into a panic). The tenseless phrase *in order to*, used alike for present and past purposes in English, fails to convey the temporal ideas conveyed by the Latin present and imperfect subjunctive.

It will not do to answer that such subjunctives depend upon omitted verbs. The question is, do the subjunctives of themselves convey to us temporal ideas? To concede that they tell us that a verb is omitted, and that they tell us, moreover, just what kind of a tense that verb would be in, if expressed, is to concede to them very great temporal significance.

In final clauses, then, the primary tenses of the subjunctive are expressive of temporal relations, and owe their choice to that fact, and not to any Sequence of Tenses.

The examination has now covered the ground of the dependent present, perfect definite, and aorist subjunctive, outside of a very few constructions. We may accordingly, and for the last time in this field, bring together our statements into the following (reserving, for the present, the few constructions alluded to):

In the great mass of constructions, the present, perfect definite, and aorist of the subjunctive directly express the temporal aspect of the act conveyed, as it appears to the speaker's mind at the moment of the utterance of the verb in question. They have nothing to do with any Sequence of Tenses. If there be a control exercised by main verbs over dependent verbs, its field must be sought for on other ground.

We pass to the remaining tenses of the subjunctive. Have they by some freak of linguistic fate fared differently?

1. In Consecutive Clauses after UT.

Haec enim (philosophia) una nos cum ceteras res omnis, tum, quod est difficillimum, docuit, ut nosmet ipsos nosceremus: cuius praecepti tanta vis et tanta sententia est, ut ea non homini cuiquam, sed Delphico deo tribueretur. Cic. Leg. I, 22, 58. . . . the pith and force of which precept are so great, that it was attributed not to any mortal man, but to the god of Delphi. The cause still exists: the effect instanced lies in the past, as a subjunctive *tribuebatur*.

Quid si magnitudine pecuniae persuasum est? Veri simile non est, ut ille homo tam locuples, tam honestus religioni suae monumen-

tisque maiorum pecuniam anteponeret. Cic. Verr. 4, 6, 11. . . It isn't a reasonable thing to suppose that this man, so rich, so honorable, would proceed to put money above religion and above the memorials of his ancestors. The sentence has followed a *video . . . venditetur non fuisse.* *Anteponeret* is put from the same point of time, namely, in the past, as if we were to say it isn't likely that he would at that time prefer, etc.

Nimis iracunde hoc quidem et valde intemperanter: cuius enim maleficii tanta ista poena est, ut dicere in hoc ordine auderet se publicis operis disturbaturum publice ex senatus sententia aedificatam domum? Cic. Phil. 1, 5, 12. For what wrong-doing deserves such a punishment, that he should venture to say in this body? etc. The *auderet* is thought of in the succession of events in the past, while the main question is made general.

Veri simile non est, ut, quem in secundis rebus, quem in otio semper secum habuisset, hunc in adversis et in eo tumultu quem ipse comparabat, ab se dimitteret. Cic. Sull. 20, 57. It isn't likely that, after having had his friend with him constantly in prosperity and in quiet times, he would pack him off in adversity and in a disturbance of his own getting-up. The thought of the speaker as he says *dimitteret* is back at the time of *in adversis*, etc., to which *dimitteret* stands related as *dimitta* would stand related to the present; while in *veri simile non est* Cicero gives the present look of the matter.

Ac si nos, id quod maxime debet, nostra patria delectat, cuius rei tanta est vis [ac tanta] natura ut Ithacam illam in asperissimis saxulis tamquam nidulum adfixam sapientissimus vir inmortalitati anteponeret, quo amore tandem . . . Cic. de Or. 1, 44, 196. . . the power of which sentiment is so great that Odysseus preferred (=sapientissimus vir Ithacam illam anteponebat: *tanta est vis*, etc.).

In consecutive *ut*-clauses, then, the secondary tenses of the subjunctive in themselves express the idea that the act stated in them is put as from a point of view in the past, and are under no law of any Sequence.

2. In Consecutive Relative Sentences.

Video igitur causas esse permultas quae istum impellerent. Videamus nunc ecque facultas suscipiendi maleficii fuerit. Ubi occisus est Sex. Roscius? Romae. *Quid?* tu, Rosci, ubi tunc eras? Romae. Cic. Rosc. Am. 33, 92. I recognize the existence

of a number of causes of such a nature as at that time to be pushing him on. In the main sentence the thought is in the present; in *impellerent* it is in the past, precisely as in *eras* at the end of the passage quoted.

The secondary verb in the consecutive relative sentence, then, conveys in itself the temporal impression which the speaker desires to give, and does not accept its tense at the hands of the main verb.

3. In Causal Sentences.

Equidem, cum tuis omnibus negotiis interesserem, memoria teneo qualis T. Ligarius quaestor urbanus fuerit ergo te et dignitatem tuam. Cic. Lig. 12, 35. Since I was habitually concerned in all that you did, I have not forgotten how Ligarius treated you. *Interesserem* is simply a subjunctive *intereram*.

In the field of the secondary tenses, then, the verb of the causal sentence conveys of itself the desired temporal meaning, and is free of the Sequence of Tenses.

4. In Concessive Sentences.

Illa (epistola) fuit gravis et plena rerum, quam mihi M. Paccius, hospes tuus, reddidit. Ad eam rescribam igitur, et hoc quidem primum: Paccio et verbis et re ostendi, quid tua commendatio ponderis haberet; itaque in intimis est meis, cum antea notus non fuisset. Cic. Att. 4, 16, 1. . . . I showed Paccius, alike in word and in deed, what weight your good opinion carried; and consequently he is now one of my intimate friends, though previously to that we had been strangers. *Est* lies in the present, while the point of view for *fuisset* is seen in *antea*.

In the field of the secondary tenses, then, the temporal aspect of the speaker's thought in concessive sentences is conveyed directly by the tense employed, and no control is exercised by the preceding verb.

5. In the Indirect Discourse, etc.

Laudantur oratores veteres, Crassi illi et Antonii, quod crimina diluere dilucide, quod copiose reorum causas defendere solerent. Cic. Verr. 2, 78, 191. The orators of the old school are praised because it was their way to defend their clients without stinting time, etc. *Solerent* is simply an indirect *solebant*.

Quem amicum tuom aīs fuisse istum, explana mihi, et qui

cognatum me sibi esse diceret. Ter. Phorm. 380-1. Explain to me who, according to your story, this friend of yours was, and what manner of relationship with me he used to claim. *Diceret* is a subjunctive *dicebat*, and echoes *Phormio's statement* in vss. 365-6: *Saepe interea mihi senex narrabat se hunc neglegere cognatum suom.*

Acta quae essent usque ad a. d. VIII Kal. Iunias cognovi ex tuis litteris. Cic. Att. 3, 10, 1. I am informed by your letters what had taken place before and up to May 25th.

Quid est aliud de eo referre non audere, qui contra se consullem exercitum duceret, nisi se ipsum hostem iudicare? Necessè erat enim alterutrum esse hostem; nec poterat aliter de adversariis iudicari ducibus. Cic. Phil. 3, 8, 21. What is the difference between lacking courage to raise the question in regard to a man who was leading an army against you, and passing sentence on yourself as a public enemy? For one of the two was, in the nature of things, a public enemy; there was no other possible way of regarding generals who were facing each other under arms. The question *quid est aliud* is put without reference to the special occasion (just as in the English), and the verb *duceret* (as a subjunctive *ducebat*, corresponding exactly to *erat* following) alone gives the time at which, when he comes to give the special occasion, the speaker's mind is engaged.

Nihil enim fuit clarior; non quo quisquam aliter putasset, sed nihil de insignibus ad laudem viris obscure nuntiari solet. Cic. Fam. 3, 11, 1. For nothing has attracted more attention; not that anybody had expected a different result, but people never talk in a closet about men of marked position.

Sed quaero a te cur C. Cornelium non defenderem: num legem aliquam Cornelius contra auspicia tulerit, etc. Cic. Vatin. 2, 5. I want you to answer the question: why was I not to defend Gaius Cornelius? *Cur non defenderem* is, in the dependent form as in the independent, a deliberative question placed at a point in past time. The tense tells its own story (compare it with that of *tulerit*), and has an inherent and inalienable meaning of its own, quite distinct from that of any other tense.

In the field of the secondary tenses, then, dependent verbs in the indirect discourse, etc., of themselves express the desired temporal aspect of the act, and owe their tense to that fact and to no outside influence.

6. In Conditions.

Equidem tibi potissimum velim, si idem illa vellet. Cic. Att. 11, 24, 2. *I should like the will to be put into your hands rather than into those of any one else, if her wish were the same.*

In conditions, then, the secondary tenses of the subjunctive are used because they express the idea which the speaker desires to convey, and not because of any influence exerted by the main verb.

7. In Conclusions, Softened Statements, etc.

Nemost quem ego nunciam magis cuperem videre quam te. Ter. Eun. 561. *There's nobody whom at the present moment I should rather see than you.*

... *quia tale sit ut, vel si ignorarent id homines vel si obmutuisserent, sua tamen pulchritudine esset specieque laudabile.* Cic. Fin. 2, 15, 49. ... *because it is such that if men did not know it, or if they had never breathed a word about it, still it would be praiseworthy for its inherent beauty and loveliness.*

Opinor, tuum testimonium, quod in aliena re leve esset, id in tua, quoniam contra te est, gravissimum debet esse. Cic. Quinct. 24, 76. *Your evidence, which, where another person is concerned, would be of light weight, ought, I dare say, to be of great weight in a case that concerns yourself, inasmuch as it is against you.*

Non est credibile, quae sit perfidia in ipsis principibus, ut volunt esse et ut essent, si quicquam haberent fidei. Cic. ad Att. 4, 5, 1. *It is incredible what treachery there is in these leaders as they desire to be, and as they would be, if they could get anybody to trust them.*

In dependent conclusions, etc., then, the secondary tenses of the subjunctive in themselves express the same meaning as in independent constructions, and owe their use, accordingly, to the fact that they convey that which the speaker desires to say, and not to any influence of the main verb.

8. In Final Clauses.

Explicavi, inquit, sententiam meam, et eo quidem consilio, tuum iudicium ut cognoscerem. Cic. Fin. 1, 21, 72. *I have now developed my views to you, said he, and my purpose in doing so was to get your judgment in the matter.* The act of the main verb is completed at the moment of speaking, and carries with it the idea of the state of affairs now reached (= *habes sententiam*

*mean), while the purpose of the act operated as an aim from the beginning of the explicatio (*id consilium erat ut*, etc.).*

Cum ille aut vestra aut sua culpa manserit apud hostem—suas, si metum simulavit, vestra, si periculum est apud vos vera referentibus—ego, ne ignoraretis esse aliquas et salutis et pacis vobis condiciones, pro velusto hospitio quod mihi vobiscum est ad vos veni. Liv. 21, 13, 2. *While he has stayed in the enemy's camp—whether the fault be his or yours—I have come to you (am here now); for I was desirous that you should not overlook the possibilities of preservation and peace.* *Veni* would issue in an *adsum*; but to it is attached the hope which existed in the speaker's mind at starting, as well as afterward.

Ut filius cum illa habitat apud te, hoc vestrum consilium fuit. Ter. Phorm. 933-4. *You want my son to live with her at your house—that was your plan.* The aorist *fuit* goes back to the time of *quom repudium alterae remiserim quae dotis tantumdem dabat*, a few lines before, while the purpose is put as still entertained.

Sed senatus consulta duo iam facta sunt odiosa, quod in consulem facta putantur, Catone et Domitio postulante, unum, ut apud magistratus inquireti liceret, alterum, cuius domi divisores habitarent, adversus rem publicam. Cic. ad Att. 1, 16, 12. *But a couple of odious decrees have been passed, which are thought to aim at the consul . . . , one to the effect that an examination before magistrates should be permitted, the other, etc.* The *iam facta sunt* looks upon the decrees as being now law; the *ut-clause* looks at the aim with which they were passed.

"Ut me omnes," inquit, "pater, tuo sanguine ortum vere ferrent, provocatus equestria haec spolia capta ex hoste caeso porto." Liv. 8, 7, 13. *That all men might say with justice, father, that I am of your blood, I bring these spoils taken from the dead body of my challenger.* The motive *ut ferrent* (probably) goes back to the beginning of the act of *porto*, while the act of *porto* itself still goes on.

In final clauses, then, the secondary tenses of the subjunctive are chosen when and because they will express the speaker's meaning, and not because of a Law of Sequence.

The case for the Law of the Sequence of Tenses seems to be in a curious state. It would be supposed that a law laid down as this is would cover a considerable range of facts. But a detailed examination has shown us, first, that in nearly all the dependent constructions of which the subjunctive is capable, the present,

perfect, and aorist are absolved from the Law, the tense being used (just as if there were no law) because it expresses that which the speaker has, in the particular verb in question, to say; and secondly, that in nearly all the dependent constructions of which the subjunctive is capable the imperfect and pluperfect are likewise absolved from the Law, the tense being used (precisely as if there were no law) because it expresses that which the speaker has, in the particular verb in question, to say ; in short, a detailed examination has shown that in the great mass of the dependent subjunctive constructions possible to the Roman language, the present, the perfect, the aorist, the imperfect, and the pluperfect are exempt from the Law. But these are all the tenses that the Romans had. Clearly, then, this kingdom ruled by the Sequence of Tenses is under strong suspicion of being a kingdom in dream-land.

Under this condition of affairs, we shall be obliged, in our second paper, to set up and examine the hypothesis naturally suggested by the negative results thus far reached, namely, the exact opposite of the doctrine formulated by Engelmann ; which will then be as follows : "*A subjunctive clause is, in regard to its tense,*" not "*dependent upon the principal sentence*": *in dependent as in independent subjunctives, the tense conveys meaning, and owes its choice to that fact.*

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III.—SEVEN HYMNS OF THE ATHARVA-VEDA.

The following contributions to the exegesis of the Atharva-Veda are, in the main, the result of studies in its ritual literature, notably the Kāuçika-sūtra, along with its commentary by Dārila.¹ As the results arrived at here differ very much from those previously offered by such authorities as Weber, Ludwig, Zimmer, Grill and others, it may not be amiss to present here a few general statements as to the value of the ritual literature of the Atharvan, when employed as an instrument for the exposition of that Veda.

In the first place it is to be noted that the Kāuçika and its accessory literature in the vast majority of cases handle the Atharvan materials in perfect accord with the interpretations arrived at independently by Western scholars. The character of many hymns is indeed so transparent as to leave no room for any doubt. This fact ensures a certain respectability to the traditions of the ritual.

Secondly, the Kāuçika does not as a rule represent its own opinion, arrived at independently, of the value of a given Atharvan hymn, but the value in which the diaskeuasts themselves found and incorporated it. Up to that point the Kāuçika is to be regarded as fully authoritative. In general, then, criticism must not be directed so much against the ritual as against the composition of the hymn itself. Here there is, no doubt, some secondary application of mantra material, not infrequently accompanied by such modifications of the text as would render the mantras more suitable for the purpose in hand. From this point of view the opinions of the Kāuçika, as they represent only the diaskeuasis, are to be subjected to constant criticism. We may illustrate this statement by our treatment of I 14. There can be no reasonable doubt that the hymn was employed as a charm against a rival woman in the earliest history of the Atharvan; at the time when the hymn was incorporated into the miscellaneous collection making

¹ Abstracts of six of the hymns commented upon here (all but VI 100) were published previously in the Proceedings of the American Oriental Society for May, 1885 (Vol. XIII, p. xlii fg.), for May, 1886 (*ibid.* p. cxii fg.), and for Oct. 1886 (*ibid.* p. cxxxii fg.).

up the first book of that Veda it can no longer have been used in the Atharvan schools as a funeral song, as it would otherwise have found a place among the funeral mantras of the eighteenth book.

Thirdly, the cases where the ritual applies the same hymn in more than one way are to be considered by themselves. Here independent criticism must establish the earliest use and point out the cause of the secondary use. The secondary use seems to be always the product of conscious formalism, not due to a lack of insight into the true character of the hymn. This point is capable of abundant illustration. A single instance may be dwelt upon here. AV. I 2 and 3 are employed in Kāuç. 25, 6 and 10 as charms against diarrhoea and against retention of urine and constipation. Both hymns begin with the pratika *vidmā ḡardṣya pitṛam*. The same pratika appears in list of battle-hymns (*sāṅgrāmikāṇi*) at Kāuç. 14.7. This is a *conscious* secondary employment of verses beginning with a statement savoring of strife: 'We know the father of the arrow,' etc. In most cases the primary function of a hymn is easily distinguished.

The interpretations which follow are made with full consciousness of the doubts which justly beset interpretations of mantra material, by the light gained from their employment in the sūtras. Whether sufficient care has been shown in the use of this material I shall leave others to judge.

I 2.

Formula against diarrhoea.

This hymn has been translated by Weber, Ind. Stud. IV 394. He entitles it 'Formel gegen das reissen,' and translates as follows:

1. 'Des pfeiles vater kennen wir, den vieltränkenden Parjanya,
Auch seine mutter kennen wir die erd' die vielerzeugende.'
2. 'Bogenschnur! schlinge dich um uns, mach meinen leib wie
stein so hart !
Kraftvoll weit fort die feinde du, hinweg die hasser schleudre !'
3. 'Wenn die sehne schlingend sich um den bogen,
Den schwirr'nden pfeil jauchzend begrüßt den raschen,—
Von uns Indra! wend' das geschoss, das scharfe.'
4. 'Wie zwischen himmel und erde des pfeiles spitze aufwärts
fliegt,
So zwischen reissen und rheuma stelle sich dieser binsenstiel.'

The word which is here translated by 'reissen' is *āsrāva*, and this forms the pivot about which the exegesis of the hymn revolves. It occurs also in II 3 and VI 44, and the translators are by no means agreed as to its value. Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, translates *āsrāva* by 'festering of a wound' ('das eitern von ungeheilten wunden'); Ludwig wavers in his translations: in II 3 he translates it by 'krankheitsansfall' (Der Rig-Veda, III, p. 507); in VI 44 by 'erkältungsansfall' (ibid., p. 509). Grill, Hundert lieder des Atharva-Veda, p. 14, translates II 3, and renders *āsrāva* by 'böser fluss.' The word is the same in all places, as can be seen from its constant association with *roga*, and the disagreement of the translators points clearly to the fact that each one has judged the word subjectively, bending the evident etymological meaning of the word one way or another ($\sqrt{sru} + \bar{a}$). But it is equally evident that the primary meaning of an expression 'a flowing to' may be utilized in so many different ways, that the etymology itself affords only the most unstable guidance.

Yet the etymology of the word is vindicated by its real value in the Atharvan, at least as forcibly as in the translations above. The word means *diarrhoea*, and contains the same root as the Greek word. This is implied in the second verse in Weber's translation: 'Bogenschnur! schlinge dich um uns, mach' meinen leib wie stein so hart!' and this is accompanied in practice by the very proceeding indicated here in the verse. The performances which are associated with this hymn and with AV. II 3 are described in Kāuç. 25, 6-9:

Kāuç. 25, 6: *vidmā ḡarasyā 'do yad iti muñjaçirah rajjā badhnāti.*

Dārlīa: *prathamena ādo yad iti vā muñjaçirah puñkhadhāra-kāṣṭhañ sūtre prāpte rajve 'ty ucyate | alisārabhāiṣajyam āsrā-vācabdasya tadvāditvāt* (Cod. -vāvitvāt).

'With the hymn I 2 or II 3 he ties the head of a stalk of *muñja*-grass to a cord' (to the sick person?); and the commentator adds: 'a cure for diarrhoea, because the word *āsrāva* means diarrhoea.' In the fourth verse of the hymn: 'As the missile in the hand hangs between heaven and earth, so may the grass stand between sickness and diarrhoea.'

ākṛtiśṭavalmikāu parilikhyā pāyayati.

Mr. : parilikhanam cūrṇikaraṇam.

'He grinds up a lump of earth from a field, and a lump containing,' and gives it to the sick person to drink.'

ākṛtiśṭavalmikā in II 3, 4, and its explanation below under VI 100.

8. *sarpīṣā*" *līmpati*.

'One anoints him with sacrificial melted butter.'

9. *apidhamati*.

Dār.: *apāne dhamati atisāriṇām* (Cod. *sāriṇām*).

Further evidence corroborating the view taken of this hymn by the Hindu authorities is to be found in its situation. The hymn next following in the Atharvan, and applied after it in the Kāuçika, deals with the opposite trouble, constipation and retention of urine, according to the agreeing opinion of the two European translators (Weber, ib., p. 395; Zimmer, ib., p. 394), and of the Kāuçika and Dārila. Its opening verse is very like the first verse of the hymn we have been treating: 'We know the father of the arrow, Parjanya of hundredfold manly power; by this may I bring prosperity to thy body; make thy outpouring upon the earth; out of thee let it come, with the sound *bāl*.' Parjanya is the god of rain; and it is clear that these necessary functions are viewed symbolically as a raining down upon the earth, and hence under the control of that god.

I 12.

Prayer to lightning conceived as the cause of fever, headache and coughs.

This hymn has been treated by Weber, Ind. Stud. IV, p. 405. He entitles it 'Gegen hitziges fieber,' and translates:

1. 'Ein rother stier als erste frucht der nachgeburt zieht mit regen donnernd mit glühendem lusthauch. Unsern leib schon' er, der da grad ausgehend reisst, der in einiger stärke sich in drei weisen theilt.'

A red bull, the first product of the afterbirth, comes on thundering with rain, with glowing breath of wind. May he spare our bodies, he who going straight tears, who in single strength divides himself in three.

In the notes Weber remarks: 'The red bull can only refer to burning fever. Inasmuch as the bull is called *jarāyujah* (the product of the afterbirth), puerperal fever, or the fever of a child, must be referred to.'

2. 'Dich der alle g'lenke durchzieht mit gluthen, vérehren wir mit opferspend' uns neigend. Wir fesseln ihn mit unserer spende festigend, der da ergriff greifend die glieder dieses.'

3. 'Vom kopfschmerz ihn löse und von dem husten, und wer sonst noch glied ihn für glied erfasst hat. Aus dunst, aus wind

wer da gezeugt, wer dörrend, den bäumen zu heb' sich der schmerz,
den bergen.

4. 'Heil meinem obern körper sei und heil meinem untern leib !
Heil meinen vier gelenken sei, Heil meinem körper insgesamt.'

Ludwig has, as far as I know, not translated this hymn; he mentions it, however, Rig-Veda, III, p. 343, assuming that it is perhaps directed against inflammation. Zimmer also refers to it (Altindisches Leben, p. 390) in connection with the word *vāta* in the first verse, which he would translate by wound, identifying *vāta* with wound etymologically also. The compound *vātabhrājās*, as he understands it, would then mean 'suffering from wound-fever.' Zimmer remarks that the hymn is rendered much clearer by this explanation of *vāta*. Thus both Ludwig and Zimmer do not modify materially Weber's view (Gegen hitzige fieber).

I would present right here a different explanation of the hymn. It is to be entitled : 'Prayer to lightning conceived as the cause of fever, headache and colds.' I translate as follows :

1. 'The first red bull, born from the [cloud-] womb (literally, the placenta), born of wind and the cloud (*vātabhrājās* emended to *vālibhrājās*; cf. verse 3a), comes on thundering with the rain. May he, who cleaving goes straight on, spare our bodies ; he who, a single force, divides himself in three.'

2. 'Bowing down to thee who fastenest thyself with heat upon every limb, we would reverence thee with oblation; we would reverence with oblation the crooks and angles of thee, that hast vigorously seized the limbs of this one.'

3. 'Release him from headache and also from cough, which has entered every joint of him ; may he who is born of the cloud, and born of the wind, the whizzing [lightning] (cf. RV. VI 3, 8d, *vid-yūn* nā *davidyat svabhīḥ cūṣmāṇīḥ*; and RV. IV 10, 4e, *prā te divī
nd stanayanti cūṣmāṇīḥ*), strike the trees and the mountains.'

The fourth verse is of no significance.

Before discussing the evidence that may be adduced from native tradition concerning this hymn, it will be useful to point out the reason why those who examined it have adhered unanimously to the conception 'Against fever' in the face of such patent difficulties as are apparent in the translation made on this supposition. The first book of the AV. is a miscellaneous collection of hymns containing for the most part, though not unsafely, four verses each (cf. AV. XIX 23, 1; Atharvānukramaṇī, I 1, 13; Ath. Pariç. 48, 9, 10; Gop. Br. I 1, 8; Ind. Stud. IV 433; XVII 178).

There is no definite order in the arrangement of the hymns inside of the book, but there is a marked tendency to group two or even more having the same or a similar subject together. The first book begins with a single hymn of a more general philosophical character, as do several of the succeeding books (II, IV, V); then follow a pair of magic formulas, one against diarrhoea, the other against retention of urine and constipation; then follow three hymns to the waters; then two against witchcraft; then follow two hymns which, though entirely different in subject-matter (the ninth is a *varcasya*-hymn, the tenth a charm against dropsy), have this in common, that they mention the god Varuṇa in the first verse. Then comes the eleventh hymn, a charm for easy delivery in childbed. The last three verses of this hymn end with the refrain: *dvā jarāyu padyatām*, 'may the placenta come down'; in addition to this the word *jarāyu* occurs thrice more in the course of the last three verses. Now, there can be no doubt that the diaskeuast has placed our hymn (I 12) immediately after I 11 simply because it begins with the word *jarāyujah*. This does not argue that he did not know the true nature of the hymn; on the contrary, it is quite clear that he recognized its association with lightning, because he has placed after it I 13, a hymn which is evidently a prayer to lightning (*nāmas te vidyute*, etc.). He simply placed I 12 after I 11 because, for lack of any other external norm of arrangement (such as an alphabetical one, which the Hindus somehow have never evolved), the word *jarāyujah* offered as good a point of linkage as any other they had at hand, and they did not trouble themselves about the intrinsic incongruence of the two hymns and the difference between the word *jarāyu* in its concrete meaning 'placenta' in I 11, and its metaphorical 'cloud-womb' in I 12. And it is not to be wondered at that European readers should have seized upon this erroneous suggestion with such energy as to be influenced by it in deciding what was the purpose of the hymn.

The native treatment of this hymn exhibits considerable divergence, owing to its double character. It is a hymn to lightning; and, on the other hand, the diseases attributed to lightning present even more salient and practical points, which are made prominent in its designation and its ritual application. So the Anukramaṇī (I 1, 7) simply designates it as a *yakṣmanācanam sūktam*, a hymn which cures *yakṣma*, consumption (cf. the word *kāśas*, 'from cough,' in the third verse); in the gaṇamālā, Atharva-pariçīṣṭā 34,

7, it begins the *takmanāçanagaṇa* (a group of hymns designed to cure *takman*, various diseases: fever, headache, etc.). The Kāučika employs it twice, presenting its two main characteristics. In 38, 1-10 it is used in a charm against thunderstorms, along with I 13 and VII 11, which are palpably hymns addressed to lightning:

Kāuč. 38, 1 : *jarāyuja iti durdinam āyan pratyuttis̄hati.*

Dārlila: *durdinam meghānām vinācāhetuḥ | tadvinācāyā "gachan sūktam japan | pratyuttis̄hati gacchatī 'ty arthaḥ | prāyaçcittam durdināçrayatvāt.*

2. *anv̄cam udavajrāih.*

Dār.: *pratyuttis̄hati praharaṇāmāñtra (! for māñtrāih ? AV. X. 5, 15, 42, 50) cāi, tad udavajrasaṁskārasya cirakālanis̄pates tataç ca vinācāḥ syāt.*

3. *asy-ulmuka-kiṣkūrūn ādāya.*

Dār.: *asih prasiddhaḥ | ulmukaiñca gṛhitvā | . . . kiñkura-vah (!) mukhiko (!) kṣirah | tān ādāya pratyuttis̄hati durdinam.*

4. *nagno lalātam unmr̄jānah.*

Dār.: *nagnah durdinam pratyuttis̄hati 'ty ceṣah | lalātam mardayan.*

5. *utsādyā bāhyato 'ngārakapāle cigrucārkarā juhoti.*

Dār.: *gṛhapaṭalam (-paṭam) apaniya gṛhāt (Cod. grahāta) bahir avasthito 'ngārapūrṇe kapāle cigrupatrāṇi juhoti | carkarā vā juhoti.*

6. *kerārkāv ādadhati.*

Dār.: *kerāparṇi 'ti yā surāṣṭre pūñdarike 'ti (? Cod. puvari-keti) mālaveṣu utsādyā (Cod. ucchādyā) kerārkāv (Cod. ve-) ādad-hāty aṅgārakapāle na ca ubhayatra tañtrām vikṛṣṭadeçatvāt.*

7. *varṣāparitah pratiłomakarṣitas triḥ parikramya khadāyām arkān kṣipram samvāpati.*

Dār.: *evam pūrvatratra arkān kṣipram samvāpati | varṣenā 'tipiđito varṣāparitah . . . | gartah svabhāvajah triḥ sarvatra gatvā khadāyām arkasamupṭajālañ (Cod. -samuta-) prakṛtena sūklenā piñdikṛtanī kṣipati cighrañ.*

The hymn is employed further in Kāuč. 26, 1-10 in a performance which is distinctly described by Dārlila as a *cīrorogabhāgajyām*, 'cure for headache,' a description which fits the ceremony in every respect, and which is supported by verse 3a of the hymn (*muñcd cīrṣaktvā utd kāsd enam*). As it contributes nothing to the understanding of the hymn itself, this reference may suffice.

I 14.

A woman's incantation against a rival.

This hymn has been translated three times, by Weber, Indische Studien IV 408; Ludwig, Der Rig-Veda, Vol. III, p. 459, and Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 314. The translators agree in regarding the hymn as a marriage hymn. Weber entitles it: 'Bei der hochzeit'; Zimmer is even more explicit, assuming that the hymn was spoken at the end of the marriage ceremony. Weber's and Zimmer's translations are so similar that it may suffice to present an English paraphrase for both:

1. 'The joy of love and glory do I take from her to myself, as a wreath from a tree; like a mountain with broad foundation may she dwell a long time with [my] parents.'

This is supposed to come from the mouth of the groom, in the presence of the bride's relatives, who thereupon reply:

2. 'This maiden here, O ruler, shall be surrendered to thee as thy wife; let her be bound in the house of [thy] mother, of [thy] brother, and of [thy] father.'

3. 'She shall be the head of thy family; to thee we surrender her now; long may she live with thy parents, until her head turns gray (?)' (so Z.; 'streaming blessings from head to foot,' W.).

Then the young husband replies:

4. 'With the prayer of Asita, Kaçyapa, and Gaya do I tie thy fortune to myself, as the sisters tie the trunk.'

Zimmer adds: 'The sisters here referred to can only be those of the newly-married girl.' The trunk, he thinks, contains the dowry; and he adds further: 'The prospect of a rich dowry helped many a maiden who would otherwise have remained a spinster to obtain a husband.'

Ludwig translates in a manner essentially the same, though with considerable variation in detail, and with more reserve in supplying pronouns and determining speakers:

1. 'Glück, schönheit hab ich ihr aufgebunden, wie an den baum den kranz; wie ein berg mit breitem boden weile lang disz bei den ältern.'

2. 'Dises mädchen, o könig, ist dein, o bändiger, zur frau wurde sie niedergeworfen; an der mutter, des vaters, des bruders haus werde sie gefesselt.'

3. 'Schützerin deines hauses ist dise, o könig, dise wir übergeben dir; lang verweile sie bei den ältern, schüttle segen von ihrem haupte.'

4. 'Mit Asita's brahma, Kaçyapa's und Gaya's binde ich wie die (schwestern) finger die vorratskammer so ich fest zu dein glück.'

Against this general understanding of the hymn stands the pregnant fact that it is not referred to in the tenth book of the Kāuçīka, where five chapters are devoted to the marriage-ritual. It is, however, rubricated in the second half of the fourth book, consisting of three chapters and a half (33–36), and entitled by the commentator *stri-karmāṇī* 'women's rites'; and the scruple suggested by its absence from the tenth book might admit of being removed. But the Kāuçīka offers also evidence of a positive character. The hymn is employed in a ritual evidently of a sinister character, quite unsuited to the joyous occasion with which the imagination of the translators has connected it. Thus : Kāuç. 36, 15: *bhagam asyā varca iti mālā-nispramanda-* (Dār. *kridā-yavargajendukah*)*-dantadhāvana-keçam içānahatāyā* (D. *jvara-hatāyāh*) *anustaranyā vā koçam ulūkhadaladurañe triçile nikhanati*, 'with the hymn I 14 one buries a (her?) wreath, *niṣpramanda*, teeth-cleaner, and hair, the *koça* (*vulva*?) of a cow slain by Rudra, or of a burial-cow, in the hole of a mortar containing three stones'; 16. *mālām upamathyā 'nvāha* (D. *vimathyā*? MS. *vimahyām*), 'one repeats [the hymn] stirring up the wreath'; 17. *triñi keçamandalāni* (D. *puñjakeçān*) *kr̥ṇasūtrena vigr̥thyā* (D. *baddhvā*) *triçile* (D. *nihanti*) '*çmottarāni*, 'tying separately three tufts of [her] hair, [he buries them] in the hole containing the three stones, above [each] stone'; 18. *athā 'syāi bhagam utkhanati*:

*yāñ te bhagāñ nicakhnus triçile yāñ catuhçile |
idañ tam utkhanāmasi prajāya ca dhanena ca,*

'then one digs up her *bhaga* (fortune? *vulva*?) [with the verse] "what *bhaga* of thine they buried, in a place containing three stones or four stones, that we now dig up again, together with offspring and wealth."'

The commentary is very corrupt in this passage, and many points in the ceremony are not clear; but its character is plainly sinister. The hymn as it stands is to be regarded as a woman's incantation against a rival, and to be translated as follows :

1. 'I have taken to myself her fortune (*bhaga*) and glory, as [one takes] a wreath from a tree; as a mountain with broad foundation, may she dwell a long time with her relatives (? *pilṛṣu*).

2. 'Let this girl be subjected to thee as thy wife, O king Yama;

[till then] let her be fixed to the house of [her] mother and brother and father.

3. 'O king [Yama,] this [girl shall be] thy housekeeper; to thee do we give her over; [till that] may she long sit with her relatives (? *pitr̄su*), until her hair is scattered from her head (?).

4. 'With the incantation of Asita and Kaçyapa and Gaya do I bind up thy fortune, as sisters [pack something] within a casket (*koça*).'

The ceremony which the Kāuçika attaches to this hymn is by no means clear in all details, and, moreover, contains the unknown word *nispramanda*, which the corrupt explanation of Dārila does not quite elucidate. But I imagine the procedure to have been somewhat as follows : A wreath belonging to the woman against whom the *devotio* is undertaken (cf. the word *srajam* in the first verse of the hymn), along with uncanny, defiling substances (e. g. the *vulva* of a cow slain by Rudra, or of a burial-cow), is crammed into a cavity made by a large mortar, where three stones are also placed. This symbolizes the defilement and the crushing of the wreath, i. e. the grace and loveliness of the hated woman (?).

Then, moreover, the wreath is taken out and stirred (whirled) about, while the hymn is again chanted against the woman.

Then three locks of hair coming from the hated woman (?) are placed in the hole of the mortar, so that the three stones lie on the top of the locks, alternately a stone and a lock.

Finally, the fortune (*vulva*, with double entente ?) of the hated woman, which has been dug into the hole of the mortar, is again dug out for the benefit of the woman who practises the evil rite (? cf. *bhdgam asyā vdrca ādiṣi* in the first verse of the hymn).

Any doubt as to the fact that the Atharvavedins regarded the hymn in this light, will certainly be dispelled by observing the surroundings among which it is found in the Kāuçika. It is preceded by a ceremony which centres about AV. VI 130 (Kāuç. 36, 13, 14), which the translators (Weber, Ind. Stud. V 244; Ludwig, Der Rig-Veda, III 515; Grill, Hundert lieder des Atharva-Veda, p. 36) agree in regarding as a charm of a wife, intended to kindle anew the love of a truant husband. It is followed by the ceremony which attaches itself to AV. III 18 (Kāuç. 36, 19-24), which the translators (Weber, Ind. Stud. V 222, XVII 264; Zimmer, Alt-indisches Leben, p. 307) regard as a charm for the captivation of a man, and for supplanting a more favored rival.

I cannot, however, leave this hymn without pointing out some facts

which may seriously modify the explanation given above. Clearly the Kāučika takes the view of the hymn, which was expounded above. And it may be presumed the diaskeuasts of the Atharvan held the same view. But it seems to me that traces of a more original application are not wanting. The word *pitrṣu*, translated above doubtlessly by 'with her relatives,' means naturally 'among the fathers or manes.' The third stanza of the hymn, considered independently, would be easily explained as one uttered at the funeral of a maiden, and it seems possible that the entire hymn represents similar material somewhat worked over for the occasion. Secondary employment of material employed primarily in the burial service is certainly contained in stanzas 2-4 of RV. VII 55 (see Aufrecht, Ind. Stud. IV 342), and in stanzas 7-8 of AV. II 12. In the latter case the transition from primary to secondary value is quite similar to that which seems to have taken place here. That the hymn AV. II 12 is not uttered by one subjected to a fire-ordeal, but is an imprecation against an enemy who is attempting to thwart some holy practice, I shall hope to prove elsewhere. At any rate the last two verses represent a modification of funeral verses for the purpose of injuring an enemy, and the same assumption seems likely to hold good for AV. I 14 as a whole.

I add the curious statement of the *Anukramaṇi* as to this hymn : *namas te astu* (I 13) *bhagam asyā* (I 14) *iti sūkta vāidyute dve* *ānuṣṭubhe prathamañ vāidyutam parañ vārunāñ vo 'ta yāmyāñ vā* *prathamena vidyutam astāud dvitīyena tadarthan yamam*. There seems to be no reason for associating these hymns, nor for regarding I 14 as having anything to do with lightning. It may be noted that the treatise regards the word *yama* in the hymn as a proper name, and not an epithet ('ruler' [Bändiger, Herrscher] of the translators).

The concluding word of verse 3, *çamopyāt*, rendered by Zimmer 'until (her hair)' on authority of a conjecture of the Petersbu... unexplainable. The quarter-verse, easily filled out by reading it as ā... not the "hair" and the "three tufts of suggest the possible emendation ā çirṣṇāh has shed the hair from her head,' i. e. 'has the word to be emended to *samōpiāt* (*✓vap*

II 11.

The srāktya-maṇi, an amulet from the srāktya-tree.

This hymn has been translated by Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, p. 163, who entitles it 'The *srāktya*-amulet, a counter-incantation.' The purpose of the hymn is doubtless correctly stated (cf. stanzas 2 and 3: *pratyabhicaraṇo* 'si . . . *prati tam abhi cara yo* 'smān dveṣṭi yan vayam dviṣmah). The description of the *srāktya* (or *srāktya*, AV. VIII 5. 4, 7, 8)-amulet, however, as given by Weber, is based simply on an etymology. He derives the word from *srakti* 'corner,' and defines *srāktya* and *srāktya* as 'many-cornered.' Thus he is led to believe that the amulet in question was made of a polished jewel or crystal, an opinion which is adopted and expanded by Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 263.

The word *srāktya* occurs in the *paribhāṣā-sūtra*, Kāuç. 8. 15, which gives a list of plants and trees that are regarded as *gānta* 'holy': *palāço*-*dumbara*-*jambu*-*kāmpila*-*srag*-*vaṅha*-*çirīṣa*-*srāktya*-*varaṇa*-*bilva*-*jaṅgida*-*kuṭaka*-*garhya*-*galīvala*-*vetasa*-*çimbala*-*sipuna*-*syandanā*-*raṇikā*-*çmayok!*-*a*-*tunyu*-*pūtudāravah* *gāntāḥ*. Dārla defines the word *srāktya* by *tilaka* (*srāktyas tilakah*). Moreover, at Kāuç. 39, 1 the word *srāktya* occurs in a *sūtra* which serves as rubric to the hymn now in question: *dūṣyā dūṣir* *asī* 'ti *srāktyam* *badhnāti*. Dārla's comment is as follows: *gāntyudakāntē bandhanām* . . . *srāktyavikārah*, *srāktyamaṇih*, *srāktyas tilakah*, *kṛtyāçamanārthaṁ*.

According to this, the *srāktya* is a kind of *tilaka*-tree. The fact that it is counted as *gānta* 'holy,' in Kāuç. 8, 15, designates it *a priori* as *pratyabhicaraṇa* 'suitable for warding off witchcraft'; the antithesis between *gānti* and *abhicāra* is common and technical in the ritual. Thus the Ātharvanīya-paddhati of the Kāuçika in the introduction: *sāñhitāvidhīm* *vakṣyāmāḥ*, *gāntika-pāuṣṭikā*-*"bhicārikāṇi sāñhitāvidhāu* (i. e. in the Kāuçika) *uktāni*, *trividhāni karmāṇi* *vidhikarmāṇi* *avidhikarmāṇi* *uchrayakarmāṇi*. In Kāuç. 3. 19, *purastāddhoma* *ājyabhāgah* *sāñsthitahomāḥ* *samṛ-* *gāntānām* *iti*, the word *gāntānām* is glossed by Dārla with *bhicārikāṇām*. Ath. Parīç. 21, 3 (*sāñbhāra-lakṣaṇāḥ*):

gāntiko proktah *pālāço* *vā* 'tha khādirah, *abhicāre* *uryāt* *sruvam ayomayam*. The word *srāktya* is a *vṛddhi*-form from *srāktya* and means 'amulet made from the *srāktya*'. A report is thus furnished for the unauthenticated meaning 'eine art halsschmuck,' reported by Böhtlingk in the dictionary.

The vegetable kingdom is a favorite source of the *manī* or amulet. In the list of 'holy' trees given above from Kāuç. 8, 15, amulets are furnished by the *udumbara* (AV. XIX 31), the *parṇa* (or *pālāça*, III 5), the *jāṅgiḍā*¹ (II 4; XIX 35), and the *varaṇa* (VI 85; X 3). At Kāuç. 11, 19 and 52, 18, 'a *manī* consisting of a pair of equal *kṛṣṇalā*-berries' (*yugmakṛṣṇalāṁ*) is employed.² The hymn AV. II 9 sings the praises of the *daśavṛkṣa*, which the Kāučika and Dārlīa explain as an amulet consisting of ten different kinds of 'holy' wood; cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII 153 ff. At Kāuç. 28, 7 the *sadampūṣpā* (Dārlīa: *trisandhyā*) furnishes an amulet employed in connection with AV. IV 20: *ā paçyati 'ti sadampūṣpāmaṇīm badhnāti*. Compare also Kāuç. 19, 22.

It may be added that the hymn is employed further, in Kāuç. 39, 7, in connection with IV 40, 17, 18, 19; V 14, 31; VIII 5; X 1: *dūṣyā dūṣir asi ye purastād iṣānāṁ tvā samāṁ jyotiḥ uṭo asy abandhukṛt suparnas tvā yāṁ te cakrur ayam pratisaro yāṁ kalpayantī 'ti mahācāntim āvāpate*. These *pratikas*, with the addition of those of VII 65. 1, 2, make up the second *gāṇa* of the *gāṇamālā* (Atharva-pariçīta 34) which bears the name of *kṛtyā-gāṇa*. The Atharvānukramaṇī defines it as follows: *dūṣyā dūṣir asi 'ti kṛtyāpratīharāṇasūktam kṛtyādūṣaṇadevatyam*. The hymn is mentioned also in Ath. Parīc. 17, 2 (*hastyāqvadikṣā*): *dūṣyā dūṣir iti pratisaram ābadhya* (MSS. *ābadhya*) . . . and a passage in praise of the *pratisara* occurs ibid. 20. 6, 7 (*skandayāga* or *dhūrtakalpa*). Dārlīa's comment on Kāučika 19, 22 also treats of the *pratisara*. As the earlier meaning of *pratisara* does not seem to be altogether clear (see Aufrecht, Ind. Stud. IV 343; Weber, ibid. XIII 164; Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 263; Ludwig, Rig-Veda, III 345), the *skandayāga*-passage may be given in full: in *çloka* 5^a, the MSS reading is *kṛtāt pātāḥ kṣudrāt*, with the variant *kṣudrāt*. The passage follows: *ādityakartitaḥ sūtram ili pratisara*.

¹ Dārlīa:*śākyāñātyāḥ*.² Kāuç.*yadā 'badhnā (I 35, 1) nava prānāṁ (V*²⁸*Dārlīa : kṛṣṇalamaṇīm vāsayitvā (cf. Kāuç.**badhnām ichato samakṛṣṇalam iti bahuvrihiḥ*

'ti gākalaḥ. Dārlīa: *daçānāṁ çāntavṛkṣāñāṁ*
gākala manīḥ gākalasamuccayo (Cod. *sakala-*) *mantra-*
do jāpano 'bhīmṛçanti. Dārlīa: *athavā daça mitrā* (!)
mitrāñāt piçācagṛhitam (correct accordingly the passage
 under Lieder der Atharva-Veda, pp. 49, 50).

ādityakartitam sūtram indreṇa trivṛtikṛtam
 aṣvibhyāṁ granthilo granthir brahmaṇā pratisarāḥ kṛtaḥ.
 dhanyāṁ yaçasyam āyuṣyam aṣubhasya ca ghātanam
 badhnāmi pratisaram imāṁ sarvaçatrūnibarhaṇam.
 rākṣobhyaç ca piçācebhyo gandharvebhyaś tathāi 'va ca
 manuṣebhyo bhayaṁ nā 'sti yac ca syād duṣkṛtāṁ kṛtam.
 svakṛtāt parakṛtāc ca duṣkṛtāt parimucyate
 sarvasmāt pātakān mukto bhaved vīras tathāi 'va ca.
 abhicārāt kṛtāt kṣudrāt strikṛtād aṣubham ca yat
 tāvat tasya bhayaṁ nā 'sti yāvat sūtraṁ sa dhārayet.
 yāvad āpaç ca gāvaç ca yāvat sthāsyanti parvatāḥ
 tāvat tasya bhayaṁ nā 'sti yāt sūtraṁ dhārayiṣyati.

II 27.

Charm against an opponent in debate.

The root *prach* or *prch*, 'ask,' as is well known, is a secondary form : to wit, a part of the stem of an inchoative present, *pr[ç]-cha-ti*, transferred in use to a verb-formation outside the primary present-system, *i. e.* to the perfect, *papr̥dcha*; to the verbals, *prchyā*, *-pr'cham*, *-pr'che*; to the passive *prchyate*; and further to the derivatives, *prāch-*, *prchā*, *prchaka*, *pr'chya*, and *pipr̥chiṣu*. Most of the remaining forms and derivatives, *dprāt*, *dprākṣit*, *prṣṭa*, *prṣṭum*, *praksyati*, *prṣṭvā*, *prasṭavya*, *prasṭṛ*, may be referred to either form of the root, to *praç* or to *prach*; but for those belonging to the oldest dialect, notably for *dprāt* and *dprākṣit*, a reference to *praç* is preferable (cf. Whitney, Skt. Gr., §220). Finally, for the original form *praç*, the Vedic *praç-na*, 'question, debate,' gives unmistakable testimony, to say nothing of the evidence of the related languages.

I believe that there are three other Vedic words which are certainly derivatives of *praç*, 'ask,' though they have hitherto been misunderstood. These are :

1. *prā'ç*, 'debate, dispute.'
2. *pratiprāç*, 'opponent, one disputing against another.'
3. *pratiprāçita*, 'one assailed in debate,' or, simply, 'opponent.'

These words occur in an exorcism addressed to the *pātā*-plant, Atharva-Veda, II 27, and in its ritual application in the Kāuçika. Verses 2-6 do not affect the question here in hand; I therefore quote only the first and last :

1. *nēc chdtruh prā'çam jayāti sdhamānā 'bhibhū'r asi :*
prā'çam prātiprāço jāhy arasā'n kṛṇo oṣadhe.
 7. *tasya prā'çam tvdīn jahi yō na indrā 'bhidā sati :*
ddhi no brūhi çaktibhīḥ prāçi mā'm úttaram kṛdhī.

The hymn has been translated by Weber, 1873, Indische Studien, XIII 190; by Ludwig, 1878, Der Rig-Veda, III 461; and by Grill, 1879, Hundert Lieder des Atharva-Veda, p. 18. All three derive the words *prā'ç* and *prātiprāç* from the root *aç*, 'eat,' with *pra*, and regard the hymn accordingly as an incantation against robbers of provisions, pronounced in order to protect granaries and store-rooms. The renderings of the above-quoted verses by Weber, Ludwig, and Grill, respectively, are as follows:

1. 'Dass mir die Vorräthe der Feind
 nicht raub'! sieghaft du, mächtig bist!
 Schlag' fort, die mir die Vorräthe
 schäd'gen, mach' kraftlos sie, o Kraut!

7. 'Vernichte dessen Vorräthe
 o Indra! der uns feindet an.
 Segne mit deinen Kräften uns!
 lass in Vorräth'n mich oben stehn!'

1. 'Nicht der feind soll genusz von speise erlangen; überwältigend, sigerin bist du; | den genusz des genuszfeindlichen schlage, mach ihn saftlos [*arasā'm*], o kraut.

7. 'Dessen genusz von speise vernichte, der o fürst uns anfeindet, | segne uns mit deinen kräften; an genusz mach mich zum höchsten.'

1. 'Der Feind raub nicht die Zehrung uns;
 du bist ja mächtig, überstark;
 Wer uns die Zehrung vorwegzehrt,
 dem nimm, o Kraut, die Lebenskraft!'

7. 'Den Vorrath' o Indra, schlage dem
 uns feindlich ist;
 weise sprich uns zu,
 o Vorrath schenke mir!'

I may miss the point of the hymn. It has no reference to provisions or granaries. It is rather a charm recited by a disputant before entering upon a debate with another at the assembly of the village, and addressed to the latter:

1. 'May the enemy not win the debate. Thou art mighty and overpowering. Overcome the debate of [each one] who debates against us. Render them stupid, O plant.'

7. 'Overcome thou the debate of the one who is hostile to us, O Indra. Encourage us with thy might. Render me superior in dispute.'

The general interpretation and this translation are suggested by the Kāuçika-sūtra 38, 17 ff. Sutra 17 reads: *iyañ virud iti madughañ khādann apārājītā pariṣadām āvrajati*, "With the hymn, 'This plant' [AV. I 34], he approaches the assembly from the northeast, while chewing honey-plant." The commentator, Dārlīla, explains the purpose of the ceremony: *pūrvottare**¹ *koṇāt pariṣadām āgacchati: janasamūham jyeṣṭī* madhukam* bhakṣayan* āvrajane mantrāḥ... pratyarthajapadoṣaçamanam prāyaçcittam*, 'He approaches the assembly from the northeast: namely, the eldest [chieftain] approaches the crowd, reciting the charm while approaching. This is a *prāyaçcitta*-ceremony, which counteracts the harm arising from hostile whisperings [*i. e.* the recitation of hostile incantations].' The hymn I 34 is employed because it contains the praise of the persuasive *madugha*.

The next passage, Sūtra 18 ff., rubricates our hymn II 27, cited above. 18. *nec chatrur iti pratiprāçitam*: 19. *anvāha*: 20. *badhnāti*: 21. *mālām saptapalāçīm dhārayati*. The translation, along with the bracketed commentary, is as follows: 18. "With the charm, 'May the enemy not' [he approaches] the one against whom the debate is directed [from the northeast, while chewing *pāṭā*-root]." 19. 'He addresses with the charm [his opponent]' 20. 'He binds [the *pāṭā*-roots together]' 21. 'He carries a *pāṭā*-garland containing seven leaves.' Dārlīla's words are: to 18, *pāṭāmūlam khādann apārājītā pratiprāçitam āvrajati*; to 19, *prativādinam anvāha*; to 21, *pāṭhā*-srajam pāñām* bibharti sarvasya dhāraṇasya bāhāu bandhamantralīṅgāt*. For the last, cf. verse 3 of II 27.

From all this it is perfectly clear that the rite is one which takes place in the *pariṣad* or communal assembly, and that the scholiast's *prativādinam*, 'opponent in dispute,' is a gloss to *pratiprāçitam*. This last is accordingly a *quasi*-denominative participle from *pratiprāç*, 'debater-against' (Whitney, Grammar, 1176), and means 'debated against.'

The word *prāç* occurs once in the Kāuçika-text proper,

¹ I have starred words whose reading is evidently faulty.

38, 24, and with the same meaning, 'dispute.' The passage is:
 23. *brahma jajñānam ity adhyāyān upākarisyann abhivyāhārayati*:
 24. *prāçam ākhyāsan*: 25. *brahmodyām vadīyan*. Dārla's comments are: to 23, *upākarmasu cīgīyān abhivyāhārayati sūktam*: *kalahaparihāra-*¹ *doṣanāçāt prāyaçcittatvam*; to 24, *pratiprāçnam kathayiṣyan sūktam abhivyāhārayati*: ... *prativādino jayapanāçāt prāyaçcittatvam*; to 25, *vedavākyavicāram* *kathayiṣyan pratyarthinā saha prativādino japanāçāt prāyaçcittatvam*.

The text, supplemented by the comment, may be paraphrased as follows: 'When the teacher is about to begin the reading of the Veda, he lets the pupils recite the hymn AV. IV 1. When about to present to them a disputed question, he lets them recite the same hymn. Or when discussing with an opponent the meaning of Vedic sentences, he lets them recite the same hymn.'

VI 100.

Ants as antidote against poison.

Bartholomae, in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, XXVII 209, considers it impossible that Sanskrit *d* should ever change to *j*. Although it may be granted that the current explanation of *jihvā*, 'tongue,' out of *dihvā* is, to say the least, very doubtful, yet the assumption seems to be warrantable in the root *jyut* = *dyut*, 'to shine' (*jyotis*, 'light,' and *jyotdyā*, 'make bright,' AV. VII 16, 1), in *jyok*, 'a long time,' from **dyok*, and *jihmd*, 'slanting,' for **dihmd* = *δοχμός*; cf. K. Z. XI 3; XIX 422; XXV 1, 68, 149. In all these cases the change occurs before *i*, and is to be regarded as an exhibition of palatalization, in principle the same with corresponding changes in the Pāli-Prākrit dialects.

To these cases I would add an apparently uncontested case of *jī* derived from *dī*. Vedic *upajīkā* (so! feminine rather than masculine), AV. II 3, 4; VI 100, 2, is equivalent and derived from Vedic *upadīkā*, masc. and fem., Çat. Br. XIV 1, 1, 8; Tāit. Ār. V 1, 4; 10, 6, etc. The meaning of the word is everywhere 'a kind of ant.' The explanation of *upadīkās* is given right out in the Çat. Br. loc. cit. by the word *vamryas*, 'female ants,' while *upajīkās* has been explained as 'wassernixen, water-fairies.' So Böhtlingk and Roth in the Petersburg Lexicon, I 949; Böhtlingk, Kurzgefasstes Wörterbuch, I 239; Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII 139;

¹ Read *parihāsa*?

² Read *japanāçāt*.

³ See PW. under *mahāvākyā*.

Ludwig, *Der Rig-Veda*, III 343, 507, 511. Weber already, *loc. cit.*, suspected that the two words might be the same; this assumption may be rendered certain by a renewed consideration of AV. VI 100, along with the ritual action which accompanies it in the Kāuçika.

Ludwig, *ibid.*, p. 511, endows this magic formula with the title : 'Heiliges wasser gegen gift,' and translates as follows :

1. 'Die götter gabens, die sonne gabs, der himmel gabs, die erde gabs ; die drei Sarasvati gaben eines sinnes das gift-verderben.'
2. 'das wasser, das die göttinen, die Upajikā's gossen auf die wüste fläche, mit diesem gottgesandten wasser sollt ihr diess gift vernichten.'
3. 'der asura tochter bist du, auch der götter schwester bist du, ausz himmel und erde entstanden hast kraftloss (saftlos?) du das gift gemacht.'

The point of the hymn is rather as follows: The *upajikās* or *upadikās* are a kind of ants who are endowed with the quality of producing water, and that, too, beneficent healing water, wherever they appear, and consequently whenever they are applied. According to the first and second verses of our hymn, the gods themselves endowed them with this noteworthy quality. They are, accordingly, brought into contact with the bodies of poisoned persons in every possible manner.

The most important passage in support of this construction, aside from the second verse of our hymn, is Tait. Ār. V 1, 4: *upadikā ydtra kva ca khananti tdd apō'bhi tṛndanti*, 'Wherever the *upadikās* dig, there do they open out water.' Cf. also Tait. Ār. V 5, 10; Sāñkhyakār, p. 113; Varāh. Br̄hats. 54, 9 fg.; also Weber, *ibid.* Almost the same statement is contained in the second verse of the hymn. Ludwig's translation is hampered by a certainly injurious emendation on the part of the editors of the vulgate text. The MSS unanimously read *upajikā* (accentless vocative); this they have emended to *upajikā*. I would, accordingly, translate the verse, retaining the MS reading, as follows :

'That water, O upajikās, which the gods poured for you into the dry land, with this water, sent forth by the gods, do ye drive away this poison.'

That the *upajikās*, just as the *upadikās*, are in fact a kind of ants, can be seen from the ritual which is associated with the two hymns of the AV. in which the word occurs. Kāuç. 31, 25 describes the practice, which accompanies AV. VI 100: *devā adur*

iti valmikena bandhana-pāyanā—"camana-pradehanam uṣṇena. Dārila glosses the sūtra as follows: *valmikena sādhayati, bandhanādīni, valmikāḥ badhnāti, valmikāḥ pāyayati; valmikam ācamayati valmikāḥ co 'ṣṇam kṛtvā pralimpati, viṣadūṣanā.*

With the hymn AV. VI 100: 'He ties a lump from an ant-hill (Dārila at Kāuç. 8, 16: *valmikavapā valmikamadhyā*!) to the body of the poisoned person, gives him some of it to drink, lets him rinse his mouth with it, and smears some of it, after it has been heated, over his body. That is an antidote against poison.'

AV. II 3, where the *upajīkās* also occur, according to Kāuç. 25, 6 sg., is employed in connection with a cure for diarrhoea. Here also the lump from an ant-hill is introduced as a feature of the practice in sū. 7: *ākṛtiloṣṭa-valmikā parilikhya pāyayati*; see above under AV. I 2.

I would finally observe that I regard *upajīhvikā*, RV. VIII 102, 21 = V. S. XI 74 = T. S. IV 1, 10, 1, explained by *vamri* in Nirukta, 3, 2, as a further adaptation by popular etymology of *upajīkā*. It is felt to mean something like 'little tongue plus (upa) little tongue'; cf. the shape of the ant.¹ Mahidhara to V. S. XI 74 is acquainted with still another variant of this word: *upajīhvikā upadikipā pippilikāsadr̥caḥ ksudrajīvah*. This form seems in turn to represent a modification, also by popular etymology, of *upadikā*, thus again pointing to a nexus between this and *upajīkā*. The lexicons have overlooked *upadipikā*.

VI 128.

Propitiation of the weather-prophet.

This hymn has been translated by Weber, *Omina und Portenta*, p. 363, and by Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 353. The latter, following a suggestion of the Petersburg Lex. VII 11, regards the hymn as one in praise of an otherwise unknown constellation called *Cakadhūma*, which has the power of bringing good weather. And Ludwig, *Rig-Veda*, III, p. 187, adopts incidentally a similar view of Max Müller's. Zimmer, accordingly, renders AV. VI 128, 1 thus:

¹The Hindus have the shape of the ant, which is something like an hour-glass, vividly in their minds, ready for comparisons. Cf. e. g. that kind of *cāndrāyāṇavow*, which is designated as *pippilikāmadhya*, 'being like an ant in the middle.' It consists in beginning to fast on the day of the full moon with fifteen bites of food, decreasing the number by one bite per diem, until 0 is reached, finally increasing the number by one a day, until fifteen are again reached. Cf. Manu XI 217; Yājñav. III 324; Viṣṇu XLVII 4, 5; Vasiṣṭha XXIII 45.

1. 'When the stars made Çakadhūma their king, they brought him good weather; "this shall be his dominion," said they.'
2. 'Let us have good weather at noon, good weather in the evening, good weather in the early morning, good weather in the night.'
3. 'To day and night, to the stars, to sun and moon, and to us give good weather, O king Çakadhūma.'
4. 'To thee, O Çakadhūma, ruler of the stars, who gavest us good weather in the evening, in the night, and by day, let there ever be reverence.'

Weber's translation is made from a text, given below, which differs from the vulgate text of our hymn in form rather than in content. This text occurs as an appendix to the Nakṣatra-kalpa, along with which it is usually found at the head of the Atharva-pariçīṭas, probably on account of the frequent occurrence in it of the word *nakṣatra*. The last three stanzas are excessively corrupt, and their connection with what precedes is not clear. They begin with an incantation against *yakṣma*, 'consumption.' With such an incantation the immediately preceding hymn, AV. VI 127, ends. And this fact, with the legend of the origin of the disease at Tait. S. II 3, 5, may throw some light on the juxtaposition of these obscure stanzas with this *nakṣatra*-material. It would be interesting to find this text in the Kaçmīr Samhitā, if, indeed, the *pāippalādās* of the colophon warrants such an expectation.

yad rājānam çakadhūmāni ¹ nakṣatrāṇy akṛṇvata
 bhadrāham asmāi prāyachat² tato rāṣṭram ajāyata. 1.
 bhadrāham astu nah sāyam bhadrāham prātar astu nah
 bhadrāham asmabhyām tvāṁ çakadhūma sadā kṛṇu. 2.
 yo no bhadrāham akaraḥ sāyamprātar atho divā
 tasmāi te nakṣatrāraja çakadhūma sadā namah. 3.
 yad āhuḥ çakadhūmam āha³ nakṣatrāṇām prathamajāṁ jyotir
 agre
 tan nah
 chā
 abhikṛṇotu rayim ca nah sarvavirām niya-
 turuṣe pravīṣṭa iṣītan dāivyaṁ ha saḥ
 nd the published text. Three MSS read pūka-.
 emends to prāyachāns; cf. AV. VI 128, 1.
 āha.
 m vāḥ.
¹ MSS *yakṣma*.

*agniṣṭham' ghṛtabodhano 'pa skanda no vi dūram asmat
so 'nyena sāṁṛchatā¹ tasmāi pṛasuvāmasi. 5.*

*yas trā mātūr utsa va pituḥ pariṣṭayamānam abhisambabbhuva
na tvad yam adhināsayāmāsā² 'nyasmāi sa yātāḥ pṛavīṣṭāḥ. 6.
aliklavā³ gṛdhṛāḥ kañkāḥ suparṇāḥ ḡvāpadāḥ⁴ pataṭriṇāḥ
vayo 'si ḡakuna yo 'muṣyā 'muṣyāyaṇasyā 'muṣyāḥ putrasyā
"dahane carantu."⁵ 7.*

kṛttikārohṇimadhye pāippalādā mantrāḥ.

Weber renders stanzas 1 and 4 thus: 'When the stars chose *Çakadhūma* for their king, good weather was given [*gab man*] to him. From that arose his kingship.' . . . 'Inasmuch as Ç. is called the light of the stars, first-born in the beginning, therefore may he grant us prosperity, and give us wealth with a goodly following.' Weber, recognizing *çakadhūma* as the word on which the interpretation depends, takes it as equivalent to the *çaka-mdyā dhūmd* of RV. I 164, 43, 'the smoke that rises from burning cow-dung,' a well-known fuel (see Haug, *Sitzungsberichte der bair. Ak.*, 1875, II, p. 506), and surmises that it may be the first morning fire, kindled while the stars are still shining, and indicating by its rising or falling smoke the weather of the breaking day.'

The Atharvan ritual-books yield an interpretation quite different. The hymn is in praise of *çakadhūma*,⁶ which, as a possessive compound, means 'he of the dung-smoke,' i. e. 'he who prophesies from the smoke of cow-dung.' The *çakadhūma* predicts the weather for a person about to start on a journey; see below. As weather-prophet, he very naturally comes, like our "Old Probabilities" or "Clerk of the Weather," to be regarded at the same time as controlling the weather for good or bad—in short, as weather-maker. Control of the weather, as a delegated power, would come most naturally from the 'heavenly bodies' or *nakṣatṛṇi*. Hence, these are said in stanza 1 to have made him their

¹ Read *agniṣṭha*?

² Read *sam-ṛchātā*, 2d s. imperative?

³ One MS *adhināsayāmā*.

⁴ So emended. MSS *alikla*, *aliṣya*.

⁵ One MS *ḡvāpadāḥ*.

⁶ One MS *daraṇtu*.

⁷ See also Weber, Ind. Stud. V. 257; X 65; Die vedischen Nachrichten von den Nakṣatra, II 272 note, and 393.

⁸ For the accent see Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar, §1298 b.

king. The belief that the bestowal of fair weather was a prerogative of his kingship, of course, ensured him reverential treatment, and was doubtless fostered by the priests. In accordance with the above, the translations of the hymn may be easily modified.¹

The word *çakadhūma* occurs at Kāuçika 8, 17, a *paribhāṣā-sūtra*; thus, *pramanda-çīra-çalaly-upadhāna-çakadhūma jaran-tah*. Dārla says, *çakadhūma* (!) *brāhmaṇah*. . . . *etāni jīrṇāni pratyelavyāni*. We may render, 'When in the following sūtras there are mentioned the plants *pramanda* and *uçīra*, a boar's bristle, an *upadhāna*, or a *çakadhūma*, it is to be understood that old ones are meant.' It is clear, then, that the *çakadhūma* is an old brahman.

In the wedding-ritual, Kāuçika 76, 19, we learn from one sūtra that the priest causes the groom to take the bride's hand, uttering the stanza AV. XIV 1, 48. In the next sūtra, it is said that he leads her thrice around the fire with a certain other text. Between the two sūtras, the Daça Karmāṇi² inserts the statement, *atra sthāne sūryāpāṭham*³ *pāṭhati*, and the Atharvaṇiya-paddhati,⁴ *atra sthāne catvārah çakadhūmāḥ sūryāpāṭham*⁵ *kurvanti*. From this it appears that the priestly function of reciting the 'wedding-song' was sometimes entrusted to the *çakadhūmas*; cf. also Çāṅkh. Gr. I 14, 12, and Açv. Gr. I 8, 12.

This hymn, VI 128, is prescribed at Kāuçika 50, 13 as part of the ritual of a travelling merchant when about to start on a trading expedition. 'With the hymn AV. III 15 (see Ind. Stud. XVII 247) he sets up his wares after touching them with dregs of sacrificial butter.' Sūtra 13 reads, *nimirjya digyuktābhyaṁ doṣo gāya pālāñ na iti pañča 'naqudbhyo yamo mṛtyur viçvajic chakadhūmam bhavā-carvāv ity upadadhita*: 'Having wiped them, he loads them up (?), while reciting the hymns III 26 and 27, incantations against serpents; VI 1, praise of Savitar, who guides unerringly; the five hymns, VI 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7, prayers to all the gods for protection and guidance; VI 59, 93 and 107, imploring protection for the beasts of burden of the caravan; VI 128, the hymn under discussion, a prayer for fair weather; and IV 28, praying Bhava and Çarva to protect man and beast.' Sūtra 14 prescribes certain oblations to be made, *uttamena*, 'with the last hymn,' IV 28.

¹ The stanza calling *çakadhāma* the 'first-born light of the stars' is, doubtless, only a bit of exorbitant praise, a further expansion of the idea of his being 'king of the stars.'

² See Journal Am. Or. Soc. XI 375, and also Proc. for Oct., 1883, p. clxx.

³ MS *sūrya-*.

Sūtra 15 reads *upollamena suhṛdo brāhmaṇāsyā çakṛtīpiṇḍān parvasu ādhāya çakadhūmāḥ kim adyā 'har iti pr̄chati*: "With the hymn last but one, i. e. VI 128, he places lumps of dung on the limbs of a brahman friend and asks the çakadhūma, 'What sort of a day shall we have to-day?'" Sūtra 16, *bhadram sumāngalam iti pratipadyate*, "'A fair day, a very auspicious one,' he answers." After this the merchant proceeds to hedge in his sleeping-chamber by drawing furrows about it for protection. And so on.

Our hymn is prescribed once more in the Kāuçika, Chapter C., in a *prāyaçcitti* for a moon-eclipse, probably on account of the prayer in the third stanza.

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.



IV.—ONOMATOPOEIA IN SOME WEST AFRICAN LANGUAGES.

In this paper I desire to call attention to the importance of onomatopoeia as a formative principle in the Negro languages spoken along the Volta River, and hence by some philologists known as the Volta group. Of this group the most important are the Gâ or Akra language, and the Tshî or Asante-Fante. The simplicity of both these tongues removes much of the difficulty that one might expect to find in conducting such an inquiry as the present; for the Semitic contributions to their vocabulary have not yet been so assimilated with the native stock of words as to prevent their easy and quite accurate detection; while the agglutinative nature of the compounds renders every element distinctly perceptible.

Moreover, prefixes are less used than in the neighboring Bântu tongues, and when employed do not, by coalescing, render the formation of the word a matter open to discussion. Suffixes are uncommon, and dynamic rather than phonetic change is everywhere to be observed, reduplication being the most common device employed to vary or intensify the original meaning. Nor is the extraordinary principle of alliterative concord, which prevails to such an extent in many of the Western and Central African dialects, prevalent in Gâ and Tshî. So far as any traces of this concord are observable, it is confined to checking any great and unpleasant tendency toward dissimilation in many successive syllables, and goes no further.

With these advantages understood, the study of the language is much simplified, and the prevalence of any one great formative principle very easy to establish. That onomatopoeia is so universal in the vocabulary as to justify the upholders of the imitative theory in their favorite hypothesis, would, perhaps, be too much for us to claim; but that it does perform a part in the direct formation of primitive words, and that this part is important beyond anything in any other language yet observed, I think can be established beyond the possibility of doubt. And this assertion concerning

Tshî is of importance, for that tongue presents to us for study much that is purely primitive and unsullied by any linguistic influences from without. It is not a language that has been softened down and modified by centuries of cultivation from scholars and philologists; it has had no literature to set a fashion of form, to smooth, refine and alter; nor is it a blended inheritance of many tongues, in which the primitive roots are lost, or altered by transmission and linguistic trituration out of all semblance to their early forms and primal meanings. In Tshî we have, if not the primitive speech itself and the primitive words, at least the primitive processes continually going on; and in its monosyllabic vocabulary the principle of imitation seems to reign supreme.

It has always been an objection to the theory of imitation as a formative process in language, that none of the languages generally studied seem to justify that theory by the actual facts which they present. Philologists who, like Steingthal and Max Müller, hold to Heyse's ingenious theory of "phonetic types," have always at hand an objection which Prof. Müller has stated in the following words:

"There are names in every language formed by mere imitation of sound, yet they constitute a very small portion of our dictionaries. They are the playthings and not the tools of language. . . . We cannot deny the possibility that a language might have been formed on the principle of imitation; all we say is that as yet no language has been discovered that was so formed. . . . Words of this kind are like artificial flowers, without a root. They are sterile and unfit to express anything beyond the one object which they imitate."—*Science of Lang.*, Vol. I, p. 360.

I give below some facts to which Prof. Müller's objection will not apply, and which will make it evident that any argument upon this question ought to be transferred from the study of cultivated and inherited languages to that of the tongues that are still primitive in their structure and simple in their formation.

Let me present a few onomatopoetic roots from the Gâ and Tshi, with their derivatives, to prove that imitative words are here no "artificial flowers without a root," no "playthings of language," and by no means "unfit to express anything beyond the one object which they imitate." We shall rather see that they are in serious truth the tools of language—the seeds from which spring forth innumerable flowers of human utterance. Out of the hundreds of examples that my researches have given me, I will present

some five or six primitive imitative roots, with their derivatives grouped under them in what was possibly the order of their development.

I. In both Gà and Tshî we find the imitative \sqrt{BA} or \sqrt{MBA} expressive of the crying of an infant. It is also sounded BAW, the vowel-sound being prolonged.

DERIVATIVES: (1) *o'bâ*, a young child, daughter or son, the young of animals. (2) *o'bâbâ* (reduplication of primitive stem), a young daughter. (3) *o'bdbea*, a very young girl. (4) *o'bâbere*, same as foregoing. (5) *o'babung*, id. (6) *o'bâbumma*, id. (7) *a'bâba*, id. (8) *a'bawa*, id. (9) *a'bâbdwa* (reduplication), id. (10) *o'bâbung*, a young son. (11) *a'bâding*, id. (12) *a'bâdin*, children (collectively). (13) *a'badbm*, a healthy child. (14) *bafâng*, a lazy child. (15) *a'bâkang*, a first-born child. (16) *o'bâbârimd*, a son. (17) *o'bâbâsia*, a woman, *i.e.* one who has children. (18) *a'bawa*, a mother. (19) *o'ba-gyigye/fd* (compound), *a nurse*, one who cares for a child. (20) *a'bâkang* (same form as No. 15), a birth-right. (21) *abawu*, the death of a young child. (22) *abawa*, a maid. (23) *o'bawa*; id. (24) *a'bâye*, the care of children. (25) *a'bayeri*, id. (26) *a'bâsiriwa*, a child of six years. (27) *o'batang*, a woman with children. (28) *o'bâa* (with change of vowel), a woman. (29) *o'bâyifô*, a hag. (30) *o'bayeng*, a witch. (31) *bayi*, witchcraft. [From this form BAVI come innumerable words relating to the practice of sorcery. I omit also a host of compounds of BA and other words, such as *ba-sigyan*, "child-bearing," *obasimma*, a young woman, etc.]

Again, from the idea of calling, crying, etc., contained in \sqrt{BA} and \sqrt{BAW} , we have a second series, developing as follows: (32) *bâ* and *m'bâ*, to cry for, to call. (33) *baw*, to call for, beckon. (34) *bd*, to come when called (Christaller); this being a metonymy, the cause put for the effect. (35) *bd* (same form as preceding), to come forth, to come to pass, to happen. (36) *bâmu*, to come into, to be realized. (37) *bâso*, to come upon, befall, succeed (to a throne); hence, to become renowned. (38) *bâba* (reduplicated with vowel-change), to come with something; hence, to bring. (39) *boba*, id. (40) *o'ba*, to bid come, to beckon. (41) *a'ba*, literally, well-come! salutation. (42) *o'bâ*, to come, or go. (43) *ba*, a place to which one goes or comes. (44) *bâ*, to extend or spread out (from the notion contained in 43, which = *spatium*). (45) *bâbi* (advb.), any place, anywhere. (46) *babimbro*, anywhere. (47) *babiara*, anywhere. (48) *babadom*, a marching crowd, an

army. (49) *a'bafo*, a new-comer. (50) *bae*, to extend (cf. 43 and 44). (51) *baebae* (reduplication of 50), to spread out to a great distance. (52) *Bae* and *Baebae*, the name which the Asantes give themselves as being a host endlessly coming on (cf. Christaller, Lex. of the Tshi Language, p. 3). (53) *bâta* or *baeta*, to extend to, adjoin. (54) *batabata*, to be connected with. (55) *bâtd*, connection, trade. (56) *o'batani*, a trader. (57) *o'bâtd* (?), an animal with a long tail or appendage.

Also from \sqrt{BAW} come *o'baw*, one who comes when called, a servant; *baw*, to beckon; and *abaw*, the arms, lit., the beckoners.

From the primary notion contained in \sqrt{BA} probably comes the diminutive suffix *-ba*. Thus, *abdoma*, a child; *abâdâmâba*, a little child (cf. Christaller, Grammar of the Tshi Language, §37).

II. A remarkably prolific root is that which is found under the various forms \sqrt{HU} ; Fante, \sqrt{HWA} ; Akra, \sqrt{FWA} , and which is imitative of the sound of blowing. The simplest derivatives are: (1) *hu* and *huw*, to blow. (2) *hâ* (advb.), blowingly. (3) *huhu* (reduplication of 1), to blow repeatedly. (4) *ahûhuw*, a puff of wind. (5) *huhuhuhu*, a murmur. (6) *a'hum*, a strong wind. (7) *Huhuhuhuw*, June (the windy month). (8) *ahuhuwâd*, a hot blast. (9) *hunu*, light as air; hence, unsubstantial, worthless. (10) *huhuw*, a good-for-nothing. (11) *a'hupo*, a boaster. (12) *a'hupofo*, id. (13) *a'hupô*, presumption; insolence; vain-glory; exaction of usury; ambition. (14) *o'hupofo*, same as 11 and 12. (15) *hunu*, to be hollow (cf. 9); to make hollow; to corrode; to be worm-eaten. (16) *hunhunu*, a wood-worm; the dust of worm-eaten wood. (17) *hunu* (advb.), for nothing. (18) *o'hukuni*, a good-for-nothing. (19) *a'huhusi*, emptiness; hence, scarcity, famine. (20) *hûru*, to foam, froth, bubble up; hence, to excite, agitate; to provoke, anger; to be hot. (21) *a'hûro* (Akra), scum. (22) *a'huru*, hissing sap. (23) *a'huruhuraw*, steam, vapor. *ahurahuradwo*, quick bubbling up. (25) *huru*, to skip. *huri* (Akra), to jump up (as bubbles). (27) *huruhuruw*, skip frequently. (28) *a'huruhuruw*, a leap. (29) *ahurufi*, to jump out. (30) *a'hurusî*, to jump for joy, exult. (31) *a'hurusidi*, exultation. (32) *huri* (Akra), exulting. (33) *hurang*, to be exhausted by jumping; to pant.

(Cf. also the expressive imitative noun, *hûrututulu*, bubbling; the Fante, *hutuma* and *mjutuma*, dust; and the Gâ *ohurututu* and *flufia*, the lungs.)

A similar development from the same primitive is seen in the

following series : (34) *huhu*, sniffing (as a dog). (35) *ehua*, an odor. (36) *tehua*, to smell. (37) *yihua*, to have a bad smell. (38) *huamhuam*, fragrance. (39) *huām*, to be fragrant. (40) *hua*, to scent. (41) *hiahua*, to sniff. (42) *a'hukow*, an offensive smell (made by an ant); hence, an ant. Also from the form \sqrt{HWA} , (43) *hwea*, breath (Fante *fwie*). (44) *hwāne*, perfume. (45) *ahwen-tokur* (Fante), the nostrils. (46) *ehwene*, the nose. (47) *rihwen* (Akra), id. (48) *hwentea*, perfume.

Also from the form \sqrt{HO} (49) *home*, to breathe; to vibrate. (50) *o'home*, breath; strength; rest (cf. Christaller, Lex. p. 187). (51) *a'home*, a sigh. (52) *homang*, to be puffed up or bloated with wind. (53) *ahshōw*, breath. (54) *hohore*, to swell up. (55) *a'hōm*, to be haughty. (56) *ahbhoahod*, a puff. (57) *honghom*, Ψ_{uxi} , used of the Holy Ghost by F. W. Parker in his translation of the Gospels into Fante (1877). (58) *a'horihom*, a breeze. (59) *aho-ohuam*, fragrance (cf. 39). (60) *ahometew*, breathlessness; anxiety. Also in a great number of compounds, such as *ahome-gyé*, recovery of breath, recreation; *ahome-kā*, etc.

III. The onomatopoetic base \sqrt{PO} , imitative of striking or knocking, develops as follows: (1) *po*, to strike, slap, beat. (2) *popo* (reduplicated), to strike often; to shake; to tremble; to shake the head; hence, to refuse; to simulate refusal; to winnow corn; to shake off leaves (of a tree); to repeat words; hence (3) *opopo*, to stammer. (4) *popō*, chopping. (5) *popopopo*, a scuffle, brawl. (6) *pōlē*, to strike. (7) *potopolo*, to strike and crush; hence, to pound (maize); to knead bread; hence (8) *mpōpō*, a kind of maize; maize cooked; porridge. (9) *poporoku*, maize either cooked or not. (10) *polopoto*, thick, doughy. (11) *pōlō*, nasty. (12) *poto* to become corrupt. (13) *mpotoe*, the sediment of wine; corruption. (14) *poripori*, ready to strike. (15) *porow*, to thrash, beat out; hence, remove the dust from; cleanse; pluck; gather; make fall; hence, spend, squander; discharge a volley; cause to pour out. (16) *porbw*, to be beaten to pieces; hence, to spoil, putrefy. (17) *mporowporow*, splinters; dust; fragments; crumbs. (18) *aporisō*, forcibly. (19) *popapopa*, adverb, expressing sound of breaking or striking. (20) *popa*, a knock. (21) *opong*, a door where one knocks. (22) *posa*, to beat gently, rub. (23) *posaw*, to rub violently; bruise; hence, to kill, murder. (24) *pow*, to rub, scrape, scour; hence, to make bright; to become civilized; to thrive; to be puffed up; to behave insolently; to criticise, back-bite, sneer. (25) *epow*, politeness; also, haughtiness; hence (26)

epow, a swelling ; a knot ; a knuckle. (27) *epbw*, a clump of trees, a grove. (28) *mpow*, a bunch of yams. (29) *powa*, a small clump of trees. (30) *powtwom*, a button. (31) *mpowtia*, small cluster of yams. (32) *epowá*, a small body of water. (33) *powa*, and *simpowa* (Akra), a small sum of gold-dust. (34) *powade*, trifles. (35) *popaw*, to regard as trifling. [Probably from the same root are (36) *pupopupo*, rattling. (37) *purow*, to knock down, cause to stumble = σφάλλω. (38) *purukú*, roughly pounded (cf. *porow*). (39) *apurupuro*, the sound of the antelope's hoofs. (40) *putuputuputu*, a struggle. (41) *putuputu*, beating a drum. (42) *pu*, breakingly. Probably, also, to the same source must be attributed such words as *poma*, a rod; *mpoano*, the seashore (cf. ἀκτή); *poka*, narrow sea; *cpo-mu*, the sea, and a number of derivatives.]

IV. From the sounds PI, PA, PE, expressive, when sharply uttered, of quick, unexpected motion, a number of words are developed. Thus (1) *pitipiti*, rushing continuously. (2) *pitiri*, to be startled. (3) *piti*, to swoon. (4) *primprim* (pronounced sharply), lively. (5) *pirim*, to be lively. (6) *mpinting*, the sound of a tambourine. (7) *pibababa*, the dropping of rain. (8) *pibibibi*, id. (9) *petepete*, a sharp rain ; to rain sharply. (10) *pete*, to scatter. (11) *pepépepépé*, the rustling of leaves. (12) *perepere*, id. (13) *pdloro-pdloro*, slippingly. (14) *patabubu*, a rushing of water. (15) *pipipi* (Fante), drumming with the fingers.

V. From √KO and √KOR (cf. the Sanskrit *kārava*) come (1) *kō* and *akō*, a parrot. (2) *kohákohá*, a loud-voiced bird peculiar to Africa. (3) *akokoba*, a fowl. (4) *kokonini*, a cock. (5) *kokokinyáko*, id. (6) *akokotang*, a hen with chickens. (7) *akokosere*, a hen's thigh : used as a name for the trigger of a gun. (8) *kokotéko*, a cock's crow ; a hiccup (also found under the form *tékotéko*). (9) *kuku*, cuculus. (10) *eku*, the cry of the ape. (11) *kukukutu*, the sound of boiling water ; hence (12) *kutu*, a kettle. (13) *kutá*, to be bloated (cf. *ampulla* and *ampullor*). (14) *kuro-kuro*, crowing, gabble. (15) *okoré*, and *kore*, a crow, κορώη. (16) *akoromabia*, id. (17) *korokorodo*, chatter, prattle. (18) *korokoro*, to speak baby-talk ; hence, to pet, fondle ; to flatter. (19) *ngkorom*, snoring. (20) *akorokorowa*, a whirling shuttle.

Some specimens of purely isolated onomatopoetic words are given below, to show with what facility they are formed, and how numerous they are : *Babababa*, raindrops. *bambam*, clapping. *bereberebere*, gentle dropping ; used of rain, slow steps, etc. *bete-*

bete, id.; hence, fluency, sweetness of speech. *besebese*, whispering. *birebire*, confused talk; cf. *BápBápos*, which in Akra = *obirebirefo*, with which, as the name of a bird (*obiribe*), cf. *oi BápBápos* as a name for birds in Aristoph. Av. 199. *bomma*, a bass-drum; also *abunu*, *odongng*, and *ebung*. *butubutu*, drum-taps; also *butubutubutu*. *dododow*, to stutter. *fatafata*, flickering, flitting as a bat; also expressed by *ferefere* and *fesrefefere*. *fwé*, the peep of a bird; a whistle; hence, *bofwe*, to whimper. *efwemmoe*, a snuffler; hence, *efwene* or (Akra) *ngwen*, a snuffling nose, and a dozen or more derivatives like *fwennore*, *efwento*, *afwenhema*, *fwen-nua*, and the word *fwoefweo*, used as a childish name for the dog, as denoting a creature that traces objects by scent. *fwifwi*, the swish of a whiplash; hence, a whiplash. *ofwiremma*, id. *gyegyélgye*, a confused sound; a tumult. *gengengengeng* = *tintinnitus*. *gyirigyiriw*, gristly to the teeth. *habababa*, chatter. Cf. *biribiri*; so *hobobobo*, and *kasakasa* in the sense of confused whispers; found also under the forms *akasakasa*, *ngkase*, *okasafo*, etc., and giving rise to a very large number of derivatives (cf. Christaller, Lexicon, p. 224). *kesiw*, to belch wind. *kirididi*, and *kirrr*, to rush, roll. *kitikiti*, rushings, turbulence; also, *kitirikitiri*. *kokoko*, the dropping of water. *akokoakoko*, id.; also used of a quarrel; cf. V, supra. *ridididi*, trippingly. *sorow* and *surowsorow*, susurru. *susu*, the sound of pounding maize in a mortar. *asusu*, to whisper; Fr. *chuchoter*. *tafotaforo*, to lap up. *takataka*, to drip. *taradada*, id. *tetere*, id. *toapo*, a spittoon; cf. *tríw*. *tong*, sound of a bell. *otommo*, an anvil. *tumtum*, pounding. *tutututu*, the boiling of water; cf. *kukukutu*, supra. *twawn*, the blow of a stone when it falls. *ntwom*, a smack. *woroworo*, the roar of waves; to murmur. *wowowo*, dripping. *yang*, a drum. *yongng*, a reverberation.

It should be remembered that in this paper compounds have not been included, but only simple primitives and derivatives, of which the list might be almost indefinitely extended.

H. T. PECK.

NOTES.

CONJECTANEA.

Plautus.

Poenulus Prol. 13 *vivisque et colis*. Perhaps *vivisque et cales*: you keep alive and warm.

Ib. 586 *iuris coctiores*. Perhaps *cautiiores*.

Ib. 628. *Eum oportet amnem quaerere comitem sibi*. The line would run far better thus: *eum sibi oportet amnem comitem quaerere*.

Bacchides 440. *At nunc prius quam septuennis est, si attingas eum manu*. Perhaps *at nunc prius quam septuennis est, eum si attingas manu*.

Cicero.

Pro Flacco 7, §18. *Qua re iam non est mihi contentio cum teste: vobis videndum est sintne haec testimonia putanda*. Du Mesnil rightly observes that *testibus* would have been expected; I would propose to alter *cum teste*: *vobis* into *cum testimoniis*.

Ib. 9, §20. *Quam vero facile falsas rationes inferre, et in tabulas, quodcumque commodum est, referre soleant*, etc. The scholia read *quam vero facile falsas rationes in tabulas inferre soleant*. Taking this as a basis, I would suggest *quam vero facile falsas rationes in tabulas inferre, et quodcumque commodum est referre soleant*.

Charisius.

P. 156 = Diomedes, p. 323 Keil. *Haec omnia (verbalia) quam-quam species sunt nominum, absolute tamen nomina dicuntur, et singulis rebus personis apposita sunt* (= īmīθērūā). Instances of such words are *ecum domitor*, *debellator ferarum*. Should we not read *non absolute tamen nomina dicuntur*, taking *non* from the last three letters of *nominum*? Such nouns as *bellator* are surely *non absolute nomina*.

P. 187. *Plinius Secundus inter adverbia qualitatis posuit dicendo, legendo, . . . quae quidam amplius verba putant infinitiva sive usurpativa*. Can *amplius* be right, or ought we to read for *quidam amplius*, *quidam potius*? (*quidamptius* having become *quidam amplius*).

Servius.

Aen. 5, 782. "Preces descendere in omnes." *Si quid invidiae est in humillimis precibus, impulandum in nomina Iunoni. Nam omnes dicendo etiam humiles significat.* I would read *impulanda mea ignominia Iunoni.*

Aen. 6, 289. *Serenus tamen dicit poeta Gorgonas pueras fuisse unius pulchritudinis.* For *unius* I would read *unicae.*

While I was reading through Mr. Minton Warren's most instructive edition of the St. Gallen Glossary, the following conjectures occurred to me :

A.

142. *aequar gentus am.* Read *Aequor; pontus, campus.*

195. *Agaron, qui negotia aliena anteambulat.* Read *Angaron.*

277. *Anxilites, aves, volucres.* Perhaps *Axiles, mulieres.*

Alites, volucres. See Paulus, p. 3 Müller.

359-60. *Arbusta vineae fructuosae rei.*

Argus civitas Graeciae q̄ulevis. Perhaps

Arbusta vineae fructuosae.

Argus civilas Graeciae, regnum Menelai (iae q̄ulevis = raequmlevis = regnummenelai).

B.

10. *Baro; factus,* to which a gloss quoted by Löwe, Prodromus p. 57, adds *in vitris.* Why not *baro fatuus, ineptus?*

C.

10. *Caplosus; inlisus.* *Complosus,* which Warren adopts, could hardly mean *inlisus;* I would therefore suggest *explosus, inrisus.*

47. *Cancalum; dubium:* perhaps *clanculum;* see C. 144 and Warren's note.

97. *Capillatus; capillis prorictus.* Read *capillis prolixis;* compare C. 275 *crinitior crine prolixior.*

178. *Cloes, pluvia.* *Lues, or diluvies, pluvia?*

218. *Cei; iudicatores.* Read *Cviri, i. e. centumviri.*

268. *Crepere, in corpore dubilare.* ? *In crepera re, in dubia re?*

D.

85. *Dependit: reddit.* ? *repedit?*; so 98 for *debellio, rebellio,* and 151 for *despirat respirat.*

238. *Disertationes, disputationes.* Read *disceptiones*.
 297. *Duca; formula.* Read *dica*.

E.

112. *Aequiperant, equidem facit. ? Aequiperat, aequum, idem facit?*
 154. *Eulilogi; versiculi.* Perhaps *elegi*.

F.

48. *Famicus; locus in urbe.* Perhaps *Ceramicus*.

G.

86. *Glauco, viridi, presso.* For *presso* read *prasino*, and so in Philargyrius quoted by Warren.

H.

35. *Hestispicus, aruspex.* Read *extispicus*.
 51. *Heculaneus, eunuchus.* Perhaps (not *excoliatus* but) *excolaneus*.
 85. *Hirta; fetosa, plena, grassa.* *Saelosa* Warren rightly for *fetosa*; for *saelosa plena* I would suggest *saelosa, aspera*; compare *hirtus, asper, saelosus*, just above.
 95. *Hiscitur, dividitur.* Read *herciscitur*.

L.

133. *Linchine; candelae.* Read *lychini*.
 180. *Lumine turvo; diro hae (or hac?) truculentum vultum.*
 ? *Diro, h. e. truculento vultu?*

M.

87. *Micipsa; vi fuit Numidarum. ? Qui fuit (rex) Numidarum?*

N.

24. *Natrice; non est. ? Natacae, nates?*
 114. *Noxa; culpa, peccati rea.* Read *noxa, culpa: noxia, peccati rea*.

O.

183. *Oreagra, fuscinula gre.* Read *creagra, fuscinula Graece*.

P.

167. *Pr̄elus; modicus.* Perhaps *petilus*.

S.

382. *Suere; consuele consire.* Read *Suele; consuele.* *Suere,*
consire.

T.

23. *Trabica; carina tuba.* Perhaps *trabe cava; carina curva.*

39. *Telluerunt; genuerunt.* Perhaps *tetulerunt.*

Epinal Glossary, ed. Sweet.

1 A. 30. *Anomalum, inlegale.* Read *Anomon, inlegale.*
Anomalum, inaequale.

4 A. 28. *Ad fatim; statim.* For *statim* read *ad satiatem.*

H. NETTLESHIP.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Die Herkunft der Deutschen. Neue Forschungen über Urgeschichte, Abstammung und Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse unseres Volkes. Von Dr. LUDWIG WILSER. Karlsruhe: Druck und Commissionsverlag der G. Braun'schen Hofbuchhandlung. 1885.

Ever since the discovery that most of the languages of Europe and many of those of Asia have a common origin, are all sisters from one parent speech, the best philologists, ethnologists, and paleologists have with common consent regarded Asia as the early home of the race. The philologist naturally placed the cradle of the race where he found the most perfect type of language, and the Sanskrit can unquestionably claim the highest development of any of the Indo-Germanic groups. Again, since the earliest historic times until modern history begins, the seats of learning and civilization have ever been in the East, and the intellectual movement within the memory of man has constantly tended westward. The tradition of the Biblical paradise placed this also in Asia, so that the whole tendency of modern thought has been to establish the belief in an eastern location for the origin of the race. The supposition, therefore, has been nearly unanimous that the migrations of prehistoric times began in the East and moved westward. This theory has held undisputed sway so long that it has become, as it were, an article of faith which most writers on this subject have repeated without question or comment. Yet it has been questioned, and is still questioned, perhaps now more than ever before. For science, comparative philology, paleology and physiology have united their efforts to bridge the gap between the present and the prehistoric past, and bring over to us tidings of the early language and learning, of the antiquities and physical structure (*physique*), of the migrations, customs and religious belief of that primitive tribe from which all the Indo-Germanic tribes have sprung. The testimony which the results of the various researches in these different departments furnish us has been such as to shake the faith in an eastern home of the race, if it has not been able to settle the question beyond all doubt.

As early as 1851, R. G. Latham, in his edition of the *Germania*, raised a protest against an Asiatic home of our family, and asserted that the original seats of the Indo-Germans were rather to be sought in Europe. He was followed by philologists like Benfey, L. Geiger, Lagus, Friedrich Müller, Spiegel, Cuno, Kreck, Tomaschek, Fligier, K. v. Becker, by representatives of natural science and paleontology like Pösche, Al. Ecker and Lindenschmit, though without any perceptible change in the generally received opinion. But now the tide seems to be setting the other way. Dr. Schrader (*Die älteste Abtheilung der Zeit*) says that the European hypothesis (of the early home) seems to correspond most to facts, and in his *Tier- und Pflanzengeographie*

im Lichte der Sprachforschung he boldly asserts that the early home was "Northern Old Europe." Karl Penka (*Origines Ariacae*, 1883) says that the Germanico-Skandinavian type is to be regarded as the specific Aryan type. The claims of Europe are becoming as great, and appear to be as well defended, as those of Asia. Time alone is needed to weaken the faith in the East and overcome the prejudice against Europe. And yet the question must ever remain problematical on account of the impossibility of obtaining conclusive proof.

The most recent attempt to establish a European home for the primitive Aryan race is that of Dr. Ludwig Wilser in the work standing at the head of this article. In this essay he has summarized the results of the labors in the various fields and produced all the evidence offered by history, paleology and science in favor of a European home. Inasmuch as this question has great interest both for the special student and layman, let us carefully review the evidence and arguments advanced and consider what value these claims have.

In the opening chapter the author clearly defines the method of conducting his investigation in the following commendable words: "We must ask ourselves again and again whether the results of our research are also in harmony with incontrovertible tradition, whether it is possible that the migrations, the mixing, the spreading of the nations in historical times followed from the movement and conditions which we accept in prehistoric times. Nowhere must there remain a hiatus between prehistoric and historic, but the latter must form one continuous chain with the former without doing violence to facts." The researches of Wilser lead him to conclude that the movements of the Scythians, Thracians, Kelts, Germans and Slavs in historical times contradict the assumption of an immigration of all these nations from Asia, their pretended primitive home. For history teaches us "that these peoples spread out to seek new dwelling-places on account of their growing numbers, not from east to west, but quite the opposite, from west to east, from north to south; not from Asia into Europe, but from our part of the world to that. Too powerful, too harmonious are the movements of these nations to be considered recoiling waves of a prehistoric inundation of the nations . . . Dire need, the prospect of improving their situation, caused the movements of the people in ancient and modern times."

In proof of this we are reminded that the Germans still dwell where the first annalists found them, in spite of a history rich in mighty revolutions and great migrations. They have, indeed, extended their boundaries since the Germania of Tacitus, but the pure blood is to be found only at home. The tribe itself has remained in the earlier seats, though emigrants from the parent stock have founded powerful states, and their tribal names still live in the names of the countries invaded and conquered by them (France, Russia, Burgundy, Andalusia, Normandy and Lombardy), where they have become mixed with the conquered people, forgotten their language, and in fact disappeared. But the broad domain of the present Indo-Germans implies many thousand years' development and extensive prehistoric migrations from a common parent tribe. Therefore, that Indo-Germanic tribe which most resembles this primitive tribe in speech, physique and manners must *a fortiori* still dwell in the place of its origin. All the conditions imposed upon this primitive tribe are

best filled by the people living in the Skandinavian peninsula, which the historian of the Goths, Jordan, knew as the mother country of this people and called with pride *officina gentium* and *vagina nationum*.

In the three chapters on (a) Kelts and Germans, (b) Germans and Slavs, (c) The Other Aryans and the Mixed Peoples, the author produces proofs (1) of an historical nature (references to these nations found in the early classic historians), (2) from comparative philology, (3) from antiquities and the scientific investigation of the customs and employment of the primitive Aryans.

Early history places the Kelts in the west and north, and partly mixes them with the Hyperboreans and Scythians. In the third and fourth centuries they made a migratory expedition, were earlier in Iberia (Spain), penetrated into Asia Minor, and founded the kingdom of Galatia. "After the migrations were over, the Keltico-Gallic nation extended in a broad and almost unbroken belt from the British Isles through France, South Germany, Hungary and Wallachia over to Asia Minor." References found in the early historians show that the Keltico-Gauls have "the same tall, powerful form, yellow hair, blue eyes and white skin as the Germans." Their customs, manner of life, religious rites, are very similar. "The sentiment of chivalry was as thoroughly Germanic as Gallic. We observe the same love of arms in each, their arms and clothing were similar, and their manner of going into battle the same."

Philology is placed under heavy contribution, of which the following may serve as a sample :

Wilser accepts Ad. Holzmann's derivation of *Keltae* as shortened form from *Calitae* (*Caletes*), which would correspond to a German *Chalitha*, A.-S. *hālidhas*, O. S. *helithos*, M. H. G. *helede*, Mod. G. *Helden*. The radical word is found in Ice. *halr*, A.-S. *hāle* = man, hero (*hal* to conceal, cf. Lat. *oc-cult*). Perhaps still in German *Otkelt*, *Patakelt* and *Boical*. Galli and *Talárae* offer greater difficulty, but they both probably come from a root *gal*, in German *wal*, since all the German tribes call their Gallic neighbors *Walen*, *Wälsche*, *Walcken* from Wales to Wallachia (Ice. *Valland* means France; *Valskr* means a Frenchman). Germ. *w* = Fr. *g*, cf. *Gillaume* (*Guillaume*) = *Wilhelm*, *Guido* = *Wido*, etc.; cf. further the German tribal name *Walagoths*. The root probably means battle, war; cf. Germ. *Walstatt*, Ice. *valglytnir* = helmet, *valblistr* = army-horn, *valslanga* = warlike machine, *valkyriar*, *valmeyar*, *valgar* = battle maids; cf. Keltic *gal*, *gail* = *bellum*, *caedes*, O. H. G. *wal*, Ice. *valr* = strages.

The further comparison of names of tribes and places and of the words common to the vocabularies of both nations shows a remarkable similarity, though the list contains nothing new.

In the field of antiquity the author considers the Old Stone Period, the New Stone Period and the Bronze Period. It would not be possible to follow closely the whole line of argument. It is sufficient to state that the Old Stone Period represents the lowest stage of beings in France, where man is but little above the animals about him, and used instruments made of stone and horn. This people was called the cave-dwellers. Immigrants from the north (probably) subjugated them before they had made any advancement. These conquerors were the so-called pile-villagers, who had the beginnings of an ordered household, lived in communality, enjoyed a provincial constitution, and knew something of law. Their weapons were still of stone and horn, but of

much superior workmanship. To this period may belong also the dolmens or cromlechs. "If these remarkable monuments belong to the same people, as would appear from their striking similarity, their spread would indicate extended prehistoric migrations, since they are found in Sweden, Denmark, in the British Isles, in Western France, Switzerland, Spain, Algiers, Tunis, Palestine, on the Caucasus and in India."¹ This is also the transition period to the Bronze Age, as bronze weapons are found in some of the dolmens, though the art of working bronze probably arose elsewhere and was soon driven out by iron. The workers in bronze were again from the north. The Iron Age has left us the *La-Tène* swords, such as were borne by the conquerors of Rome, and found as far north as Jutland. The Gauls were skilful ironsmiths in later times. Even the tradition of the peoples points to the north (cf. Caes. B. G. II 4; Tacitus, Germ. 28).

Passing to historic times, the Franks, Goths, Burgundians, Alemanni, Langobardi, Suevi, Bajuvari, and Normans have settled in the early Keltic country, which has either been Germanized or the Germans have become fused with the already Romanized Kelts and formed a new people, the Romance. The direction of the movement has been the same as that accepted for prehistoric times.

"The Slavs are said to have wandered in from Asia, the primitive home of the Aryans. Their languages, especially that of the Lithuanians, still show the greatest similarity to those of the Asiatic Aryans, the Zend, the Sanskrit, etc. But when we ask history, it knows as little of a Slavic immigration from Asia as of a Keltic or German. No traces nor echoes of this can be found." Such are Wilser's opening remarks in his chapter on the Germans and Slavs. After showing the difficulty met with in following up the spread of the Slavs on account of its peaceful nature, he continues: "Herodotus was the first to mention them, and describes them as blond and blue-eyed, and considers them the primitive dwellers of the land. P. J. Shafarik places their antiquity in Europe, and Herodotus knew the Wends ('Everoi'), whom he reckoned among the Illyrians, and whose name still lives in Venezia. They were certainly not Kelts, who had not penetrated to those regions in the times of Herodotus, nor can they be reckoned to the Illyrians, and their language is different from that of the Gauls. We find them, under the name of the Wends, Slavs and Anti, mixed in the battles of the Germans, Huns, and Avari among themselves, and against the Eastern Empire. Later the Slavs took possession of large tracts of land on the south point of Greece."

The physical resemblance of the Slavs to the European nations is striking, those of the north favoring rather the Germans and Skandinavians, while those of the south are more like the Italians. Whether this feature is due to a mixture of the tall German with light, curly hair, white skin, blue eyes, and prominent nose, and the small Mongolian with dark, straight hair, yellow skin, dark eyes, flat nose and prominent cheek-bones, as Wilser thinks, or to climatic and other influences, is still an unsolved problem.

According to Tacitus the Wends are the connecting link between the Germans and the wandering nations living eastward, known as the Sarmatae, though nearer the former, since they build houses, carry shields and fight on

¹ It is not certain that these are monuments of the Aryan race. Some consider them monuments of a former race.

foot. Their constitution and customs were like the German; they honored, on the whole, the same gods, and divided the deities into good and evil, as in Persia.

The author's argument that the language of the tribe which has wandered farthest from the parent tribe has degenerated can be turned against him. For, on the theory of a European home, the Sanskrit, Greek and Latin are certainly more perfect, grammatically speaking, than German. Nor is it so evident that the Slavonic languages have degenerated in comparison with the German; each family has had its peculiar development, and each bears a peculiar relation on the one hand to the Indic family and on the other to each other. Neither can claim a nearer relationship to the parent speech. The inference, therefore, that "the origin of the Slavs is to be sought westward, not eastward, of their present seats," on this account loses all force. And yet it may still be quite true that "the Baltic coast, near the mouth of the Vistula, is the earliest fatherland of the Wends or Slavs. Tradition points to an immigration from the north. The antiquities of the Baltic coasts and the old northern sagas point to an early influence from Skandinavia upon these lands.

"Thus," concludes our author, "all traces of the primitive home of our people point to the north, and the whole history of the migrations also speaks to the same effect." The date of the crossing from Skandinavia to the continent must have been about the sixth or fifth century B. C., as Pytheas (fourth century B. C.) mentions only two undoubted German tribes (Teutones, Guthones) far away in the north of Germany. According to him (Plin. N. H. XXXVII 11, 1) the Elbe separated the Kelts and Scythians. The name German was new in Tacitus' times, the Cimbri met only Gallic and Rhaeto-Northern tribes, the Belgians dwelt once in North Germany, where Caesar found the Germans.

In the last chapter the Greeks and Romans, who have ever been considered as closely allied, are separated; the former being connected through the Thracian to the Slavonic group, and the latter, the Italic group, to the Keltic, a connection already made by several scholars. Whether facts bear out this linguistic grouping is very doubtful and needs further confirmation before its acceptance. "But," adds Wilser, "since the Kelts, as shown above, are in their turn closely connected with the Germans, they form the link between the latter and the Italici. The stream of immigration into Italy passed through the Keltic land." (Cf. *Marsi* = Germ. *Marsen*, *Sabelli* = Germ. *Sabelings*, *Sabini* and *Samnites* = Germ. *Sibini* and *Samnones*, *Osci* = Germ. *Ascomanni*, *Latini* = Germ. *Laeti*.)

The connection of the Thracian tribes (Rhaeti, Norici, Triballi, Geti, Daci, and some Asiatic tribes), all of whom enjoyed the so-called Hallstatt culture (following the La Tène), through the Slavic tribes with the Germans, as well as the separation of the Etruscans from the Italici, and their connection through the Slavic with the Germans, seems to be forcing a few isolated facts in order to round out a theory.

The further connection of the Hellenes (*Ελληνες for *Sellenes* = Σελλοι and from the north) through the Macedonians to the Thracians, then through the Slavs to the Germans, is one of those sweeping assertions that tend to discredit the real merits of the work before us. It is now probably well authenticated that the early home of the Greek and Latin tribes before their final settlement in Greece and Italy was the Balkan peninsula (Pannonian plain).

The physical resemblance of both Roman and Greek to the Teuton is not so striking as in the other cases mentioned, but there are, however, some strong points. Blond hair was much sought after, and was a sign of noble origin. Sulla had blond hair and blue eyes, Cato had red hair and blue eyes, Lucretia had a white skin and blond hair. Menelaus, Achilles, Odysseus, all had blond hair.

Thus far Wilser has been dealing exclusively with the European families, but at this point it is necessary to cross into Asia. The Scythians build his bridge. The Athamani or the Agathyrsi (these names might also be German) could as well be reckoned among the Thracians as the Scythians (cf. the Thracian Medosades with Sarmatic Medo-sakkos). The much-discussed Sarmatae here become Scythians, and the latter are undoubtedly a branch of the Indo-Germanic family (this seems now settled, as far as such a question can be settled). Their close connection with the northern nations, and the position of their dwelling-places north of the Black Sea, form an easy transition from the European to the Asiatic Indo-Germans, first through the Persians, whose traditions speak of an immigration from the north, from Scythia. "Besides names, dress, and weapons, the Persians have the same religious views as the northern nations. They are fire-worshippers like the Scythians, they have duality of the Godhead in good and evil like the Slavs." The nearness of the other branch of the Asiatic Indo-Germans, the Inds, to the Persians is well known and admitted by all linguists, and they are comprehended under the name Aryan in the narrower sense of the word. The light complexion has become colored by a long sojourn in the south and intermixture with the dark-colored primitive dwellers. Even now the Cafirs, dwelling northeast of Cabul and speaking a Sanskrit language, have light-colored skins and regular features; the women are beautiful, and the morals of the people remind us of those of the Germans in Tacitus.

When the Indo-Germans crossed over the boundaries of Europe they met the dark Mongolian races, and through amalgamation with these arose nations of all shades of color, from the Mongols with short skulls, dark, straight hair, yellow to yellowish-brown skin, dark, deep-set eyes, thin beards, prominent cheek bones, to the fair Skandinavian. They form three groups: (a) the Mongols proper, (b) the Ural nations (Finns, Magyars), and (c) the Turks (Turks proper, Sibiri, Turkestans). The two latter classes resemble more or less the Europeans, a fact which we must explain either by gradual deviation from tribal form or by mixture with western nations, probably the latter.

It would hardly pay to discuss all the hypotheses brought forward in regard to the various relations of these different nations, viz. that the oldest civilized nation of the earth—the Sumero-Accadians, the predecessors of the Assyrians—belongs to these Turkish peoples, etc. One statement alone will help us to a clearer understanding of the main question. The Finns have penetrated to Skandinavia itself, where they show the same marks of mixture perceptible as far back as the Age of Stone. "Hence, the Germans cannot be new-comers in that region, and must have been settled there at least since the Age of Stone."

Even physical geography, the animal and vegetable kingdoms, are laid under contribution to prove the northern home of our race. "Those animals and

plants mentioned in common by the Aryan languages belong to the northern European fauna and flora, and even those which have long ago died out in the north have retained their old domestic names even to-day." (Cf. Skr. *phlu*, Ice., Dan. *fill, fil* = elephant, extending back to the time of the mammoth.)

The Germanico-Skandinavian type is regarded as the specific Aryan type by investigators of prehistoric times (paleoology, ethnology and craniology), especially the Dalkarlar, who dwell in Sweden. The effect of climate in producing light-colored hair and skin is seen in the Mongolian Lapps (in Skandinavia), among whom are found blond, blue-eyed beauties, caused by the disappearance of coloring material in a northern climate (and here not by mixture of races).

The richness of the German language in nautical terms, even in early times, infers an early knowledge of the sea, but the one word cited' by Wilser (Skr. *nau*, Pers. *nāvī*, Gr. *navī*, Lat. *navis*, Old Irish *nau*, Mod. Germ. dialectical *naue*) does not prove that the early Aryans were also dwellers on the sea.

The sturdy, robust physical nature and the highly developed intellect of the Aryans cannot be the product of an enervating southern climate, but must have reached maturity on a soil whose scanty gifts called forth all the mental and physical powers of its people. "There, in their (Skandinavian) home, struggling with a stingy nature, buffeted by wind and wave, battling with giants of the forest and sea, their physical and intellectual forces became steeled."

Objects have been discovered in Asia proving an Aryan culture of long standing; but only in a land whose rich treasures in antiquities admit of a strict division of the different periods, proving the gradual, constantly progressive development of the primitive race, can its early home have been. "The magnificent bronze-finds from Skandinavia, which were also made there, as the moulds and other relics prove, show the most remarkable correspondence with those of Old Greece, Asia Minor, Caucasus, Old Italia, Gaul, Rhaetia and Etruria." This similarity can only be accounted for by the supposition that these works and the art must have been carried along on the migrations, which have ever been southward. Copper is found in Sweden and England, and the latter country supplied nearly the whole world with tin in early times.

The similarity of all the older European alphabets, Old Greek, Etruscan, Umbrian and the German runes, indicates a common origin. Hitherto the Phoenicians have generally been considered the inventors of this common alphabet, from whom the Hellenes borrowed it and transferred it to the other European nations. According to Wilser, the Semites are as likely to have borrowed it from some Aryan tribe, either from the Thracians or some other migratory group. The German runes certainly existed before there was any contact with Greece or Rome, and were used alongside the Latin letters in Gaul for a long time. Wilser's inference is that the Germans brought the runes along with them from their Skandinavian home, and that these runes are the original of the other Aryan alphabets. However much or little truth there may be in this inference, it is certain that the runes of the Teuton tribes enjoy a great antiquity. But Wilser goes a step farther. Basing his inference on the physical similarity of the Semitic nations to the Aryan families, and comparing the vocabularies of the two groups (similarity here may be the result of mutual

borrowing), he assumes a connection between the Semites and the Eranians on the one hand, and the Egyptians on the other. The latter hypothesis has greater probability, but both need confirmation. This opens an easy course from the Egyptians to the closely related Libyans and those tribes of the northern coast of Africa (*parens Sardiniae*, Cic.), thence to Sardinia, to which the Iberi of Spain crossed and founded the city of Nora. The Iberi were once powerful, and are also mentioned south of the Caucasus. "They peopled Sardinia, Corsica, the north coast of Africa, and Ireland (*Hibernia* = Iberia). . . . Almost everywhere the Iberi were the predecessors of the Kelts, with whom they constantly became mixed at a later date. However strange the present Bask language, the real daughter undoubtedly of the Iberian, appears among the Aryan languages, the Iberi cannot have been so very different from the Kelts, with whom they so easily mixed. . . . Thus the ring of the nations would be closed, in which, according to the views presented in these pages, the Germans, the primitive people of the modern Germans, occupy such a prominent place." A glorious circle, but I fear a number of the links in this chain will hardly stand the test. Wilser has evidently attempted to prove too much. The leading points are clear enough and strongly put, and make a good showing after lopping off all irrelevant matter. The state of culture among the primitive Aryans must have been low, the development of the different families gradual, and, to a great extent, in their final home. Their principal occupation must have been stock-raising, and, in a restricted way, agriculture. Their utensils were, as we have seen, of wood, bones and stone. Iron and the art of forging were probably not known. Work in metals was confined to a primitive knowledge in bronze, even among the earliest settlers of upper Italy, to whom fishing also was unknown, at least to the pile-villagers. But bronze articles are found in one stratum of the early settlers, who probably preceded the pile-villagers, hence known to a people of the New Stone Period. The same settlers certainly knew the art of fishing, as fishbones are found here. The order generally accepted is, first, Kelts, followed by the Italici (pile-villagers).

Nor is a Skandinavian home for the Goths altogether certain, though possible, even probable. "It seems that there is no trustworthy evidence for a migration of the Goths from Skandinavia" (Encyc. Brit. X 753).

In like manner Wilser's argument about the Iberi is open to grave doubts, inasmuch as the whole question is still unsettled. It is disputed that the Basks are related to the Iberi, or that the latter passed to Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, or were in southern France and the British Isles, or that the Iberi of Spain had aught to do with the Iberi of the Caucasus.

The connection of the Egyptians through the Libyans and Iberi to the Kelts and Germans on the one hand, and through the Semitic races to the Persians and Aryans on the other, tends to weaken rather than strengthen the position.

Many of these questions are too obscure in themselves, and too unsettled in the minds of scholars, to be woven into a main argument intended to uphold a theory that can only be settled by the most undoubted proofs. The different groups of the Aryan family, and their relation to one another, still form one of the burning questions among philologists. Some families "stand in closer

relationship with certain others than with the rest, so that they seem to form separate independent groups, and yet these groups cannot be severed from the rest without overlooking important linguistic facts which seem to speak for the existence of a closer connection between single members of one and single members or the whole of another" (Encyc. Brit. XVIII 799). No strict boundaries between the different groups and families can, therefore, be set up. They are constantly overthrown by features common to this or that member of the different groups.

It is also impossible to prove anything definite about the early migrations, either touching their general direction, their extent, or their point of departure. Conjecture may place the early home in Asia or Europe, in Russia or Skandinavia, or in northern Europe, but it will ever remain veiled in its hoary antiquity, impenetrable to the searching eye of the investigator.

SYLVESTER PRIMER.

Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer mit Facsimiles, herausgegeben von EMANUEL LOEWY. Leipzig, 1885. xl, 410 pp.

The intimate relations subsisting between the different branches of classical philology are nowhere more vividly exhibited and illustrated than in epigraphy. Although most inscriptions that are recovered from time to time are of value chiefly from the light cast by them upon ancient customs and political history, it must still be remembered that every inscription is a monument of language, that many inscriptions have a distinct importance from the point of view of literature, and that many more are among the most valuable aids and sources of information in archaeological research, especially in its relation to art. The testimony of inscriptions in these several fields of inquiry has already been evoked and used by many scholars; and while we cannot but regret that some of this work is crude, and that in this line of research scholars of one country are still too often in practical ignorance of the fruits of the labors of scholars in other countries, these defects must be recognized as inevitable in a new and as yet unperfected science.

Several treatises have already been issued containing collections of inscriptions relating to the history of ancient art, and particularly such as give the names and signatures of artists. Of these works there is none of the wide importance of the work on inscriptions of Greek sculptors by Emanuel Loewy, a young Austrian archaeologist, whose essay on the relative sources of Pausanias and Pliny, published in 1883 (*Untersuchungen sur griechischen Künstlergeschichte*), had already won him recognition as an acute, judicious, and thorough investigator. For numismatics we have von Sallet's *Die Künstlerinschriften auf griechischen Münzen*, 1871; for the interesting list of vase-painters, Klein's *Die griechischen Vasen mit Meistersignaturen*, 1883; and for sculpture, before the publication of Loewy's treatise, we had G. Hirschfeld's *Tituli statuariorum sculptorumque Graecorum cum Prolegomenis*, 1871.¹ The last-named work is now out of date, not through any intrinsic defects of treatment, but because research since

¹ For a fuller bibliography see G. Hinrichs' *Griechische Epigraphik*, §139 (in I. Müller, *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, I, p. 474).

1871 has accumulated a large amount of new material.¹ The discovery of new matter not only increases the stock, but renders necessary at times a recasting of old theories. Here, as almost everywhere in science, the latest good book is usually the best.

Loewy's manuscript was in the printer's hands in 1883, but in its final printed form the work incorporates corrections and additions down to the spring of 1885. The author acknowledges his indebtedness to Benndorf, Kekulé, and Schöne for making over to him material, in the form of photographs, facsimiles, squeezes, etc., which for twenty years they had been collecting for a work of this character. He also received similar assistance from many other sources. This treatise is thus the product of the co-operative activity of a large number of the best-known archaeologists of Europe.

The inscriptions are grouped chronologically and geographically as follows : I. Signatures of Sculptors. A. Original (of the sixth century B. C. : from Asia Minor, numbers 1-4 ; from the Aegean Islands, 5-7 ; from Greece proper, 8-22 ; of the fifth century B. C., the earlier group—23-44—and the younger group—45-48—according to a similar geographical distribution ; of the fourth century B. C. before Alexander's death, 59-103 ; of the so-called Hellenistic age, 103-219 ; from the middle of the second century B. C. to the fall of the Roman Republic, 220-312 ; of the period of Imperial Rome, 313-394). B. Inscriptions probably, but not certainly, referring to sculptors (395-474). C. Ancient copies of original inscriptions (475-496). D. Suspicious and counterfeit inscriptions (497-524). And, II. Inscriptions Mentioning Sculptors (521-559). These collections are preceded by statistical remarks, ten pages of additions and corrections, a full and exhaustive bibliography, and are followed by seven valuable indexes giving lists of names, personal, patrilineal, ethnic, demotic, the residence of artists, provenience of inscriptions, lists of families of artists, and of articles and objects represented by the sculptor. Each inscription is given in reduced facsimile, and in transliteration, with variant readings. There is also in each case an exact description, with measurements, of the inscription, a bibliography, and a brief discussion of the work of art which the inscription accompanies, with unabridged citations from ancient and from early writers of all extant passages relating to the work of art ; there is also a brief discussion, with authorities, of the artist, and of the epigraphic features of the inscriptions. The citations and references here furnished are a most valuable supplement to those gathered by Brunn in his *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler*, 1853-9, which Overbeck, in his *Antike Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen*, 1868, copied and expanded. The author takes pains to lay before the reader all the data for the solution of the problem, and at times hesitates to offer his own interpretation.

From his statistical remarks we gather the following observations : The inscriptions are commonly found on the vertical front face of the pedestal ; they are also cut on one of the side faces, on the horizontal surface, in the channellings of the columns, and even on parts of the statue. The artist usually gives his own name, with or without his father's, his ethnic name, or

¹ Hirschfeld has reviewed Loewy in the *Götting. gel. Anzeigen*, 1885, No. 19, p. 770.

The excavations on the Athenian Acropolis in the winter of 1885-6 have added three names, two of which are new : they are given below, pp. 510, 519, notes. Cf. Kabbadias in 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1886, 19-82, who also (*ibid.* 1886, 133-6) publishes an Archermus inscription recently found on the Acropolis.

that of his residence, followed by either the aorist or the imperfect of ποίεω: as Πινθαγόρας Σάμιος ἐποίησεν, or—an unusual order of words—Δαιδαλος ἐπάρθετο Πατροκλέος Σικυώνιος. About 5 per cent. of the inscriptions are metrical; it is not unusual, however, to find a metrical dedication accompanying a signature in prose. In about 95 per cent. of the cases the artist's relation to the work is indicated by the verb ποίεω; other expressions—apart from a simple genitive—conveying a similar meaning are ἔτευξε, εἰργάσσατο, εἴεργάσατο, ἡρύσσετο, ἐτέλεσσε γρόφων,¹ ἐξεποίησε, ἀπέντασε (?), ποίημα τεύχουμεναι, ἐργον, γλυφή, γλύφας, τέχνη ἐργαστηράρχον; and ἀνδριαντοποιός once. The above are mostly found in metrical inscriptions. In respect to the relative uses of the imperfect and aorist of ποίεω the statistics are interesting: out of 347 instances, 260, or about 75 per cent., have the aorist, but even this large percentage increases, if we exclude Graeco-Roman inscriptions, to 90 per cent. In the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. there are 8 imperfects against 35 aorists; in the fourth and in the earlier two-thirds of the third century B. C. there are no instances of the imperfect against 87 aorists; in the second century B. C. the proportions are suddenly reversed, and in the Graeco-Roman age the imperfect is nearly three times as frequent as the aorist. It is also noteworthy that nearly all instances of the imperfect occur outside of Attica. In inscriptions known to be spurious the imperfect prevails. In a few instances both aorist and imperfect are used by the same artist, and these cases, as would be expected, occur in the transition age, viz. the second century B. C. Pliny's often-quoted remark that the use of the imperfect for the aorist is an indication of the modesty of the Greek sculptor, *tamquam incohata semper arte et imperfecta* (*N. H. praeft. §26*), seems to have no foundation. The choice of either form was determined not by the sculptor's feeling with reference to his work, but merely by the prevalent usage of language. There is a fluctuation between the forms ποίεω (246 times), and ποίω (98 times); in the fourth century forms with and without iota are nearly equally numerous; but in the Graeco-Roman age the forms without iota are very rare. Among the dialectic peculiarities may be mentioned ἐποίειν, ἐποίηται, ἐποίηται, ἐποίηται, ἐπέβεσται, and the late aorist ἡρύσσεται.

There are many inscriptions that indicate co-operation upon the work of art concerned, by different artists, who are frequently members of the same family. It is noteworthy that in the earlier centuries, the sixth, fifth and fourth B. C., the fathers of the sculptors named are often themselves sculptors; later the evidences of the perpetuation of the art in families are much less frequent.

The proportion of artists for whom there is literary testimony, almost exclusively in Pliny and Pausanias, is large. In the sixth century B. C. at least 3 out of 13 names are attested by literary evidence (Micciades, Archermus, Endoeus).² In the fifth century B. C. 17 out of 22: Pythagoras of Samos

¹ Loewy here follows Boeckh, Kirchhoff and most scholars in interpreting γρόφων as a Doricism for γράφων. Bergk, Weil, Kuhnert and others take it as a proper name Grophon. Cf. Kuhnert's review in *Berliner Philol. Wochenschrift*, 31 Oct. 1885, p. 392.

² In the excavations upon the Athenian Acropolis, February 1886, an inscription was discovered with the name of Antenor, son of Eumares, an artist well known as the author of the original group of the tyrannicides Harmodius and Aristogeiton, made in the closing years of the sixth century. This group, which was carried away by Xerxes, was repeated by Critius and Nesiotes. The original was restored to Athens by Alexander or by one of his successors (Paus. I. 8, 5, Arrian, *An. III* 16, 7). On the inscription see Robert, *Hermes*, 22 (1887), pp. 129-36.

or of Rhegium, Philesius of Boeotia, Calon and Glaucias of Aegina, [Glaucus and Dionysius of Argos, names furnished by Pausanias, but not on the inscription,] Calon of Elis, Gorgias of Sparta, Critius and Nesiotes and Micon of Athens, Cresillas of Cydonia, Paeonius of Mende, [Polycleitus, name clearly to be inferred by Pausanias, though not on the inscription,] Strongylion, Pyrrhus, and perhaps the Socratic Apollodorus. In the fourth century B. C., before Alexander's death, 19 sculptors, out of 24, are named in literature as well as in the inscriptions, among whom are Baton of Heracleia, Demetrius, Pandius (named by Theophrastus), Polymnestus and Cenchrampus, Praxiteles (only in the famous Leuctra inscription, described by Dodwell early in the century), Leochares, Sthennis, Symenus, Naucydes of Argos, Polycleitus the Younger, Daedalus son of Patroclus, Lysippus, Cleon of Sicyon, Daetondas, Nicodamus, Apelleas, Hypatodorus and Aristogeiton of Thebes.

The caution that marks Loewy's work is apparent in his omission, evidently intentional, of sculptors for whom there is direct literary, but only indirect and not perfectly certain epigraphic evidence. In CIA. I 392 (cf. Jahn-Michaelis, *Paus. Desc. Arcis Athen.* p. 5) is an inscription on a pedestal of Pentelic marble which formerly lay near the eastern portico of the Propylaea of the Athenian Acropolis: Καλλίας Ἰππονίκου ἀνέθη[ε]ν. Less cautious archaeologists than Loewy have not hesitated to associate this pedestal with the statue of Aphrodite by Calamis, dedicated by Callias, mentioned both by Pausanias and by Lucian (probably the "Sosandra") as placed near the entrance to the Acropolis and close to the bronze lioness set up in honor of Leaena, mistress of the tyrannicide Aristogeiton. But Loewy places this inscription among those of uncertain reference. CIA. I 411 (Jahn-Michaelis, p. 7) is a fragmentary inscription of which the restoration is uncertain. We have only

. σελευθερε . . .
. υρωνος.

This inscription, which was found near the Propylaea, has been associated with the bronze statue of a boy holding a περιφραγτήριον, which, according to Pausanias, was the work of Lycius, son of Myron, and stood near the entrance to the Acropolis. Athenaeus (XI, p. 486 D) adds, on the authority of Polemon, that Lycius was from Eleutheræ in Boeotia. On the strength of these data the inscription has been ingeniously restored by Michaelis as follows:

[δέ δεῖνα ἀνέθηκεν τοῦ δεῖνος]ς Ἐλευθερ[εῖς
Λύκιος ἐπυήσεν ὁ Μ]ύρωνς,

But this bold and brilliant conjecture has not been accepted by Loewy, though he gives the fragment.

We have given above the principal sculptors for whom literary and epigraphic evidence combine. There are several names, however, mentioned in the inscriptions in regard to which literature is silent. A list of these names prior to 300 B. C. follows: In the sixth century, Terpsicles (Miletus), E[u]demus (Miletus), Aesopus and his brothers (Sigeum), Ecphantus (Melos), Critonides (Paros), Alxenor (Naxos); in Attica, Aristocles (not to be identified with the

father of Cleoetas, Paus. VI 20, 14), Aristion from Paros, [Ep ?]istemon, Callonidas son of Deinias, . . . omon;¹ and in Sparta, Pae . . .

In the fifth century the names occur of Ca . . . of Melos, Athanodorus of Achaia; Asopodorus, Atotus, and Argeiadas of Argos; Eumythis; Eunost[ides]; Teisamenus; . . . on of Thebes, Euphron of Paros, [D ?]orotheus of Argos; Euphorus, Xen . . . of Eleu

In the fourth century, through Alexander's reign, Netes [?], Macedon of Heracleia, Strabax, Xenoclees, . . . mades, Execestus, Stratoniades, Nicomachus, Aristopeithes, . . . timus of Thespiae.²

In the Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman age the proportion of sculptors known only through inscriptions rapidly increases. Of a total number of 270 sculptors, about 191 are mentioned only in inscriptions. The great value of the inscriptions is at once apparent in filling the gaps in our knowledge of Greek art: it is notorious that the most important of our authorities, Pausanias and Pliny, fail us almost entirely as regards the artists of the third century and the first half of the second century B. C.

The value of the inscriptions is hardly less as to artists for whom there is literary evidence; the inscriptions, by the forms of letters and peculiarities in writing, not seldom fix the chronological sequence of artists, and by the nature of the information they afford as to nationality, parentage, and like matters, supplement to a remarkable extent the meagre literary information. This knowledge has something of the singular interest and fascination attaching to the study of autographs.

Large as is the list of sculptors on whom the inscriptions shed light, there are several famous artists in antiquity for whom as yet no original inscriptions can be cited, as Ageladas,³ Alcamenes, Boedas, Daippus, Dorycleidas, Canachus and Silanion. Bryaxis is named in an ancient copy of an earlier inscription, and the same is true of Calamis and of Myron. Pheidias is named directly as sculptor, and of course in this case, incorrectly, only in the Latin inscription accompanying one of the horses on Monte Cavallo, which was originally spelled *OPVS FIDIAE*. There are, however, references to him in three Greek inscriptions: in a metrical inscription from Neo-Paphos in Cyprus, of the first century A. D., where Φειδιακὴ χάρις is ascribed to the figures which the inscription accompanied; in an inscription discovered at Olympia in 1877, of the times of the Caesars, where his putative descendant, as cleanser of the statue of Olympian Zeus (*τὸν ἀπὸ Φειδίου φαινούσην*), receives honors from the senate of Olympia and from the demos of Elis; and finally in the word ΦΘΙΔΙΑΚ (sic) on the fragment of a Herme discovered at Tivoli, probably indicating that the head surmounting the Herme was a portrait of the sculptor.

It may not be out of place to cite for special comment a few of the more important earlier inscriptions:

¹ The names of the unknown sculptors Euenor, and Theo[dor]us (probably an Ionian) are added by the inscriptions discovered in February, 1886, in the excavations upon the Acropolis of Athens. For Antenor, see note 2, p. 510, and for Archermus the note on p. 509.

² In this list are not included names of uncertain restoration or reference, nor ancient copies of names, of which many occur; they are collected by Loewy in Nos. 395-496.

³ There may be a reference to the great Argive sculptor in Loewy, No. 30, as the father of Argeidas. His name is there spelled Hagelaiadas (ΗΑΓΕΛΑΙΔΑ, gen.).

No. 1. This inscription was found by Homolle, in 1880, on the island of Delos, near the Artemision (?), and in its neighborhood an archaic winged figure in Parian marble, identified by Furtwängler with Nike (*Arch. Zeit.* 1882, p. 324). It reads, of course, like all the inscriptions cited in this notice, in uncial letters, but with a curious confusion of the symbols for long and short vowels:

μικη μακαλο
· ρχερμως . . . εισινηκηβω
αιχιομε . . . οσπατρουων ασ

A remark of the scholiast on Aristophanes, *An.* 573, to the effect that Archer-mus, according to some authorities, was the first to represent Nike with wings, combined with a few words from Pliny, *N. H.* XXXVI 11, enables us to fill out the names as Micciades and his son Archermus, of Chios, descendants of Melas. Loewy adopts, accordingly, the following restoration:

Μικη[άδης τε ἄ]μα καλό[ν ἐτενέχεν ἀγάλμα καὶ νιός]
[Ά]ρχερμος . . . γοιν ἐκηβό[λον Ἀπόλλωνος ?]
οι Χιοι, Μέ[λαν]ος πατρώιων δο[τν νέμοντες].

In No. 8, discovered in Athens in 1830, occurs the famous name of Endoeus, who, according to Paus. (I 26, 4), was active in Athens and elsewhere as contemporary of Callias: the shape and other characteristics of the letters seem to indicate that the earlier Callias is here meant.

Nos. 23 and 24, found in Olympia in 1877, require us to revise our statements with regard to Pythagoras, the sculptor, of statues of athletes, whom both Pausanias and Pliny describe as from Rhegium. These autographic inscriptions designate Samos as his city. These apparently contradictory statements are easily reconciled by our supposing, with Urlichs, that the sculptor belonged to the colony from Samos which in Ol. LXXI became subject to Anaxilas of Rhegium (Herod. VI 28). The non-Ionic form Πιθαγόρας is noteworthy. Of the statue of the boxer Euthymus, which No. 23 accompanied, both Pausanias and Pliny speak, the former with his business-like enthusiasm, "It's worth looking at" (*Ὄτις ἀξιος*).

No. 50, likewise from Olympia, reads:

πύκτρα[ς τόνδ'] ἀνίσθηκε | ν ἀπ' εὐδαῖοσο Κυνί | σκος
Μαντινέας νικάν | πατρὸς ἔχων | δνομα,

the four parts of the inscription cut upon the outer horizontal edge of the surface block of the pedestal. Paus. VI 4, 11 remarks: Κυνίσκω δὲ τῷ ἐκ Μαντινέας πύκτρη παύδι ἐποίησε Πολύκλειτος τὴν εἰκόνα. The two items in Pausanias's statement not included in the epigram above are that the sculptor was Polycleitus and that Cyniscus was a boy. The probability is that the name of the artist was where it is usually found, on the vertical and now lost part of the pedestal, and that a glance at the statue indicated to the periegete the youthfulness of the victor. They, however, whose hearts are hardened against Pausanias will see in this discrepancy only another evidence that Pausanias was merely a compiler from other men's books, and did not actually see what he professes to have seen.¹

¹ This discrepancy does not seem to be noted in Kalkmann's *Pausanias der Perieget*, 1886.

No. 53 is the celebrated Pyrrhus inscription, which supplements the information given by Plutarch, *Per. 13*, in an interesting manner.

No. 52 is the inscription found *in situ*, on the Athenian Acropolis, upon the pedestal of Strongylion's famous bronze "wooden" horse (*δούριος ιππός Ἀθηναῖς τὸ ἀκροπόλει χαλκοῦ ἐστιν*), which is several times mentioned in ancient writers (Aristoph. *An. 1128*; Paus. I 23, 8; Hesychius, s. v. *δούριος*), and is perhaps copied in one or two vase-paintings.

The examples might be multiplied, but enough have been cited to show the variety and the range of information afforded by a study of the inscriptions. Loewy's work is marked by extraordinary industry and thoroughness, and, so far as we have observed, by most praiseworthy accuracy. The treatment of the Sigeum inscription (Aesopus and his brothers), of that of Paeonius of Mende with the Nike, of that of Pyrrhus already mentioned, of those of Leochares and Sthennis, of the Theban inscription of Polycleitus and Lysippus, of the inscription supposed by some to belong to the Aphrodite of Melos, of the puzzling Pergamene inscriptions, deserve especial mention for their fullness and exhaustiveness.

In the present stage of Greek epigraphy the careful and complete facsimiles furnished by Loewy give his treatise a peculiar value to the student of inscriptions. These facsimiles present in chronological sequence typical specimens of the writing of Greek upon stone practised between the sixth century B. C. and the time of the Roman emperors. But though the work will thus be found a convenient manual for the epigrapher, it will be chiefly valuable to the archaeologist. It must soon become indispensable to him, both for the epigraphic material furnished upon ancient sculpture and for the full and exact bibliographical indications on all points.

J. H. WRIGHT.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles: Founded Mainly on the Materials Collected by the Philological Society. Edited by JAMES A. H. MURRAY, LL. D. Part II. Ant-Batten. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1885. Pp. 353-704.

The preface to the second part of the New English Dictionary is dated September, 1885, though it was not received until early in the current year. In it Dr. Murray expressed the hope that the end of Part III, finishing B, might be reached early in 1886, but it is not yet (December) heard from. It is scarcely possible to gauge the time and labor requisite to complete 352 large quarto pages, three columns to the page, of fine print, contained in each part of this monumental work. While consisting of the same number of pages, the second part contains more words than the first, already noticed in this Journal (V 361), namely, 9135, against 8365, and from the number of words treated under A, 15,123, Dr. Murray estimates that the whole Dictionary will contain "upwards of 240,000 words, the main articles being 195,000, the subordinate articles 28,000, and the combinations or compounds requiring separate explanation 18,000." This will give the reader some idea of the comprehensiveness of the work, far surpassing everything that we have heretofore conceived of. Out of this extensive vocabulary, if the same proportion is maintained, $28\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. of the words treated are obsolete, so that the

vocabulary of present English may be estimated at upwards of 170,000 words. I believe that this is about fifty per cent. more than the number of words treated in any existing English Dictionary, the Encyclopaedic Dictionary (Cassell & Co.), which claims 150,000 words, being not yet completed. The number of compound words that have been introduced during the present century is remarkable. Under *Anti-* we find upwards of 130 words for which no earlier example than one from the present century is given, so that, judging by this example, the modern tendency is to form new combinations, especially of words derived from the classical languages.

This part is characterized by the same minuteness of definition and historical treatment of derivation as the former, and whenever the etymology of a given word is not satisfactorily known, the editor does not hesitate to say so; hence we are saved from much etymologizing "in the air."

I naturally looked to see whether any further example of Shakspere's *Aroint* (*Macb.* I, iii, 6 and *Lear*, III, iv, 129) had been discovered, but none is given except from his imitators, and the Brownings seem to have taken liberties with the word peculiarly characteristic of these two poets. I should be glad to see some one justify Mrs. Browning's "*arointed*" and Browning's "*aroints*"; such verbal manufacture cannot be permitted even to great poets. Dr. Murray prudently says: "The origin of Shakspere's *aroynt* has been the subject of numerous conjectures, none of which can be said to have even a *prima-facie* probability (cf. also *Arunt*); and then follow the usual citations in Shaksperian notes of *Rynt ye*, *Rynt you*, *Ryndta*, Cheshire and Lancashire phrases, which are explained as but dialectic forms of "round thee," etc., and the identity with Shakspere's word is denied. Under *Arunt* we are no nearer an explanation; we find "Etymol. unknown," and two examples; in the first, from *Richard the Redeles*, III 221 (1399), the reading is doubtful: "? Arounted [MS has arouutyd] ffor his ray [= array, dress] and rebuked ofte"; and in the second, from *Dives et Pauper*, VII, iv, 280 (1496): "Not to arunt them ne rebuke them ne chyde them," the meaning given, "rail at, revile, scold," suits the context very well, as it does also in the first example, so that we get no support for "? to drive away," and it was scarcely worth while to refer to "Shakspere's *Aroint*."

If now we look back to *Arout*, we are no nearer a decision. Here we find: "A doubtful word, the reading and sense being uncertain in both quotations. The first may be read *arounted*: see *Arunt*, or *a-routed* from *rout*; the second reads *route* in all the early MSS. If *arout* existed, it might represent O. F. *arouter*, to start (one) on his way, send away, f. à, to + *route*." The first example is the same one from *Richard the Redeles*, which is accommodating enough to do duty for both *Arout* and *Arunt*; and the second is from Chaucer's *Man of Lawes Tale*, 442 (ed. Urry): "In all that lord no Christen durst arout," where the Six-Text (Chaucer Society edition) gives "no Christen dorste route," which is the reading in Tyrwhitt and other editions, and Bell gives "no Christen men durst route," defining *route* as "to assemble together," which suits the sense. Hone, commenting on the word (*Ancient Mysteries Described*, 1823, p. 145), says that "the letter *a* is prefixed by Urry" for the sake of the measure. At all events, the reading of the Six-Text ought to settle it, so that we get no support here for *Arout*, and if the word in *Richard the Redeles* is *Arunt*, as seems most likely, *Arout* should be excluded from the Dictionary.

While on this word we may notice further Hone's discussion of "Hearne's Print of the Descent into Hell," of which he gives an engraving, and says: "The original copper-plate of Christ's Descent into Hell, engraved by Michael Burghers, from an ancient drawing, for Hearne the antiquary, being in existence, I have caused impressions to be taken from it and inserted one opposite. This print is raised into importance by Dr. Johnson['s] taking it as an authority for *aroint*, a word used twice by Shakspeare." This is a very curious old print, and represents Christ (not St. Patrick, as Dr. Johnson says) leading souls, Adam and the saints, from hell-mouth, with the devil-porter blowing a horn and shouting, "*Out, out, arount,*" which Johnson read as *arongt*, and immediately jumped to the conclusion that it "is evidently the same with *aroint*, and used in the same sense in this passage." Steevens corrected Johnson as to the subject of the print, being none other than the well-known "Harrowing of Hell," but let his misreading of the outcry remain; "and it is further remarkable," says Hone, "that every subsequent editor of Shakspeare has also acquiesced in Johnson's opinion without taking pains to examine the ground he rests it upon." I may add that this error has continued to the present day, for Mr. Rolfe, in his edition of "Macbeth," simply follows Steevens and gives the words as "Out, out, aroynt," as if Johnson had read "*aroynt*." Dr. Furness also, in his Variorum edition, quotes Johnson, but does not correct his error. Hone has consulted Hearne and shown very conclusively that he read *arougt*, not *arongt*, although the word is so misprinted twice in Hone himself (pp. 143-4). It is hard to tell from the old black-letter type whether the letter is *n* or *m*, but Hearne had seen the original, and he gives it as "in our vernacular tongue, *out, out, arougt,*" which Hone then assumes to be correct, especially as it rhymes with *Out, out*. He next examines both Urry's and Tyrwhitt's readings of Chaucer (*loc. cit.*), and concludes that Chaucer gives no support to *arout*, and he suggests that the *arougt* of the print is a contraction of the ordinary exclamation of devils, "*harrow, out,*" made by the scribe "to avoid an unseemly projection into the margin"; for *harrow* is found as *harro* in the Newcastle play of Noah's Ark, and, I may add, in the Towneley version of the "Harrowing of Hell."¹

Whether this contraction ever occurs I cannot say, but it is at least plausible. However, another explanation may be suggested. The exclamation, "out, out; harrow!" is very common in the Mystery Plays, and is put into the mouth of Lucifer, of Noah's wife, and of the devils in general in the "Harrowing of Hell." It appears in the forms *Owte, owte! harrowe!* (York Plays, I 97), *we, owte! herrowe!* (IX 99), *owte! ay, herrowe!* (XI 403), and in the Towneley version of XXXVII, *Out, harro, out* (125), and *Out, harro* (185 and 196). I find no example without the *h*, but from analogy this may well have been dropped, as we have *andþer* for *and hither* (IX 215), *oost* for *host* (XI 366), *arme* for *arm* (XIII 101). The old character *ȝ* represents *g*, *h*, *gh*, and *w*, and it is not uncommon to find *t* irregularly added to words, especially after *th* and *gh*, for we find *bocht* (XI 232), *on heght* (XIII 29), *burght* (XV 87), *kyght* and *litht* (XVII 146 and 148), and Hone gives *nocht* for *not* (p. 46, 2), so that *arougt* in the old plate may merely be for *harrow* itself, and the porter of hell is using

¹ Hone quotes Jamieson respecting *harro*, who says that "it is an outcry for help, and that it seems to be merely the French word *haro*, or *harou*, a cry used by the Normans," and "when raised against a capital offender, all were bound to pursue and seize him." Chaucer and Langland both use the word, and Brachet marks it "origin unknown."

the common ejaculation that his fellows use in the play as Christ enters the gates of hell. *Arouȝt* does not occur in the Dictionary, except as pp. of *arecche*, to explain.

But to note a few other words. Under *Bad* we find that the editor prefers the etymology suggested, "with great probability," by Prof. Zupitza—who sees in M. E. *badde* the O. E. *baeddel*, hermaphrodite, with *b* dropped, as in *muche*, from O. E. *mycel*—to that suggested by Sarrazin from *gebæðed*, forced, oppressed. He says: "No other suggestion yet offered is of any importance; the Celtic words sometimes compared are out of the question." So, too, under *Basket*, which has long been derived from a Celtic *basgawd*, and identified with Latin *bascunda*, used by Juvenal and Martial, he says, on the authority of Prof. Rhys, that "*basgawd* is a figment invented to suggest *bascunda*," and that the modern Celtic words "cannot phonetically be descended from an original *bascunda*, but seem to be simply adopted from English. At present, therefore, there is no evidence to connect *basket* with *bascunda*, or to refer it to a Celtic origin." Much other interesting information may be gained from a study of this Dictionary, but I can only commend it to scholars and the public generally, and express the hope that the successive parts may appear at less prolonged intervals.¹

JAMES M. GARNETT.

Anglo-Saxon Reading Primers: I. Selected Homilies of Aelfric. II. Extracts from Alfred's Orosius. Edited by HENRY SWEET, M. A. Oxford. At the Clarendon Press, 1885.

The titles of these two little volumes explain themselves. The series is intended, as Mr. Sweet says, "to give extracts from the more important works of Old English literature in a convenient and easily accessible form, and in a moderate compass. The want of such a series has often been felt by students who have worked through my Anglo-Saxon Primer and Reader, and are at a loss for further reading." The trouble at most colleges in this country is to induce students to study Anglo-Saxon long enough to work through Mr. Sweet's Reader, but for those who have accomplished this, these Primers supply very useful selections. The first volume consists of ten Homilies of Aelfric (74 pages), with a brief glossary (6 pages), and the second of twenty-two selections from Alfred's Orosius (72 pages), with the Latin original of a few, three pages of explanatory notes, and four pages of glossary.

The first are taken from the Cambridge MS, printed by Thorpe, and the second from the Lauderdale MS, which, with the Cotton MS, is contained in Mr. Sweet's edition of Orosius for the E. E. T. Society. The glossaries are the briefest possible. It is gratifying to know that there is a demand for Anglo-Saxon prose texts for translation by students, and Mr. Sweet's two little volumes, in their cheap and convenient form, are well suited to supply it. We cannot be sufficiently grateful to the delegates of the Clarendon Press for their continued zeal in the promotion of English studies by the publication of Old and Middle English works for the use of students. I desire, however, to renew a suggestion made in this Journal (VI 355) that Mr. Sweet's Anglo-

¹ Reference may be made to the notices of Part I in *Anglia*, Anz. VII 1, and Anz. VIII 8, and *Englische Studien*, VIII 120, and of Part II in *Englische Studien*, IX 466.

Saxon Reader should be revised on the lines of Sievers's Anglo-Saxon Grammar, and that the two parts of Morris and Skeat's Specimens of Early English should be compressed into one smaller work, with the prominent features of the three Middle English dialects prefixed, as this would save to teachers and pupils both time and expense. If to this should be added a brief history of the English language, which Dr. Morris has long promised, teachers of higher English would be well supplied with text-books.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

York Plays : The Plays Performed by the Crafts, or Mysteries of York, on the Day of Corpus Christi in the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Centuries. Now First Printed from the Unique Manuscript in the Library of Lord Ashburnham. Edited, with Introduction and Glossary, by LUCY TOULMIN SMITH. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1885. lxxviii, 528 pp.

The addition of a fourth to the three previously published series of *Mystery Plays* is an event for which we have great reason to be thankful, especially when, as in the present instance, the series is more extensive and important than any heretofore printed. The existence of this manuscript has been long known, but no one seems ever to have made a thorough examination of it. This has at last been done, and the MS made accessible to the general public, by Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith, already well known from her studies of other English works. She has prefixed an introduction, with appendices, treating of the pedigree, description, and date of the manuscript, of other plays represented at York—such as the play of the Lord's Prayer and the Creed Play, both of which are unfortunately lost—the pageants and the pageant-houses, players, and expenses of the plays; also the comparative literature, date of composition, authorship, sources, verse and style, with sketch-analysis of the metres, language, and general remarks.

The appendices comprise a very useful comparative table of English cycles of religious plays, in which the York Plays (48), Towneley (30), Coventry (42), and Chester (25), are arranged in parallel columns; a list of places and plays in Great Britain, with special designation of those plays the text of which still exists; and some notes on the dialect and grammar.

The limits of this notice forbid any discussion of the subjects treated. It must suffice to note that the authorities of the British Museum consider the handwriting of the MS to date between 1430 and 1450, and Miss Smith fixes upon 1430–40 as its probable date. We have record, however, of the performance of these plays at York in 1378¹ and in 1394, and in 1397 Richard II was present at the festival. Hence these plays existed before 1378, and Miss Smith thinks their composition "may safely be set as far back as 1340 or 1350, not long after the appearance of the *Cursor*." The *Cursor Mundi*, that old metrical version of the Old and New Testament history, both authentic and legendary, with much from the New Testament Apocrypha, is assigned to the early part of the fourteenth century (1300–1320), and Miss Smith says: "It is impossible not to be struck with the general resemblance, in subject and arrangement, between the *Cursor Mundi* and the York cycle of Corpus Plays."

¹ Cf. Wyclif's tract *De Officio Pastorali*, c. 1378, English Works (E. E. T. Society's ed., p. 429, and note): "and herfore freris han tauȝt in englond þe paternoster in englyſch tungē, as men seyen in þe pley of jork."

This may be, but after a careful comparison of the extracts from the *Cursor* on the Visit of the Wise Men and the Flight into Egypt with the York Plays on these subjects, it seems to the writer impossible to trace any connection between them. These subjects were common property, and only because the York cycle was more extensive than any one of the others, is the resemblance to a connected history more striking. Miss Smith also speaks of the unknown author as possessing "much skill in versification at that period when the old alliteration of the English, altered though it were from its earlier forms, was still popular, yet when the poet had found the charms of rime, and the delights of French verse allured him to take on new shackles while casting off the old." It is almost impossible that one man should have been the author of all these plays. Not only the versification, but the difference in style and treatment, and, in some cases, the manifestly later language of the plays, point to different authors. They are all in the Northern dialect, but some of the plays show a later form of that dialect than others. Five of the Towneley Plays, which are in the same dialect, so closely resemble the corresponding York Plays that Miss Smith prints them at the foot of the page (XI, XX, XXXVII, XXXVIII and XLVIII) for comparison. She thinks that the York collection "is more likely of the two to be the original source," though in a note on the Towneley MS she says: "Like the York, it must be a copy from older originals." While the Towneley MS may have been copied later than the York, in some lines of the similar plays the Towneley preserves the older words, and the York must have been revised by a later hand. The following example of this must suffice (XXXVII, p. 382, l. 185): *York*: "If he nowe deprive us of our praye"; *Towneley*: "For and he refe us now oure pray"; where the metre in the York version is destroyed by the alteration.

Where we have cause to be grateful for so much, it seems captious to find fault, but we could have wished a much fuller and more thorough treatment of the language and dialect. When we compare this with Kölbing's introduction to the *Amis and Amiloun*, we are forcibly struck with the difference. The glossary also shows omissions of words, and some additions may be made to the *errata*, but it is very difficult to be accurate in this respect.

The names of the guilds that represented each play are printed above the title of the play, and Miss Smith has added a list of *dramatis personae*, and a designation of the particular scenes. The margin contains a reference to the supposed source of the play in the canonical books or the Apocrypha, and it contains also a running summary of the contents of each scene, but this seems to have been made by another hand, for it is sometimes erroneous; e. g. XVIII, p. 141, l. 105: "I durk, I dare," is glossed as "I laugh, I tremble," for which the glossary gives no authority; and XVII, p. 127, l. 47, "I sawe þe same," as "I saw you together," where "the same" has been confounded with "same" from "samēn, together." But a spot here and there does not injure the value of the work; we are very grateful for what we have. Miss Smith has been very conservative in her alterations of the MS, and always gives the MS reading. This is the only correct principle, although the text seems very susceptible of emendation. Quite a large number of corrections have been suggested by Mr. Joseph Hall, in *Englische Studien* (XI, 449), who is also very doubtful as to the single authorship of the plays, and thinks "the notes on the dialect and grammar all too brief." L. Proescholdt, too, in *Anglia* (VIII 161), says:

"Ob aber, wie die herausgeberin anzunehmen geneigt erscheint, alle die stücke von einer hand herrühren, muss doch mehr als zweifelhaft erscheinen"; and again, "In betreff der sprache hätten wir die ausführungen der herausgeberin gerne etwas vertiefter gesehen." Both reviewers, however, give its due meed of praise to the work. Since the editions of the Towneley, Coventry, and Chester Plays are now almost inaccessible, this edition cannot fail to introduce the Mysteries to a much wider public, and to the student of language it will prove of untold value.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

A Study of the Anglo-Saxon Poem, *The Harrowing of Hell* (Grein's Höllenfahrt Christi). By JAMES HAMPTON KIRKLAND. Halle, 1885.

This pamphlet of 54 pages is a Leipzig doctor-dissertation, the contents of which embrace the following sections: Introduction, Summary of Opinion, Sources of the Poem, Cynewulf's Treatment of His Sources, Style of the Poem, Vocabulary and Grammatical Examination, Epithets and Phrases, and Versification. It is, therefore, an attempt to ascertain whether Cynewulf was the author of the poem. From his examination of the sources, the writer concludes that this poem is "no translation of the Gospel of Nicodemus, nor is it based upon it in the same sense in which Elene and Juliana are based upon their respective sources," but that "the author probably knew and had read the Gospel of Nicodemus." An examination of the way in which Cynewulf treats his sources in the Christ and the Riddles leads to the conclusion "that the relation of the Riddles and Christ to their respective sources cannot be indicated by canons made for Elene and Juliana, and that they show not so much a following of any one authority as wide reading and the use of many authors, which seems to be the way in which [this poem] has been built up from its sources." A further examination of the vocabulary and grammar, after the manner of the articles in *Anglia* of recent years by Charitius, Fritzsche, Gaebler, and Lefèvre, treating other disputed poems of Cynewulf, leads to the result that "the vocabulary is quite in accord with that of Cynewulf," though from the forms "nothing of very positive weight is gained for the question of authorship." On the whole, the writer evidently inclines to the view that Cynewulf may have written the poem without stating positively that he did write it, but the dissertation closes very abruptly, after a notice of the versification, and without a summing up of the argument, which we should have expected. Wölker has evidently given a great impulse to the study of Anglo-Saxon, especially by American students, but this statistical method of determining the authorship of works, now so much in vogue among the Germans, is apt to have more laid upon it than it will bear.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

Ueber die Homerrecension des Zenodot, von ADOLF RÖMER. Pp. 84. München, 1885.

The school of St. Petersburg, with Nauck at its head, has long been regarded as the School for Scandal in its vilifications of the reputation of the Alexandrian critics. The exchange of hostilities between the four centres of Homeric criticism—Leyden, Munich, Königsberg and St. Petersburg—is

certainly the admirable converse of the opinion of Dr. Johnson that the mutual exchange of compliments between contemporary authors is one of the most laughable features of the age. The good old godfather of Alexandrian Ομηρικοί, the critic who has the undying honor of having first recognized the existence of errors in the Homeric text, is branded by Nauck as the well-meaning but stupid *librarius* who unconsciously preserved the readings of tradition. It could hardly be expected that this assertion could pass unchallenged by the "quadrilateral"; and the South-German Aristarchean, Römer, has now rushed to the breach to repel the St. Petersburg scholar, and to assert that, so far from being a stupid conservator of tradition, Zenodotus represents the most diseased and the boldest hypercriticism that antiquity ever practised upon the divine bard, a critic who is characterized by *Kühnheit, Gewaltsamkeit und der crasseste Subjectivismus*. No one has failed to observe that no small portion of the Teutonic fondness for *Kraftausdrücke* appears in Ludwich; and Cobet's most Ciceronian periods and Römer's most rhetorical passages deal with matters pertaining to Homeric investigation:

Ἐνθα κεν οὐκέτι ἔργον ἀνὴρ ὄνθοστο μετελθών,
δε τις ἐτ' ἀβλητος καὶ ἀνόντατος δέξι ξαλκῷ
δινέοντος κατὰ μέσον —.

Zenodotus is the representative of a critical system in the Sturm und Drang period of Homeric study, and hence it is folly either to praise or condemn him on the strength of each reading *per se*, as has been done by a generation of scholars. We need to penetrate into the *motifs* which animated his departure from a supposed vulgate and thus to form some adequate conception of his methods in their entirety and of their results. Such an investigation we do not possess, and Römer's treatise is not destined to fill this long-felt want. But as offering much assistance in this extremely difficult department of research it is not without its value.

We owe our knowledge of Zenodotean readings to Aristonicus rather than to Didymus. Römer's results as to the interrelation of these two authorities may be of interest. (1) Using the *ἴτιονήματα* of Aristarchus as his foundation, Aristonicus criticises Z. in a rigorous and oftentimes unjust manner (*γελοῖς, εἰπός, εtc.*, etc.). (2) Aristarchus had complete and exact information in reference to the readings, *ἀθετήσεις*, and interpolations of his predecessor. (This information, R. claims, Aristarchus had by autopsy. I cannot regard his proof of this assertion as perfectly satisfactory. See Ludwich, *Arist. Homerische Textkritik*, I p. 6). When Aristonicus regards as his chief authority the *ἴτιονήματα* of A. treating of Z.'s edition, and makes no use of subsidiary sources, his authority is greater than that of others who do not base their assertions upon this foundation alone, but have recourse to less trustworthy sources. Römer goes beyond the statements of former scholars in his assumption that even if Aristarchus had knowledge of the actual readings, etc., of Z., he was almost completely ignorant of the reasons which determined the changes, rejections and interpolations of his predecessors. To compensate for his ignorance on this point, he was compelled to have recourse to speculation. Hence he was guilty of numerous errors in his endeavor to grasp the full significance of the critical activity of Zenodotus. Unfortunately Zenodotus left nothing except his edition and works on glosses that could serve Aristarchus

as a guide in his endeavor to estimate the value of this critical activity (cf. H 127, T 114).

Didymus is sufficiently free from the belief that takes authority for truth to recognize the merits of Z., whose readings he, however, cites with no little caution (cf. A 97). I do not think much stress can be laid upon Römer's assertion that Didymus appears to have had more immediate sources of information than Aristonicus, on the ground that he cites opinions or remarks as emanating from Zenodotus himself (II 667). It is Römer's opinion that we know practically nothing of the *apparatus criticus* of Z. and of the age of his MSS. The citation of Homeric passages in writers before Z. is but poor authority for the determination of mooted passages and of the readings of Z.; otherwise Ajax 830 *πρόθω* κυνιν πρόβλητος οινοῖς θ' ἐλώπ might weigh in the balance against the vulgate, and against Zenodotus' reading in the notorious verse A 5. Römer has as poor an opinion of the *Μασσαλωτική*, *Xia*, etc., as Aristarchus apparently had. It is more probable that real or nominal philologists assisted in the fabrication of these MSS, than that they represent a genuine originality consecrated by tradition. Z. probably possessed a copy of the *Mae*. (T 76), and perhaps the *Xia* (P 134) and the *'Αργολική* (Σ 39). He has not followed these editions blindly, though they appear to have induced him to atheorize verses; hence his criticism was not dictated solely by subjective considerations. In regard to the interpolations of Z., we must distinguish between those which were caused by his less authoritative sources and those which were based on his views of Hom. *έργατεία* (Ξ 136). In all the attacks made upon Z. there is not a hint that he had not the support of authoritative MSS. Aristarchus, unable to judge of the *motif* of Z.'s readings, formed his opinion of the text and held to it against any opponent. Hence it is possible to show that in certain cases Z.'s readings are better than those of A. (*circa* 12), though by this it is not denied that Z. frequently deserted MS tradition.

Z. was not restrained from making a second conjectural emendation when it was necessitated by a first (cf. II 666 and the omission of 677). Though many of his readings are similar to those of the common text, according to the *ductus litterarum* (γ 217, A 34, B 299, N 71), he does not seem to have made use of this method of emendation, so usual among the moderns. A constant source of error, first removed by Aristarchus, was the adoption of MS readings which had forced their way in through an assumed Homeric *συνίθεια* (Κ 10, B 56, N 627, *όδε*, *κείθι*, etc.). The result of this tendency was the introduction of prosaic and usual forms of expression in preference to those more poetical and rare, Λ 841. I cannot but demur to Römer's assumption (p. 52) that for the old *έχος* the younger *έόν* was substituted. The following are other points of view: 1. For *ἄταξ λεγ.* more usual words are constantly substituted (T 11), and in fact to such a degree that Z. has freed himself from the limitations imposed by MS authority (A 439, Z 285). 2. A fondness for literal explanation and interpretation without having recourse to ellipsis or metaphor (Θ 139, K 98). 3. The poet must say *everything*, and hence an assumption of *κατὰ ρὸ σωκόμενον* is illegitimate (Φ 335, P 456). It was in this category that Z. committed most of his deadly sins. 4. The desire for emphasis and strength, *ἐφαντικέρον* (A 34, Ο 44, Λ 492). 5. The desire to avoid tautological expressions (Ε 194, H 127). 6. Predilection in favor of change of expression (Ξ 177).

7. Unconditional uniformity of epic style and the agreement of the poet with himself are often insisted on (E 809, I 660, β 81, Σ 154-5, which Römer places also under 6). A remarkable exception is Γ 334. 8. Objection to the ἀπρεπή was the cause of many changes, but of more ἀθετήσεις (Π 710, Α 123, 138, Ο 342). An interesting example of this tendency is the desire to shelter the heroes from βλασφημία (γ 228). Zen. may have carried into practice as a critic what the philosopher enjoined in the *Politeia*. 9. Perhaps a desire to ascribe πολυμαθία to Homer in the matter of mythology (Π 175, 223, Φ 194, Σ 259, δ 366).

In the earlier books, with the exception of Γ 18, we hear from Aristonicus almost entirely of ἀθετήσεις of Z. which are based on errors of the worst character. With H 195-199 a sudden change takes place in the scholia, and only those ἀθ. of Z. and Aristophanes are mentioned which received the approbation of Aristarchus. Perhaps in the first six books the epitomists failed to add to the ἀθ. of Aristarchus the important clauses ἵθετητο καὶ παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει καὶ Ζηροδότῳ, δὲ Z. οὐδὲ ἐγράφεν, etc. Or perhaps Aristonicus' "ἀθετεῖται" refers to the whole triumvirate, a dangerous suggestion of Römer, which we would be glad to have demonstrated. The suggestion should not be overlooked that Z. with H may have come into the possession of a better critical apparatus.

HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

REPORTS.

MNEMOSYNE, Vol. XIII, Part 3.

Ad Galenum (cont. ex T. XIII, p. 54). C. G. Cobet. A continuation of his former article. He comments on striking passages, notes remarkable statements, and emends where he thinks necessary, i. e. very frequently. This paper contains over 50 emendations in XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, 1 and 2. Most of them involve but slight changes. References to the scribe, and the formula Graeculus ineptus, are frequent enough. Cobet thinks worthy of note such matters as these: At Galen's time spurious works under the name of Pythagoras were sold (XV 67). The Germans were not flavi, but rufi (XV 185). Several spurious works went under the name of Hippocrates (XVII 1, 196, 524, 909). A good deal of quackery was practised in Alexandria (XVII 1, 499). The Great Library at Alexandria was to a certain extent circulating (XVII 1, 606). Some interesting statements as to the writing of books (XVII 2, 194; XVII 1, 80; 6, 34; XV 624; XVIII 2, 863), from which he gathers that Grammatici Graeci *textum* quod vocamus, appellant τὸ ὑφός aut τὸ ἔδαφος, et *margines* τὰ μέτωπα aut τὰ μετώπια et quod *in tergo* scriptum est τὸ κατὰ νότου γεγραμμένον. The High Priest at Pergamus used to give two gladiatorial shows a year to the people. The note to XVII 2, 145 lacks the charm of novelty: Athenienses ex τεθνηκα formabant τεθνήκω ut ex ἐστηκα, ἐστήξω. Graeculi ἐστήξουαι dicebant et τεθνήξουαι; more interesting is the note to XVIII 1, 307: Solent sequiores Graeculi pro verbis desiderativis talia substituere ut, γελαστικάς ἔχω pro γελασείω, συμβατικάς ἔχω pro συμβοσίω, ἀπαλλακτικάς ἔχω pro ἀπαλλαξείω et sic in caeteris omnibus; cf. Pierson ad Moer. v. 'Απαλλαξεῖοντες.

Ad Dialogum de Oratoribus. J. J. Cornelissen. A few critical notes, as follows:

§1: aetas deserta et laude eloquentiae orbata. Read: aetas deserta eloquentia et laude orbata.

§6: quamquam alia diu serantur. Conjectures already made by Ernesti, Peerlkamp and Andresen. Cornelissen reads: quamquam valida diu curantur atque elaborantur.

§10: in levioribus. Read: in inferioribus.

§16: incipit Demosthenes vester . . . eodem mense exstitisse. Read: principes ille Demosthenes . . . exstitit.

§17: longum et unum annum. Read: longum et durum annum.

§20: rudi caemento et informibus tegulis. Read: rudi caemento et informibus tignis.

§22: oblitterata et olentia. Emended already by Acidalius and Andresen. Read: <ins> olentia.

§23: quae tamen sola mirantur. Read: quae tamen sola imitantur.

§23: ea sententiarum planitas (ἀπαξ εἰρημένον). Read: sententiarum claritas.

§26: studio feriendi plerumque deiectus. Read: studio feriendi plerumque devinctus.

§28: non in cella emptae nutricis. Read: non in ulna emptae nutricis.

§32: in actionibus eorum vis quoque quotidiani sermonis. Read: in actionibus humilis quoque <et> quotidiani sermonis.

§33: confirmare et alere ingenia. Transpose and read: alere et confirmare ingenia.

§38: consuetudinem veterum iudiciorum . . . eloquentiam tamen illud. Omit *veterum* after *consuetudinem* and insert after *eloquentiam* tamen.

§41: optimi et in quantum opus est disertissimi viri. Read: optimi et quantum in vobis est disertissimi viri.

Observationes Criticae in Flavium Josephum. S. A. Naber. A consideration of Josephus' character as depicted in his life and works shows him to have been a patriae proditor qui miseros cives adegerat ad defectionem, ut eos in extremo discrimine desereret, qui Romanis victoribus adulabatur, qui, quod dicere turpe erat, affirmabat veteres prophetas decepisse populum, quum portenderent Messiam, cui nunc omnes parebant quamquam ἀπέτιμός, qui accumbebat ad mensas gentilium et truncando Sacrum Codicem fecerat probabilem fortasse aliis, sed sibi inutilem, quum pro mascula simplicitate introduisset orationis fucum et pro Messia, quem Prophetae fuerant polliciti, inseruisset Romanum victorem et pro aeterno quod somniantar imperio aeternam obedientiam.

In his writing he was prone to exaggeration and entirely ignorant of τὸ πρᾶτον. He probably had and used the best sources—Polybius, Strabo, Nicolaus Dam., but his style shows evidences of patchwork, in some cases contradictory statements on the same subject being taken from different authors. He probably used the same sources as Tacitus.

Naber thinks he wrote for or was read principally by Christians; and he explains, and fortifies by strong arguments, the absence of any mention of Christ by supposing that, being a disbeliever, his treatment of Christ was offensive to the Christians, and hence was afterwards cut out.

Naber also thinks that we do not have what Josephus wrote concerning baptism for the remission of sins. Josephus expressly says that baptism was *not* ἐφ' ἀμαρτάνων παραιτησοῦ. "Illud certe appetit ratione propemodum mathematica periisse locum Josephi de baptismo quem Jesus instituisset."

Epigraphica. H. v. H. Ten notes on an inscription lately found in Tefeng, containing "respona XXIII astragalomantica," published by G. Cousin.

Ad Ciceronis Palimpsestos (contin. ex Tom. XIII, p. 54). C. M. Francken. After citing a few passages which make for the proposition laid down earlier in the article (Vol. XII, p. 283), that in the Palimpsest de Rep. we must give more importance to the second corrector (c'), the writer proceeds to criticise Book II:

§5: quod essent urbes maritimae non solum multis periculis oppositae. Read: multis oppositae periculis.

§7: multa etiam ad luxuriam invitamenta perniciosa civitatibus subpedantur mari, quae vel capiuntur vel importantur. Read: acciuntur instead of capiuntur.

§11: cuius (urbis) is est tractus ductusque muri—ex omni parte arduis prae-
ruptisque montibus *ut* unus aditus qui esset—fossa cingeretur vastissima,
atque *ut* ita munita arx circumiecto arduo et quasi circumciso saxo niteretur
ut . . . incolumis atque intacta permanserit. The first *ut*—a conj. of Orelli—
should be put before ex omni; the second *ut* omitted. Read: atque ita munita
arx circumiectu arduo et quasi circumciso saxo, *ut*, etc.; omitting also niteretur.

§18: Nam centum et octo annis postquam Lycurgus leges scribere instituit
prima posita est Olympias. Read: est prima Olympias, omitting posita.

§22: et illa de urbis situ revoces ad rationem, quae a Romulo casu aut
necessitate facta sunt. Omit illa de urbis situ—"explicationem non necessaria-
riam."

§26: propositis legibus his, quas. Defends his against editors who
delete it.

§30: hoc ipso sapientiam maiorum statues esse laudandum, quod multa
intelleges etiam aliunde sumpta meliora apud nos multo esse facta, quam ibi
fuisserent. Read: aliunde sumpta etiam meliora.

§31: (Tullus Hostilius) constituit ius quo bella indicerentur, quod per se
iustissime inventum sanxit fetiali religione. Read: iustissimum.

§33: temporum illorum tantum fere regum illustrata sunt nomina. Read:
regum tantum.

§36. The passage "Deinde equitatum . . . duplicavit" the writer thinks
himself hardly competent to emend.

§42: Sed quod proprium sit in nostra republica, quo nihil possit esse praec-
clarius. The writer suggests proprium *est*, in nostra republica *et* quo.

§43: (Regia forma civitatis) unius vitio praecipitata in perniciosissimam
partem facillime decidit. Read pestem for partem.

§51: Sibi ipse Socrates PRRIPATETO illo in sermone depinxerit. Conjectures
Peripatetico or tripartito (Bernays). The writer, Piræo.

§52: Ego autem, si [quo] modo consequi potero, rationibus eisdem quas
ille vidit, non in umbra et imagine civitatis . . . enitar. Read: rationibus
eisdem, eadem quae ille, videre . . . enitar.

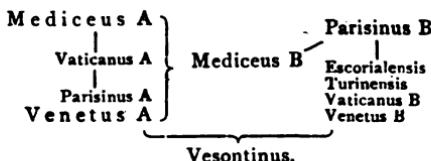
§54: provocari licere indicant XII tabulae—et quod proditum esse decem-
viros—satis ostenderit reliquos sine provocacione magistratus. Müller pro-
posed ostendere videtur, the writer ostendit id.

§59: Fuerat fortasse aliqua ratio maioribus nostris in illo aere alieno
medendi. Read, perhaps: maioribus nostris melior aeri alieno medendi.

§67. Three or four verbal changes.

Emendations are also made in Book III 4, 15, 26, 45; IV 4, and a fragment
of Book V.

De Cassii Dionis libris manuscriptis. U. Ph. Boissevain. After a somewhat
lengthy introduction, in which he defends the trustworthiness of Dion, the
writer proceeds to a detailed and interesting account of the 12 MSS of Dion,
as follows: Vaticanus 1288, Mediceus A, Vaticanus A, Parisinus A, Venetus A,
Mediceus B, Parisinus B, Turinensis, Venetus B, Vaticanus B, Escorialensis,
Vesontinus. The results of his investigation are summed up in the following
table, which shows the origin of the MSS:



Hence the *Mediceus A* and *Venetus B* are the principal MSS for the text of *Dio*, the remainder being of little value.

XIII. Part 4.

Ad Galenum (cont. ex T. XIII, p. 257). C. G. Cobet. XIX 8: ἐπαγγελιαν.
 Read: ἀπ—. XIX 9: ἡρητο. Read: ἥρκτο. XIX 10: ἔγραψαν. Read:
 ἐπέγραψαν. XIX 14: ἰδεῖθη μον τις φίλος—ἴπαγορενας τὰ δηθέντα τῷ πεμφόδι
 σομένω παρ' αὐτοῦ πρός με διὰ σημειών εἰς τάχος ἴσκημεν γράφειν Ὄπαγορενάν =
verba praecire and then *dictare*. We see that even as early as Galen there were
 persons who by means of symbols (*διὰ σημειῶν*) could take down with great
 rapidity what was dictated, and that this was called *eic tachos gráfein*, in contra-
 distinction to *eic kálllos gráfein*. XIX 17: for ἐξ Ἀκυλίας τὰ παρὰ read: ἐξ
 Ἀκυλῆτας παρὰ. XIX 21: τὴν πόλιν ἐπλήρωσαν εἰς μοχθηρὰς φήμας. Read:
 ἐπλήρωσαν μοχθηρὰς φήμης. XIX 176: ἔξεσοισθαι, citing the well-known ἔννοισι
 μικὸν ἀποτληξιν· ἔξεσονται γάρ ἀνθρώπος ἐξ ἀνθρώπου. Read: ἔξεσονθαι.

Observationes Criticae in Flavium Josephum (cont. ex T. XIII 284). S. A. Naber. As in the case of Hecataeus of Miletus, so also we find that a number of spurious works went under the name of Hecataeus of Abdera, a contemporary of Alexander the Great. The writer wants to identify the name Hestiaeus, mentioned by Josephus, *Antiq.* I, 3, 9 and I, 4, 3, as a historian of Phoenicia, with this Hecataeus.

Jos. seems to be the first extant writer to notice that *vópuç* does not occur in Homer (c. Apion. 2, 15), and throughout his writings shows an intimate acquaintance with Homer.

A peculiarity of Jos.' style is the sudden change from O. R. to O. O. This leads Naber to an emendation in Antio. 2, 6, 7.

The most frequent punishment mentioned by Jos. is ζῶντα κατακαθῆναι, and he does not speak at all of men ζῶντα ἀνεσταυρώσθαι, although he has frequent allusions to the cross.

Jos., though usually clear makes use in the later books of the *Antiq.*, of a very involved and twisted style, due, as Naber says, to the fact that in these books he stole and repeated verbatim much from other writers. Another characteristic of these books is the very common use of the parenthetic *olua*.

A statement applicable to other authors beside Josephus, and which ought to be especially heeded by the Dutch critics, is made by Naber on p. 361: "Scio equidem in Josephi libris multas inesse interpolationes sed tam enormis est Imperatoris Iotapateni loquacitas ut plerumque difficile sit ostendere quod otiose additum sit non ab eo ipso fuisse additum."

In Antiq. 6, 8, 1; 13, 1; 13, 4, Naber changes *iic* into $\pi\rho\delta$ on account of Jos.' diligent avoidance of hiatus.

A number of passages (*e. g.* *Antiq.* 13, 12, 2) are found in *Jos.* which smack of Polybius, due, Naber thinks, to the fact that Strabo, whom *Jos.* followed, was an imitator of Polybius.

Another peculiarity of the style of the later books of the *Antiq.* is the large use of the pr. and fut. part., *e. g.* *Antiq.* 17, 1, 1 : ἀπέλαγεις φάσον διὰ τὸ τόν ἀδελφὸν μὴ ἐπιστρέψων; *ibid.* 19, 1, 20: αἱρεῖ δὲ τὸν προθέμαν διαφεύγοντα.

Antiq. 18, 1, 5 describes the customs of the Essenes. Naber adds that Pliny was with Titus in Palestine, which explains his knowledge of this sect.

The speech of *Cn. Sentius Saturninus* in the Senate, after the death of Caligula, seems to Naber to have been drawn from two different sources, of which one was possibly *Commentarii Agrippae*.

In *B. J.* 1, 25 we find examples of the Herodotean transition to nom. c. infin. from acc. c. infin. in indirect discourse.

R. J. 6, 10, 1, *Jos.* says that Jerusalem was founded by Melchisedek, who τὸ ιερὸν πρώτος δεμάρκος called it ιεροῦσα, Σάλιμα αἰλουτίνην πρότερον. An evidence, says Naber, that *Jos.* did not revise his books; otherwise he would have corrected this absurd etymology.

De Pronominum Personalium formis Homericis (cont. ex *Tom. XIII.*, p. 221). J. Van Leeuwen, Jr. The forms for the dual in Homer are: 1st person, ἡμεῖ; 2d, ἡμεῖ; 3d, ὡρε. Later, however, we find ὡρε used indifferently. Thus ὡρε = εἰρώ in Aeschy., Soph., Eur., Aristoph.; = εἰρήν, Aeschy., Soph., Eur., Callim.; = εἰρώ, Aeschy., Soph., Eur., Apol. Rh.; = εἰρός, Aeschy., Eur., Pind., Simon., Callim., Theocr., Mosch., Ap., Rh.; = εἰρός, Eur., Theocr., Apoll., Rh.; = εἰρώ, Pind.

In the plural the writer denies the existence of ἡμεῖς and ἡμεῖς for Homer, calling them more recent: "Videmus nullo loco Homero necessarium esse formam recentiorem, contra antiquorem iis tantummodo locis superesse unde semoveri non possit nisi metrum simul perdas." As a consequence he would change some 75 or 80 places where ἡμεῖς occurs, and 35 where ἡμεῖς. He gives a table at the end of his article showing the forms which he thinks Homeric, as follows:

	1st Pers.	2d Pers.	3d Pers.
N.	ἡμεῖς (v)	οἵ, τινεῖ	
A.	ἡμεῖ, μεῖ (ἡμεῖ, μεῖ)	οἵ (οἵ)	Fε (F'), μεῖ
G.	ἡμεῖο, ἡμεῖο, μεῖο (ἡμεῖ', ἡμεῖ', μεῖ')	οἵοι, οἵοι (οἵ', οἵ')	Fειο, Fειο (Fε')
D.	ἡμεῖ, μεῖ (μεῖ')	οἵοι, τοι (οἵ', τοΐ') τείν	Fοι (F')
N. A.	ἡμεῖ, ἡμεῖ (ἡμεῖ')	οἵοι, ἡμεῖ (ἡμεῖ')	A. ὡρε (οἱ') (οἱούε?)
G. D.	ἡμεῖο	οἵοιο	οἱούε
N.	ἡμεῖς or ἡμεῖς	ἡμεῖς or ἡμεῖς	
A.	ἡμεῖς or ἡμεῖς, ἡμεῖς	ἡμεῖς or ἡμεῖς, ἡμεῖς	οἱοῖς, οἱοῖς
G.	ἡμεῖοι, ἡμεῖοι	ἡμεῖοι οἱούε	οἱούειο οἱούειο
D.	ἡμεῖοι or ἡμεῖοι (v) (ἡμεῖοι) (ἡμεῖοι?)	ἡμεῖοι or οἱούειο (v) (οἱούειο) (οἱούειο?)	οἱούειο (οἱ') (οἱούειο)

It is hardly necessary to say that passages which do not agree with this scheme are, in the manner of the Dutch school, summarily handled.

Ad Lucianum (continuantur ex Tom. XIII, p. 111). K. G. P. Schwartz.
 Vit. Auc. 2: εἰ δέ τις οὐκ ἔχει τὸ παραντίκα τάργυριον καταβάλεσθαι. Read: κατα-
 βαλεῖν. Pecuniam solvere apud omnes summa constantia καταβάλλειν dic iter,
 non καταβάλλεσθαι.

15: ἀμέλει καν ὑπὸ ταῦτὸν ἴμάτιόν μοι κατακέωνται. Read: ταῦτῷ ἴματῳ.

Pisc. 7: καὶ χαλεπωτέραν σου ἐπιδείκνυτο τὴν τόλμαν. Read: ἀποδείκνυτο,
 reddit, efficit.

13: τὴν ἐπὶ συννοίᾳ ἡμέραν βαδίζουσαν. Et ratio et usus postulant ἐπὶ συννοίᾳ.

26: δη ταῦτα ποιῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τὸ σὸν ὄνομα ὑποδένεται. Omit the prep., as
 Lucian uses the acc. simply after the verb. *

Catplus 1: καὶ τῶν κωπῶν ἐκάστη τετράπτωται. Read: ἐκατέρα. Charontis
 cymba omnibus et poetis et pictoribus est "duorum scalmorum navicula,"
 quam solus et sine ulla ministerio remis impellit. Ibid. ἐμπεπολήκαμεν. Read:
 ἡμιτολήκαμεν.

27: παρέξω σοι μάρτυρας. Nemo unquam dixit μάρτυρας παρέχειν pro παρέ-
 χεσθαι.

Pro Lapsu in Salut. 12: εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐφησθα. Read: ἄλλοιον = malum,
 infustum, male ominatum, as appears from Herod. 5, 40.

16: ὡς οὐκ ἔθελεις διδάξαι με. Read: ὥρας; οὐκ κτέ. Lucian is very fond of
 ὥραν in a question.

Hermot. 59: πολλὰ γάρ ἔστι, πρόσθλον, ὡς ἔταιρε· η οὐκ ἀν εἰκοστν. Read:
 μᾶλλον δὲ, ἔστι πρόσθλον, ὡς· οὐ γάρ ἀν κτέ.

In addition the writer emends, with more or less probability, 12 passages in
 Vit. Auc., 13 in Pisc., 10 in Catplus, 10 in Pro Lapsu, 39 in Hermotimus,
 4 in Herodotus, 6 in Zeuxis, 2 in Harmonid., 5 in Scyth.

A number of these emendations are obvious and turn on the easy change of
 a single letter. By far the greater number, however, are unnecessary, and due
 to the writer's desire to show how much better he could write than Lucian.

Ad Dionysii Halicarnassensis Antiquitatum Romanarum librum primum.
 K. G. P. Schwartz. Forty-eight emendations of various degrees of proba-
 bility.

The last page is filled by two emendations of J. P. Postgate to Sallust Jug.
 3, 1: quoniam neque virtuti honos datur, neque illi quibus per fraudem [iis]
 fuit tuti. Read: via. MSS vary between iis, ius, vis, his.

Jug. 97, 5: sine signis sine ordinibus equites peditesque permixte cedere,
 alios alios obtruncare. Read: aliis alios.

GONZALEZ LODGE.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM, XXXVIII 3.

1. pp. 317-47. F. Leo. The History of the Text of the Comedies of
 Terence and of the Commentary of Donatus. The most interesting part of this
 discussion has to do with the well-known picture-MSS. L. is of the opinion
 that "we shall not be mistaken in referring the origin of the class of illustrated
 editions to which belong these MSS of Terence and the Vatican fragments of
 Virgil, to that practice of uniting text and illustration which Varro and
 Atticus introduced." The general conclusion about the history of the text is
 this: "Calliopius, in preparing his edition, followed a MS of the family of the

Bembinus, but took liberties with it. Of this edition, which was followed by Donatus in the composition of his commentary, we have representatives in the Victorianus and its class. At a later, but still ancient, time this edition was re-edited, or rather was made the basis of a new illustrated edition, in which the pictures and the order of plays were given after a MS of the best period." L. does not claim for this conclusion any considerable importance for the constitution of the text, for which the Bembinus, so far as it goes, must always hold the position of prime importance.

2. pp. 348-69. W. Sieglin. Two Double Versions in Livy. I. Of the embassies from Rome to Hannibal and the Carthaginian government in the year 219-18 B. C. we have, in the ancient writers, two (or, if Silius Italicus could be counted, three) inconsistent accounts. Modern historians have mostly been content to reject Livy and follow Polybios; but the matter will bear a closer inspection. It seems at first sight a great absurdity in Livy's narrative that Hannibal refuses the ambassadors an audience for the reasons stated: *quibus obviam ad mare missi ab Hannibale, qui dicerent nec tuto eos adituros inter tot tam effrenatarum gentium arma, nec Hannibali in tanto discrimine rerum operae esse legationes audire.* For ordinarily Hannibal's armies were in such a state of efficiency and discipline as to make it quite possible for him to guarantee safe conduct to the ambassadors over the few hundred yards of space which separated the sea from the walls of Saguntum, or from his own headquarters; and ordinarily he would not have treated the forms of international civility, still obligatory in his dealings with the still friendly power of Rome, with such ostentatious indifference. But what if Hannibal were really at the time at a distance from the sea and from Saguntum, and if the journey would really have been perilous for the ambassadors? S. finds that in the eighth and eleventh chapters of his twenty-first book Livy gives, not the accounts of two successive assaults upon the walls of Saguntum, but two accounts of one and the same assault. One of these accounts, to be sure, is drawn from a Roman source, the other from a Punic; but in their substance, and in the sequence of the narrative, the two accounts agree thoroughly. They are worked into the main story with skill, and the marks of patchwork are not very evident; of course the transition from the assault to the subsequent events could not be allowed to be the same in both cases. But at the end of one account Hannibal is forced to make an expedition to the interior of Spain; at the end of the other, the Roman ambassadors arrive and are met by the strange message from Hannibal. The inference is easy that the message was sent from a camp far from Saguntum. And in this view of the matter the reasons for doubting the substantial truth of Livy's story of the embassy disappear. But Polybios gives an account of an embassy at about the same time which cannot be made to harmonize with Livy's account. S. maintains the view that both embassies were really sent, and tries to explain Livy's failure to mention the one described by Polybios. II. The second double version is in the narrative of the events of the winter of 218-17 B. C. "In the space of a few chapters Hannibal has two battles with the Consul Sempronius on the Trebia; the Roman army marches twice from Placentia into Etruria; and Hannibal crosses the Apennines three times, the information being added that upon the occasions of the first and third crossings the first signs of spring were beginning

to appear. . . . It would be wasted trouble to try to reconcile Livy's statements one with another; it is very plain that we have to deal with accounts compiled without intelligence, borrowed from the most diverse sources, not with an enumeration of successive occurrences, but with repeated stories of events which happened but once—in short, that we have to do with a double version of the narrative. Hannibal fought but one battle on the Trebia; he then, as spring approached, marched into Etruria, and the Roman army also turned in the same direction." The fifty-fourth and the fifty-ninth chapters of the twenty-first book of Livy tell the story of one and the same battle.

3. pp. 370-83. A. Ludwich. Herodian's Tracts περὶ ὀνομάτων and περὶ μονήροντος λέξεως. A collation of a Vienna MS (Cod. Gr. 294 of the Imperial Library).

4. pp. 384-93. A. Wiedemann. Notes on the Chronology of Arsinoe Philadelphos.

5. pp. 394-420. H. Jungblut. The Collection of Proverbs in Cod. Laurentianus 80, 13. A collation, preceded by discussion of several points touching the history of the text as transmitted in the various MSS.

6. pp. 421-49. R. Förster. Alkamenes and the Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. The Statements of Johannes Tzetzes and Suidas concerning the History of Art. The substance of this long article may be very briefly summarized as follows: Mere combination of the ancient statements is not the true method to follow in ascertaining what may be known of the life of a man so scantily known as Alkamenes: the original statements must first, each for itself, be subjected to scrutiny. In respect to the age of Alkamenes, the only probable tradition makes him younger than Pheidias. It is easy to show, by a multitude of examples, that Tzetzes was most careless and unscrupulous in using, mixing, diluting his authorities. What he says about Alkamenes, so far as it rests upon any authority at all, is taken from Pausanias. But the account in Pausanias (V 10, 8) is probably borrowed from a careless tradition which told of Pheidias as the great master-artist of the temple, and then supplied names somewhat at random for the subordinate and less famous sharers in the glory of its building. As for Suidas, and such small weight as might be due to his one word Λήψιος, there is no particular reason for assuming that his Alkamenes is identical with the artist at all. It is impossible to ascribe the figures of the western pediment to Alkamenes, as, indeed, it is impossible to ascribe the figures of the eastern pediment to Paionios. These compositions are all older than the work of Pheidias, older than the corresponding work upon the Parthenon.

7. pp. 450-53. O. Ribbeck. Notes on the Amphitruo of Plautus. R. reads, 253, pugnata pugna usque usque a mani. 293, SOS. hem, mi in mentem. 300, sic auscultet. 307, nunciam ergo sex volo. 315 f., maled icit manus. alia forma esse os oportet, quem tu pugno (or pugne) laeseris. 384, socium enim med esse volui dicere. 486, sed Alcumenas. 487, uno ut fetu liberet. 488-90 he regards as an interpolation, to which also belonged a verse lost before 488. After 607 he thinks several verses must have been lost. In

620 he writes *num obdormivisti susum?* 627, SOS. *verum actutum nosces* —AMPH. *quem illum?* SOS. *nosces, inquam, Sosiam.* 641, *ex tali abitu viri.* 648b-53 he regards as a parallel passage from an unknown play, once written in the margin of some MS and thence transferred into the text. In 723 the pun is restored and the MSS sufficiently respected by writing *non malum set malum dari.* 729 he ascribes to Sosia, and writes *ubi nam primum.* 838 is only an abbreviated form of 836 f., and should be bracketed; but between 837 and 839 there is a lacuna. 930, *ibo et pudicitiam egomet comitem duxero.*

8. pp. 454-63. K. K. Müller. Notes on the MSS of the Poliorketika and the Geodesy of the Pseudo-Heron. Describes a newly-found MS (Vatic. Gr. 1605).

9. pp. 464-80. Miscellany. R. Förster touches upon a few "Archaeological Trifles." 1. There is no ground for the assumption that Alkamenes made more than one statue of Aphrodite. 4. "Even those who regard Athena as a goddess of light will be surprised to hear of a lamp as one of her attributes. And yet Welcker says in a note, Griech. Götterlehre, I 310, 'In fact Athena holds a lamp upon a sarcophagus on which is represented the Rape of Proserpine; Zeitschrift für alte Kunst, S. 39.' And in the place referred to may be read the description: 'Pallas is running behind the charioi, holding a lamp in her left hand.' But this lamp owes its existence to a laughable blunder. Either Welcker's pen slipped as he translated Zoega's description of the sarcophagus from the Italian, or else the printer read *Lampe* for *Lance* in his copy and Welcker failed to see the mistake when he read his proof. The Italian original is now in Copenhagen, and I learn through the kindness of Prof. Ussing that Zoega wrote, correctly: 'tenendo nella sinistra la lancia.' The point and upper part of the shaft of the spear may still be seen on the sarcophagus at the Palazzo Barberini. See Matz u. v. Duhn, Antike Bildwerke in Rom, II 322."—P. Cauer proposes to read, Verg. Aen. VIII 364 f., *et te quoque dignam finge domum.*—W. Ribbeck proposes, for Hor. Epop. 15. 21, *nec te Panthoidae fallant arcana renati.*—B. Friederich gives a number of notes on the text of the Silvae of Statius.—F. B[ücheler] calls attention to a graffito recently found upon the wall of the theatrum tectum at Pompeii:

quid fi]t? vi me, ocul ei, posquam
deducx stis in ignem,
no]n ad vim vestreis largificatis geneis.
verum] non possunt lacrumae restinguere
flamam,
hae]c os incendunt tabificantque animum.

This epigram was not composed later than 700-54; it belongs, as a
the earlier Roman lyric compositions, with the pieces
9. And this one too, like the others, is doubtless
original. Perhaps the epigram of Paulus Silanus
a dilution of the same original.—In another
lecture that the public use of gladiatori

earlier employment at funeral shows) might be referred to the period of Sulla. Precisely this innovation is referred by Ennodius (p. 284 Hartel) to Rutilius and Manlius. How Ennodius got his information cannot be determined; but that it is real information cannot be doubted. Rutilius and Manlius were the Consuls of the year 649-105. The natural inference is confirmed by an examination of Val. Max. II 3, 2, a passage evidently from sources quite independent of those consulted by Ennodius.—A third note from the same hand is short enough (and interesting enough) to be translated entire: "The original meaning of the Italic word *caro*—a meaning always preserved by the Umbrians and Samnites—is *portion* or *piece*. The sacrificial usage, the division and distribution of the victim, part to the god and part to men, gave the word its specialized meaning, portion of the victim, or piece of flesh. Except for the original meaning *portion*, the compound *carnifex* would have been impossible. The Latin language preserves the original sense in an antique phrase which the people of a later time probably employed without consciousness of its meaning: at the Latin festival the allied cities *carnem petunt, carnem accipiunt*, complain *sibi carnem datam non esse* (Schwegler, Röm. Gesch. 2, 296). Here the word means *portion*, not *flesh*; it is correctly rendered by Dionysios, who says (4, 49), *μέρος ἐκάστη τὸ τεταγμένου λαμβάνει*. He might have said still more precisely *κεκαρδένου*.—An anonymous writer corrects an odd mistake made by Hauvette-Besnault in the publication (*Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, VII 110) of certain choregic inscriptions from Delos. The word which is printed *ὅλυμπατοποίης*, and regarded by the editor as a word of hidden etymology, should have been read *θαυματοποίης*. One or two smaller matters in the Miscellany may be passed over.

XXXVIII 4.

1. pp. 481-506. G. F. Unger. Herakleides Pontikos the Critic. Among the geographical fragments are three from a περιήγησις τῆς Ἑλλάδος, which was long supposed to be identical with the Βίος Ἑλλάδος of Dikaiarchos. But Karl Müller (*Geogr. Gr. Min.* I, p. li ff.) has shown that these fragments are properly to be ascribed to a certain Herakleides Kritikos. U. shows that this writer is not identical with the famous contemporary of Aristotle. A close examination of the fragments reveals their date of composition as about 200 B. C., or a few years later. At this period lived a Pontic Herakleides, however—the one nicknamed Lembos—to whom probably belong some of the books whose titles are given in the list of the writings of Herakleides Pontikos in Diog. Laert. V 86 ff. He may have owed his name Lembos to the peculiar character of his relations to more original writers. The name is explained by a quotation in Athenaios VI 242: δηισθεν ἀκόλουθει κόλας τῷ λέμβῳ ἐπικέκληται. The flattery of such followers, of course, was practised for the sake of what could be made out of it.

2. pp. 507-25. Catalepton. Franciscus Buecheler Friderico Hanovio et Adolpho Kiesslingio Doctoribus Quinquelustralibus Sal. Notes on the Vergiliana, abounding rather in learned explanation and defense of the text than in conjectural emendations.

3. pp. 526-39. T. Bergk. Notes on the Inscription from Olympia No. 362 (Roehl 112). Found among Bergk's papers after his death, and now published by G. Hinrichs. The inscription is the one treated by Ahrens and Bücheler in an earlier number of the *Rh. Mus.* (XXXV 578 and 632), as reported in this Journal III 238 f.

4. pp. 540-66. O. Weise. What Communities Exercised an Influence upon the Roman Civilization? A concise discussion, but very clear and readable. The evidences considered are mostly found in the Latin vocabulary. Early, direct, and important effects of Phoenician influence are not to be doubted, but in depth and extent this influence was far inferior to that of the Greeks; and the main point of W.'s study is to follow up the early relations existing between Italy and the various Greek communities, with a view to determine the order and importance of the contributions made by the various branches of the Greek race to the civilization of Latium. According to the view of Herodotos (I 163), the beginning was made by the people of Phokaia; but it would be more natural to believe that they were anticipated by an early commerce across the Adriatic, a commerce for which the names given to each other by Greeks and Italians (*Graeci, Οπικοι*) afford a weighty testimony. W. ascribes not a little to the Greek settlements in Etruria, much to Cumae. He assents to the view that Dorian words in Latin are comparatively young. He admits no doubt that the borrowed weights and measures came from Sicily, and finds evidence of active commercial intercourse with Sicily in the curious fact that *laun-miae* as a name for a debtors' prison comes from Syracusan *λαυρίαι*, and that the Sicilians in their turn adopted the Latin words *caser* and *mutuum* in the forms *κάρκαρον* and *μοιρών*. The famous commission of inquiry sent to Athens for information about the Solonian legislation is mentioned, not without emphasis, though W. hardly seems to ascribe to the event that great and fundamental importance claimed for it (seemingly with good reason) by Wilamowitz.

5. pp. 567-602. B. Niese. Straboniana. The true way to find in what year Strabo was born consists in examining the dates of the events which he states to have occurred *καθ' ἡμάς*, and of those which he sets down as occurring *μετὰ τὸν πρὸ ἡμῶν*. The earliest of the former class belongs to the year 64 B. C.; the latest of the latter class to the years 62-3: Strabo was, therefore, probably born during Cicero's consulship. The remainder of this long article is given to the examination of a number of details of the history of the period of Pompey, upon which light is thrown by careful interpretation of passages of Strabo.

6. pp. 603-11. S. Brandt. Contributions to the Criticism of the Gallic Panegyrists. Emendations.

7. pp. 612-24. F. Blass. On the Value of the Quotations from Demosthenes in the Rhetoricians. These quotations have been consulted, to a certain extent, by the editors of Demosthenes, but no complete or trustworthy collection of them has ever been made. Great care is necessary in the use of them; for the more a rhetorician was studied, the more probable

is it that readers have made the quotations conform to their own copies of Demosthenes, thus introducing to the MSS of the rhetorician all the interpolations of the MSS of the orator. B. cites clear instances of the sort from Hermogenes. He also points out a difficulty in accepting aid from Aristeides, inasmuch as this rhetorician had the habit of abbreviating his quotations systematically, so that it is by no means safe to infer that a word or even a clause is interpolated in the text of Demosthenes simply from the fact of an omission in the text of Aristeides. B. then instances a good number of cases in which he thinks safe conclusions may be based upon quotations found in Aristeides. Dem. 3, 31, Ar. 384 [493]: γεγένησθε after μέρεις is interpolated; cf. [Dem.] 13, 31. Dem. 9, 28, Ar. 346 [462]: τρός ἀλλήλους is to be left out. Dem. 9, 29, Ar. 352 [466]: δῆτον (omitted in S.) is spurious. Dem. 9, 36, Ar. 353 [467]: οὐδεμάς is an interpolation. Dem. 10, 8, Ar. 376 [486]: παρ' θμῶν is interpolated. Dem. 10, 46, Ar. 383 [492]: τάξεως in place of ἵποθεσεως is the genuine reading. Dem. 14, 1, Ar. 384 [492]: The omission of προαιρεῖσθαι seems to be correct. Dem. 14, 3, Ar. 380 [489]: The εἰναι after Ἐλλήνων is certainly superfluous, and ἀρασθαι is preferable to αἴρεσθαι. Instead of μόνοις τῶν ἀλλῶν of the MSS of Dem., or τοῖς ἀλλοῖς of Aristeides, should, perhaps, be read τὴν ἀλλῶν. B. remarks, by the way, that in this same oration the corrupt passage in 37 is to be made sound by omitting the words ἀδικεῖν ήμάς ἔκεινον. Dem. 16, 2-3, Ar. 379 f. [489]: ἐξηπατημένων is preferable to συνεξηπατημένων; perhaps the following βουλομένων (Ar. προηρημένων) should be omitted altogether; τῇ πόλει after βέλτιστο νομίζω is at least not indispensable. In the first paragraph of this speech πολίται is an interpolation, as appears upon comparing Prooem. 8. Dem. 18, 3, Ar. 361 [473]: ἀνθρώπους is an interpolation. Dem. 18, 10, Ar. 378 [487]: The connection makes it plain that Aristeides would not have omitted ἡ παρ' ίμιν if he had found the words in his MS. Dem. 18, 72, Ar. 357 [469 f.]: The words περὶ τούτων εἰπόν are of doubtful authenticity; still more so the words ἢ πέπρακται. Dem. 18, 97, Ar. 343 [460]: The ἐστι after ἀνθρώπους is very doubtful. Dem. 18, 130, Ar. 381 [490]: B. condemns γέγονε, and to his argumentation might be added a grave doubt about the grammatical quality of the perfect tense in this context. Dem. 18, 299, Ar. 352 [466]: δικαίως must be stricken out. Dem. 19, 16, Ar. 449 [541]: The MS of Aristeides, like several MSS still existing, had ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ Θεοί, without πάντες. Dem. 19, 83, Ar. 452 [544]: ίμῶν after οἶδεν is an interpolation; perhaps also αὐτῶν after πραγμάτων at the beginning of the next section. Dem. 20, 11, Ar. 351 [465]: τὰ χρήματα ἀπήγαννον is probably the genuine reading, without ταῦτα. Dem. 20, 41, Ar. 362 [473 f.]: The reading τὸ λαβεῖν παρ' ίμῶν τὴν ἀτέλειαν is probably right. Dem. 20, 72, Ar. 362 [473]: ἐστιν before ὁ ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι is spurious. Dem. 20, 76, Ar. 371 f. [481 f.]: The words δέω λέγειν are interpolated. Dem. 20, 89, Ar. 353 [467]: πάντων after τούτων is spurious, and farther on the order of words given by Aristeides—οὐδὲν ἐνρημένημέτερον—is to be preferred. Dem. 20, 16, Ar. 368 [478]: τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τοῖς οὖσι νόμοις is right without ἐστιν after τοῦτο. Dem. 20, 16, Ar. 382 [491]: τὰ δεινότατα must be stricken out. Dem. 21, 10, Ar. 375 [482]: τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τοῖς οὖσι νόμοις διεξέρχομαι τρόπον νῦν πρὸς ίμᾶς; so Aristeides. The question is probably right. Dem. 23, 8-9, Ar. 390 [497 f.]: συμβέβηκε

γάρ αὐτοῖς, without *ἐκ τοποῦ*, is right. Dem. 23, 74, Ar. 345 [462]: *εἰμενῶν θεῶν* is more probable than *ὅμολογῶν θεῶν*. Dem. 25, 4, Ar. 378 [487]: *τὰ δίκαια*, before *εἰδέναι*, is to be preferred to *τὸ πρᾶγμα*. Dem. 54, 8, Ar. 370 [480]: *πταιόντες* is vastly better than *ἴβριζοντες*, and the quotation of Dionysios with *ἴβριζοντες* proves nothing. Dem. 54, 20, Ar. 387 [495]: *ἔξεπεπηδεῖ* is *μήτηρ* is to be preferred, without *δὲ μετὰ ταῦθ*. Dem. Epist. 3, 42, Ar. 360 [472]: Our editions have already taken the *τὸ περιφανές* of Aristeides in place of *τάφαντες*; they should also have taken *πρόσφεγμα* in place of *πρόταγμα*, and should have omitted *τοποῦ* before *προβότερον* and *τοιαύτα* before *ἴημαρτηκόσιουν*. B. thinks the number of interpolations in Demosthenes very great, especially small interpolations of a kind which no editor can now trust himself to detect.

8. pp. 625-40. Miscellany. Th. Zielinski attempts the explanation of Pind. Pyth. X 55. *δρόμος* is the appropriate description of a rhythm in which the *ποὺς πεντάσημος* prevails; such a rhythm was commonest in the hyporcheme; *ὁρθία ὑβρις* is here a periphrasis for hyporchematic dancing; *κωδάλων* is an epithet of the rustic dancers; and the verse describes the amusement of Apollo as he beholds the grotesque movements which express their joy.—G. Busolt argues from a careful analysis of the statement of Diodorus that Ephoros in his account of the battle of Salamis used no other authorities than Herodotus and Aischylos.—In another note B. argues that no reliance is to be placed upon the statement of losses at Salamis and Plataiai as given by Ephoros (Diodorus), inasmuch as they rest only upon conjectural calculations.—L. Holzapfel returns to the question of the Athenian treatment of Mytilene. (See Reports in this Journal V 540 and VI 381.)—A. Biese has collected from the principal Latin poets of the best period those passages in which a syllable occurring at the end of a word is repeated at the beginning of the following word, like *ipse seram, poma manū*, Tibull. I 1, 7-8.—F. Bücheler reprints, with some remarks, a "Lament of a Gothic Professor," which had been published in 1832 by Suringar (Hist. Crit. Scholiast. Lat. I 212 ff.), and more recently by R. Ellis in the (English) Journal of Philology IX 61. The "Lament" is the preface of a textbook of rhetoric composed in the early part of the sixth century.—The Miscellany closes with a note signed "Dvenos," and so well spiced that I translate it all: "Suidas v. Χριστόδωρος—*ἡ γραψε θαύματα τῶν ἀγίων ἈΝΑΡΓΥΡΩΝ Κοομᾶ καὶ Δαμιανοῦ*. 'Ridiculum mendum pro MAPTÍRΩΝ.' So reads the comment in Mnemosyne, New Series, X 413. Certainly these saints were also martyrs. The order of the Knights of Cosmas and Damianus is long since extinct and almost forgotten, and the bonds are slender which now connect philology and theology; but any one who opens an ecclesiastical dictionary may be told that the saintly physicians were always honored with the name *ἀνάργυροι*, because they took no pay from their patients. Or, by examining a handbook of bibliography, one may learn of a Syntagma Historicum, published at Vienna in 1660, in which *Veterum Graeciae Anargyrorum Cosmae et Damiani. . . partes duas . . . Reinoldus Dehnii notis illustravit*. Or almost any Byzantine book of places, book of history, book of miracles, will tell something about the pair; Georgius Monachus, Chron.

3, 170, p. 371 Mur. will do : *έμαρτίρησαν . . . οἱ ἐν Πάρῃ ἀγοι ἀνάργυροι*. And the same book will tell of Cyrus and Johannes, heirs of their title and of their miraculous powers, and of churches and monasteries dedicated in their name. In the Bollandist collection, under the rubric of 27 September, the searcher may read of the *ἴαπατα τῶν δύων ἀναργύρων*; and not only that, but also how the title made its way to the Arabs, and how it was paraphrased by a Latin poet. But who goes to such books as these for the explanation of Suidas? And yet—there have been laborious editors of Suidas. Kuster proposed to read *μαρτίρων*, but Gaisford put aside the conjecture; and both Gaisford and Bernhardy refer to Ducange and Fabricius. I believe I need not turn to these authorities, for, in one of his happier hours, the master himself (Var. Lect. p. 9) wrote thus : *quid attinet in illorum erroribus refutandis operam perdere, qui de iis rebus indicant, quas nondum satis perspexerunt?*"

J. H. WHEELER.

HERMES, 1885, III.

C. de Boor (Zu Johannes Antiochenus) warns scholars against a recent tendency of ascribing too many articles in Suidas to compilation from the writer named, who flourished in the seventh century A. D. Eutropius was much copied by Byzantine writers of that time.

W. Gemoll on two new MSS of Cicero's Cato Major at Leyden.

B. Keil critically discusses two *ἐπιγράμματα*, one, Anthol. Pal. VII 258, ascribed to Simonides, and one edited by Bergk as No. 142 in his Poetae Lyrici Gr.; both considered spurious by Keil.

C. Robert. Athena Skiras and the Skirophoria. Wachsmuth and Lolling, at variance as to origin and significance of the worship of Athena Skiras, agree in considering it sufficiently well established that there were in Athens two sanctuaries of Athena Skiras, one in Phaleron, one on the sacred road to Eleusis, both of them affiliated with the sanctuary of Athena Skiras on the promontory Skiradion in Salamis. The conclusions that Robert reaches, at the close of his elaborate investigation of the whole matter, are that there is no trustworthy evidence tending to show the existence of temple or worship of Athena Skiras at Skiron on the road to Eleusis, that the temple in Phaleron is the only accredited sanctuary of the goddess, and that the Skirophoria have certainly nothing to do with Athena Skiras, perhaps nothing with Athena in any form.

H. Schrader (Die Porphyrianische Homer-Zetemata) maintains that the Venetus B in its extant form cannot have been directly or indirectly the original of the Leidensis. The second part of the paper is taken up with other discussions concerning the MSS of the Porphyrian Zetemata, with passing sighs on the character of some of these unrefreshing *ἀπομνήσεις*.

O. Richter calculates the exact site of the temple of the Magna Mater on the Palatine Hill, quoting in support Martial, Epigr. I 70, 9-10 :

flecte vias hac qua madidi sunt tecta Lyaei
et Cybeles picto stat Corybante torus.

He also seeks to prove that the foundation discovered in 1867, on the Pal. Hill, was not that of Jupiter Stator.

U. Wilcken. *Arsinoitische Tempelrechnungen*. These accounts are of 215 A. D. (Caracalla). The emperor's general title is *αὐτοκράτωρ*; a complete list of all his titles also occurs. Surplus money of the temple was lent out at the usual (*συνιθῆς*) rate of interest (on mortgage), at 6 per cent., as Wilcken computes it, for that time. An important item in the accounts is the payment of land-tax for villages belonging to the temple. While the Egyptian months (Mechir, Phamenoth, Pharmuthi, Pachon, etc.) are observed, the festal days celebrated are mainly those of the official calendar of Rome, e. g. on the Calends of January, on the birthday of Roma, of the emperor, of his father, of his mother Julia Domna, etc. Other items were for oil for lighting the lamps in the *ἐν τῷ σηκῷ*, covering all the objects in the temple with garlands, anointing the bronze statues in the temple, for pine-cones, spices and incense. One item, for donkey-hire, remains unexplained, being coupled with the curious specification *ὑπὸ δένδρα*. On one particular occasion a large expense was incurred, at the visit of the prefect of the province, Septimius Heraclitus; workmen were paid to carry the wreathed idol (*ξεῖνον*) in joyous procession (*κωμάζειν*) to meet the prefect; besides, an orator was engaged to make an address. The paper is of substantial value, and the presentation is clear and straightforward. The MS is a papyrus [of the Fayūm] in the Berlin Museum.

Wilamowitz (Thukydideische Daten) reiterates (from the Göttingen *Sommerprogramm*, 1885) his criticism of a number of chronological data in Thucydides; e. g. II 19: *τοῦ θέρους καὶ τοῦ σίτου ἀκράζοντος*; II 2: *Πιθαδώρων ἐτι τέσσαρας* (δ' emendation for MSS *δύο*) *μῆνας ἀρχοντος Ἀθηναίοις*, where W. objects to the grammatical correctness of the syntax (p. 480), and strikes out *δύο μῆνας*. W. further contends, against Lipsius of Leipsic, that it is impossible to place the battle of Potidaea six months before the surprise of Plataea (431, March) and yet to be able to state what events filled the interval between the battle of Potidaea and the naval battle of the Sybota Islands. For W. assigns this engagement to 433 B. C. (Clinton 432), with what or what kind of arguments is not stated by him in the present paper. But the aim of W. evidently is not merely to lay stress on minor critical difficulties, nor to create new ones, but to use the former as arguments for his main thesis, viz. *that we must abandon the belief in the unity of authorship of the historical work bearing the name of Thucydides*. The literary *x* which W. endeavors to establish as the quantity to be subtracted from the pure and genuine Thucydides, is most palpable—so W. holds—in the make-up of Book I, and in the narrative between 423–411. He says (p. 487): "Ich sehe in Thukydides den Mann, der die Geschichte von 431–24 und die sizilische Expedition mit einer so unvergleichlichen Wahrheit, Klarheit und Sachlichkeit erzählt hat, traeu ihm also die lückenhafte und unklare Erzählung der Jahre 423–411 um so weniger zu, als innerhalb dieser Partien Einzelnes ganz auf der Höhe der besten Berichte steht." Book I is, in his eyes, "a monstrosity of literary workmanship" (Ungeheuer von Composition), which he will not lay to the charge of that model of precision, Thucydides. The unknown quantity that vitiates the work is an editor, an early editor it is true, but for all that a disturbing element, much to be reprehended for the

introduction of such matter as the last chapter, with its "in Form und Inhalt unwürdige Phrasen." The article is characteristically suggestive and irritating.

IV.

G. Kaibel (Dionysius von Halikarnass und die Sophistik) points to the influence which the historical writings of Dionysius exercised upon some of the "Sophists" of the second period, viz. Appian, Aristides and others, and shows also, with much taste and skill, how substantial an analogy is found to exist between the methods and aspirations of these later Sophists and Atticists and those of the classical school founded by Isocrates and continued by Ephorus, Theopompus, etc. These, rather than Plato or Thucydides, were the models and ideals of Dionysius, who is a connecting link between the two eras.

R. Reitzenstein (Die Geographischen Bücher Varros) traces the materials and statements of that writer in the books of Pliny the Elder, Vegetius, Gellius, Vitruvius, Suetonius, etc., holding that the *testimonium* (of St. Augustine de Civ. D. VI 4) is too narrow. There seems also to have been in the *antiquitates* a particular work, *De Ora Maritima* (written before the *De Lingua Latina*), which is likewise amongst the sources of Pliny the Elder and of Festus.

A. Otto (Die Reihenfolge der Gedichte des Properz) sums up his paper as follows (p. 572): "Not only in the *Monobiblos*, but also in all the following books, even in the last one, we meet with so careful and well-considered an arrangement of the various poems that we must neither ascribe the same to accident nor to subsequent labors of certain friends unknown to us. Inasmuch, then, as there are no other difficulties inconsistent with this view, we are justified in maintaining that Propertius was the editor of the entire collection received by us."

W. Dillenberger (Zum Gesetz v. Gortyn) on *ἀμφαντέλι*.

G. Kaibel. Antike Windrosen. A great deal of his information about the nomenclature, etc., of winds, Kaibel credits to Galen. This writer in turn made ample use of Aristotle's Meteorologica, e. g. as to the physical explanation of wind, Arist. I. c. II 4, which passage is almost literally translated by Vitruv. I 6, 2. Vitruvius and Gellius substantially agree with Galen. While the latter, as well as Gellius, borrowed largely from Favorinus, Posidonius the Stoic was really the primary authority of most later writers on these subjects. As for Vitruvius, his scheme of twenty-four winds is given on p. 600, from which we select the eight principal ones:

E. Solanus.	W. Favonius.
S. E. Eurus.	N. W. Caurus (Corus).
Uster.	N. Septentrio.
Ticus.	N. E. Aquilo.
derived from Meteorolog. II 6:	
K.	N. W. ἀργεῖος, or ὁρυπίαιος, or οὐρανός.

S. S. E. φονκίας.	N. N. W. θρασκίας.
S. νότος.	N. βορέας.
S. W. λίψ.	N. N. E. μέσης.
W. ζέφυρος.	N. E. κανκίας.

E. G. SIHLER.

REVUE DE PHILOLOGIE. Vol. IX.

No. I.

1. Pp. 1-18. Biography of Albert Dumont, by O. Riemann. Dumont was born at Scey-sur-Saône in 1842, and died at Paris in 1884. From the time he left the École Normale, in 1864, until he was made superintendent of public instruction, in 1879, he prosecuted his studies and investigations chiefly in Greece, the longest interruption being caused by the war of 1870-71, in which he took an honorable part. Through his exertions the school at Rome was founded in 1873, and he became its first director. He also contributed much to the efficiency of the school at Athens, and was made its director in 1875. Here he remained until 1878, during which period he created the *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*. In 1882 he was made a member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

The biographer gives us an insight into his methods by a brief review of two of his works: the *Éphèbe Attique*, and the *Céramiques*. Then follows a list of all his works (including review articles and the like), numbering about one hundred and forty.

It is needless here to repeat the eulogies bestowed by the biographer upon one who, in so short a life, accomplished so much; one sentence, however, deserves special attention: "M. Dumont pensait que la vraie science n'est point l'ennemie du sentiment littéraire, qu'elle doit tendre au contraire à lui donner plus de sûreté et de délicatesse."

2. Pp. 19-24. Henri Weil publishes a fragment of the Life of Aesop, found on an El-Fayoum papyrus, and compares it with the corresponding part of the work in the various forms in which we have it.

3. P. 24. L. Havet emends Ennius ap. Fest. 325 so as to read "*Virque sware sibi quisque domi Romanus habet sas.*"

4. Pp. 25-48. Critical notes on about a hundred passages of Lucian, by A. M. Desrousseaux.

5. P. 48. In Aristot. de Divinat. per Somn., Chap. I (Ed. Bekker, 462, b, 20). Desrousseaux proposes *καὶ τῷ μὴ* for *καὶ τὸ μῆ*.

6. Pp. 49-99. The Attic Dialect, according to Inscriptions. Second article. By O. Riemann. An important article which it is impossible to compress.

7. Pp. 100-102. J. van der Vliet discusses about fifteen passages of Apulei Metamorphoses.

8. P. 102. In Plant. Merc. 6, L. Havet proposes *humanitus* for *humanis*.

9. Pp. 103-5. Latina et Graeca Varia, by Henri Weil. Miscellaneous critical remarks, suggested by the perusal of Fröhner's Kritische Analekten in *Philologus*, Sup. Vol. V.

10. Pp. 106-12. Reviews and Book Notices, by O. R. and E. C.

No. 2.

1. Pp. 113-23. Critical remarks on several passages of Ennius, by L. Havet.

2. P. 123. In Plaut. Curc. 21 f., L. Havet proposes "Nunquam ullum verbum mutit cum aperitur mihi; | et cum," etc.

3. Pp. 124-26. On the *Pervigilium Veneris*, by H. Omont. Pierre Pithou, the first editor of this poem, sent a copy to Joseph Scaliger, who returned it with numerous conjectures written on the margin. This copy is now in the National Library at Paris, and Omont, in this article, publishes Scaliger's notes.

4. Pp. 127-8. E. Chatelain adds to the preceding article similar notes of Achilles Statius (*i. e.* Estaço) on the same work.

5. In Plaut. Curc. 11, L. Havet proposes "Ex dulci oriundum melle, melliculo meo."

6. Pp. 129-37. Critical Notes on Domninos, by Paul Tannery.

7. P. 137. Michel Bréal explains *ardelio* as being taken from the Greek, where it was the name of a scenic character, probably Ἀρδαλίων. (Cf. Hesychius, ἀρδαλωμένους ταρασσομένους.) Compare Micio, Hegio, Phormio. So in French, "un Figaro," "un Maitre-Jacques"; [in Eng., "a Falstaff," etc.].

8. Pp. 138-43. R. Cagnat corrects an error in Ptolemy II 8 (description of the lower Rhine region).

9. Pp. 144-8. Der Saturnische Vers als rythmisch erwiesen von Otto Keller, reviewed by H. T. Karsten. After an adverse criticism of the most glaring faults of Keller's work, the reviewer says: "Kelleri conjecturam disertis verbis resellendam esse censui, quia nuper vir magnae auctoritatis in re metrica scriptorem laudibus magnis extulit, quasi genuinam vs. Saturnii rationem, obscuratam hucusque et paene deperditam, in lucem retulisset" (cf. R. Westphal in Berl. Philol. Woch. Sept. 1884). Can it be, then, that Westphal's remarks were serious? I took them for pure irony.

10. Pp. 148-50. Louis Duval collates a few passages of a new MS of Livy, Books VI-IX (Latin MS 5726 of the National Library).

11. P. 150. In Cic. in Pis. XXI 48, L. Havet changes *mutationes* into *mutuationes*.

12. P. 151. Max Bonnet argues that Hor. Ars Poet. 75 and 76 refer respectively to elegy and *epigrams*.

13. P. 151. T. contributes a few new examples of -que, -ne (all with elision). He says that Fleckeisen taught his pupils the law affecting this combination, "mais comme il ne l'a jamais publiée, le mérite de M. Harant reste entier." No one doubts that Harant's discovery was an independent one, but the law had been published long before, though possibly not in a conspicuous or readily accessible journal.

14. Pp. 152-60. Reviews and Book Notices, by E. C., O. R., and others.

15. *Revue des Revues*, pp. 1-96: Germany (begun).

No. 3.

1. Pp. 161-5. The Iliad and the Law of Nations, by Henri Weil. The author discusses the origin of the right extended to enemies, of burying their dead after battle, and shows that this right was unknown in the Homeric times. Here we have another evidence of the late origin of the *Nekrōv ἀναιρέσις* (in H), where this right is distinctly asserted.

2. Pp. 166-7. L. Havet discusses Ennius, *Annales*, 177, 178, 514 (Müller).

3. Pp. 167-8. Émile Thomas concludes, from an arithmetical computation, that the *Regius Parisinus* (7774 A) originally began with the *Divinatio* and contained all the *Verrinae*.

4. Pp. 169-84. K. Meisterhans, Grammatik der attischen Inschriften, reviewed by O. Riemann. After pointing out the merits and great importance of this work, Riemann proceeds to fill some gaps that he has discovered in it. The article is indispensable for those who use that indispensable book.

5. Pp. 185-9. Biographical sketch of Louis Quicherat, by Émile Chatelain. Quicherat was born Oct. 13, 1799, at Paris, where he died Nov. 17, 1884. He held numerous positions of great honor and responsibility, and at the time of his death was an Officer of the Legion of Honor, and a member of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres. Of his numerous works, it is sufficient to allude to his contributions to the science of metres, his *Thesaurus poeticus Linguae Latinae*, and his *Dictionaries* (Latin-French and French-Latin), on which he spent thirty of the best years of his life.

6. P. 189. L. Havet cites some ancient allusions to the pilgrimage of Ennius to Greece, and makes some comments on the subject.

7. Pp. 190-92. Reviews and Book Notices, by A. M. D. and E. C.

8. *Revue des Revues*, pp. 97-208: Germany (finished), Austria (begun).

No. 4.

Revue des Revues, pp. 209 to end: Austria (finished), Belgium, Denmark, United States, France, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, Holland, Norway and Sweden, Turkey.

M. W. HUMPHREYS.



BRIEF MENTION.

The editor's table is loaded with valuable and interesting publications. All cannot be noticed. For some, elaborate reviews have been promised, and the brief acknowledgment here made of others does not preclude more extended notices hereafter.

With the theological notes of Mr. LIAS's edition of the *First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Cambridge, At the University Press, 1886) this Journal has nothing to do. The grammatical notes, which fall within our province, are, for the most part, commonplace and feeble. There is a wearisome recurrence to the subject of the aorist and perfect, a matter on which the editor has not clarified his mind. The revisers have treated the Greek aorist as if it corresponded exactly to the English preterite, and a remark here and there might have been necessary, but too much is too much. As for "the aggressive tendency of the aorist" (II 12), and the decline of the perfect, it is a familiar fact that later Greek manufactured many perfects that the earlier language did not know, e. g. γοργύκα, ἀπέκταγκα and the like, and the knowledge of the affinity of the aorist for the negative would have spared Mr. Lias much mental posturing. What is the use of telling a student that "the aor. indic. with ἀν ordinarily signifies a condition not fulfilled" (II 6)? Of the same complexion is the note on XIV 6: "Throughout the chapter the conditional *protasis* is followed by the *apodosis* in the future ind." What is the use of the statement (VI 4) that μὲν οὖν is stronger than the simple μὲν? XI 34, ως ἀν ἐλθω, gave an opportunity for remarking on the rarity of ως as a temporal particle in future relations. A correspondent has had the kindness to point out that the phrase used in this Journal, VII 167, was too sweeping, exceptions being found in Herodotus,¹ but the remark there made will hold as to Attic; and at any rate the rarity is certain. What has Mr. Lias to say? "ἀν points out the uncertainty of the time of this coming." A real grammatical difficulty is to be found XV 27: ὅταν εἰπῃ, where we should expect ὅτε λέγει, and there, after some floundering, the editor gets out of the slough on the wrong side. The same phenomenon

¹ Examples of ως temporal with the subj. and opt. are found in Herod. in the following passages: 1. With the subj. IV 172: τῶν δὲ ως ἔκστος οἱ μιχθῆ, διδοὶ δῶρον. I 132: τῶν δὲ ως δάστηρ θύει θέλα — καλέει τὸν θεόν. In this latter passage, many editors, following one MS and the Aldine edition, read θέλει. 2. With the opt. I 17: ως δὲ οὐ τὴν Μελησιην ἀνίκοιτο, οἰκήματα μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ ἄγρῳ οὔτε κατέβαλλε οὔτε κ. τ. λ. I 196: ως γάρ δὴ δειξέλθοι ὁ κῆρυξ πωλών τὰς εὐειδεστάτας τῶν παρθίνων, αἴσιτη ἀν τὴν ἀμφορεστάγην. VII 119: ως δὲ δειπνον γίροιτο ἄρη, οἱ μὲν δεκόμενοι ἔχοικον πάντα. ως ἀν with opt. occurs I 196, ως ἀν αἱ περθέοις γυναικοῖς γάμων ἡραῖαι, ταύτας ὅκου συναγάγοιεν πάσας, ιε ἔν χωρίον ἀργεσκον ἀλέας. It is, perhaps, worth while to note that Krüger brackets ἀν, and Stein proposes οἵτις αἰσι for ως ἀν αἱ. However, I see no reason for changing the reading of the MSS. Compare Iliad IX 524-5:

οὕτως καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἐπενθόμεθα κλέα ἀνδρῶν
ἡρώων, ὅτε καν τιν' ἐπιζάφελος χολος ἴσοι.

is found again and again in later Greek. See my note on Justin Martyr, Apol. I 37, 8 ; 38, 10. *μῆ* with the participle, instead of being explained historically, breeds the old-fashioned metaphysical note (IX 24), for which there is no excuse whatever at this time of day. The remarks on the use of words need sharp revision. Why cite Polybius for γνώμη in the sense of "purpose" (I 13)? When did "foolishness" die out of common English speech (I 23)? It is certainly alive enough in the American variety of that idiom, and it is a word that is eminently needful for a reviewer's easement. For antiquarian matters we are commonly referred to Smith's Dictionary. So on αὐλάξ (XIV 7), "Lat. *tibia*, in English *flute*, a hollow cane perforated with holes," where it would have been better to say that αὐλάξ does not correspond to the modern English flute, but rather to the clarinet. But the study of the New Testament is so absorbing that we cannot fairly expect those who are intent on the meaning of the Divine Word to be over careful about some of these matters, and Mr. Lias's edition is so full of admirable selections from Chrysostom and Calvin, Robertson and Stanley, that one is almost ashamed of petty grammatical criticism. But if a man will make grammatical points, he must expect to be pricked by them, on New Testament principles (Matt. xxvi 52).

The best thing about Mr. MARSHALL'S *Anabasis*, Book I (Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1866), seems to be the pleasantly written introduction. There is not a spark of novelty in the grammatical notes, and one is at a loss to understand what pleasure scholars can find in re-editing such a well-worn book as the *Anabasis* is.

The second part of RZACH'S *Iliad* completes the work (Leipzig, G. Freytag, 1866). We can only repeat the welcome given to the first part.—No more interesting figure in the history of the Roman Republic than Sulla, and Sulla must be studied in Plutarch. Dr. HOLDEN has done for Plutarch's *Sulla* the same good service he has done for Plutarch's Gracchi (Cambridge, At the University Press, 1886).—Messrs. PALEY and SANDYS' selection of *Private Orations of Demosthenes*, a book which has been used with profit in the Greek Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University, has reached a new and revised edition (Cambridge, At the University Press, 1886). The revision is not a mere *pro forma* revision, and the work is cordially recommended. We hope to recur to it before long, as also to the continuation of Professor HENRI WEIL'S *Demosthenes, Les Plaidoyers Politiques de Démosthène. Deuxième Série: Androtion, Aristocrate, Timocrate, Aristogiton* (Paris, Hachette et Cie., 1886). In this volume, as in the others, the notes have been kept down to the minimum. The introductions are especially important and interesting, summing up as they do previous studies of the eminent editor.

Both in Greek and in Latin the teacher of elementary classes is in a strait between two, the interesting and the correct; and if a man has ever yielded to the temptation of giving modern Latin to beginners, his mouth may be considered stopped when others yield to the temptation of constructing a go-cart for good little Grecians out of Hierokles and Aesop. And yet Latin and Greek are not on the same footing, and nothing that is done in Latin can fairly

vie with the aberrations that we encounter, for instance, in Dr. EVELYN ABBOTT'S *Easy Greek Lessons* (London and New York, Macmillan & Co., 1886). To be sure, Dr. Abbott is too good a scholar not to know when his text is bad Greek and finds himself occasionally constrained to warn the beginner against the faulty locutions employed ; but who, in teaching a modern language, would deliberately set a bad model before the pupil, "j'avons" in French, or "tain't" in English ? To say nothing of the late vocabulary and bad forms, it is very undesirable that any one should become familiar at an early stage with $\mu\gamma$ for $\bar{o}\nu$ with participle and indicative, with $\bar{i}\nu$ and subj. for inf., with the dat. for $\epsilon i\zeta$ and acc., with the simple gen. for $\bar{e}\xi$ and gen. Nor can any fair defence be set up for $\kappa e\lambda e\iota\omega$ with dat. or $\epsilon i\mu$ as a present. Surely it might be possible to cull from the whole range of Attic prose eighty small pages that would be suitable for the veriest beginners, especially as the veriest beginners in Greek have usually had to cope with the difficulties of a highly inflected language before and are not in the nursery stage.

Professor CORSON'S *Introduction to the Study of Browning's Poetry* (Boston, D. C. Heath & Co.) has to do chiefly with the spiritual aspects of the 'subtest assertor of the soul in song,' although the chapter on Browning's obscurity—we should have preferred the title Browning's hardness—will be found useful by the novice. The notes to the selections seem to us somewhat capricious. The editor has no definite class of readers before his mind, makes points where everything is clear and selects for explanation such words as 'calculus' and 'morion' and 'pilchard' and 'merlin' which must be familiar to every one that undertakes to grapple with Browning. Whether the notes do justice to Browning's learning we cannot say. One must be a specialist in each department that Browning touches in order to understand all his meanings.

MR. NETTLESHIP'S emendation of *presso* to *prasino* (p. 498) seems to me unnecessary. Not only Philargyrius Georg. 3, 83 has *pressus* of color, but Servius on the same passage has: *Spadices*; *quos phoeniciatos vocant, pressos, myrteos*. Palladius IV 13, 3 mentions thirteen colors, and ends with *niger, pressus*. Pliny 35, 6, 13 (32), uses *pressior* of color: *Idem pretium et eius quae pressior vocatur et est maxime fusca*. So in Pliny Ep. 8, 20, 4, Keil: *color caeruleo albidior, viridior et pressior*. Finally, Philargyrius uses the same word in his commentary on Georg. 4, 335, *Saturo, i. e. vitreo colore, et Saturo, ebrio ac per hoc presso colore*, where Nettleship has proposed *Rubeo* et per hoc *pretioso*.

M. WARREN.

Professor ROBINSON ELLIS writes to say that on looking at Bachrens' new edition of Lucilius (fr. 478) he finds that the conjecture *ex aede*, proposed by him on p. 322, has already been made by Ribbeck.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

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